THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1780.

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PREFACE.

AS it would give us the greateſt concern, that any part of that Public, to whom we owe ſuch long-continued and infinite obligations, ſhould attribute the lateneſs of our publication, either to an unthankful remiſſneſs on our ſide, or to a preſumptuous confidence on their favour, we think it neceſſary at this time to ſay a few words upon the ſubject.

Our firſt conſiderable failure in point of time, proceeded from unavoidable misfortune; from long and dangerous illneſs;

neſs; a ſort of interruption, which a courſe of years muſt be expected naturally to produce. Whoever will at all conſider the nature of an annual work, of great diverſity, attention and labour, in which the buſineſs of the coming year is conſtantly preſſing upon the preſent, will eaſily conceive the difficulty of ſpeedily recovering any conſiderable portion of loſt time, even ſuppoſing things ſtill to continue in their uſual and ordinary courſe. But in the inſtance we mention, the occaſional delay was immediately ſucceeded by an unexpected and extraordinary acceſſion of buſineſs; which has ſince continually increaſed, until it has arrived at a magnitude before unknown. Thus the original difficulty was not only rendered

dered inſurmountable, but the evil itſelf became of neceſſity greater.

If the Annual Regiſter were entirely a compilation, we ſhould have much to anſwer for any failure in point of time. But the nature of the hiſtorical part, does not admit of ſuch preciſion. It muſt, in that reſpect, as in all others, be governed by the importance and magnitude of its objects. While the ſtate of public affairs continues to render it the principal and moſt intereſting part of our work, we ſhall run no race againſt time in its execution. We owe too much to the Public, to make them ſo bad a return for their favour; we owe too much to ourſelves, to forfeit the high reputation in which the work now ſtands abroad as

well

well as at home. We truſt that the readers of our preſent Hiſtory, will equally acquit us of remiſſneſs in the execution, and of an undue preſumption on their favour in the delay.

THE

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1780.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of the affairs of Europe in the year 1779. *State of the belligerant powers in Germany. Event of the late campaign, induces a disposition favourable to the pacific views of the Empress-Queen; which are farther seconded by the mediation of Russia and France. A suspension of arms published, and the Congress for negociating a peace assembles at Teschen. Treaty of peace concluded. Differences between Russia and the Porte, threaten a new war. Nogociation conducted, and a new convention concluded, under the mediation of the French minister. Naval preparations by Spain. Opens the war with the siege of Gibraltar. France. Consequences of the appointment of M. Necker to the government of the French finances. Successful expedition to the coast of Africa. Ineffectual attempt upon the Island of Jersey. Threat of an invasion, and great preparations apparently for that purpose. French fleet sails from Brest, and proceeds to the coasts of Spain. Combined fleets of France and Spain enter the British channel, and appear in great force before Plymouth. Enemy quit the channel, return again; at length finally quit the British coasts, and proceed to Brest.*

THE little effect produced by the contention of the greatest leaders, and of the greatest armies in the world, during the campaign of 1778, in Bohemia, if not entirely sufficient to produce an actual desire of peace on both sides, could not, however, fail to induce a kind of languor and wearisomeness, and in some

conſiderable degree to wear away that quick reliſh, and keen appetite for war, which great and untried force and talents, acting under the ſanguine hopes of yet unfoiled ambition, are ſo eminently calculated to excite.

We have heretofore ſhewn, that this was not ſo much a war of choice, as of prudence, foreſight, and political neceſſity, on the ſide of the King of Pruſſia. He made no claims; he had no immediate object of enlarging his dominions in view; nor if he had, was the preſent ſtate of public affairs in any degree favourable to ſuch a deſign. Neither his time of life, his great experience in war, nor the full knowledge he had of the power and ability of his adverſary, were at all calculated to excite a ſpirit of enterprize. On the contrary, the deſire of ſettling, improving, and conſolidating with his antient people and dominions, the new ſubjects and acquiſitions he had gained on the ſide of Poland, together with that ſtill ſtronger wiſh, of tranſmitting a peaceable poſſeſſion, and undiminiſhed force to his ſucceſſor, were objects which tended powerfully to diſpoſe him to the preſervation, ſo far as it could be properly and wiſely done, of the public tranquility.

But no motives, however cogent, could juſtify to him, in a political view, the admitting of any conſiderable addition of ſtrength and dominion, to the power of the houſe of Auſtria; more eſpecially, when this addition was to eſtabliſh a precedent of innovation and diſmemberment, which might in time be equally extended to all the other ſtates that compoſe the Germanic body. Upon the whole it would almoſt ſeem, as if fortune, who had ſo often wonderfully befriended that hero, and whoſe apparent deſertions of him in caſes of great danger, (which were no leſs conſpicuous than her favours) always tended ultimately to the increaſe of his fame, was now anxious to affix a new ſtamp to the renown of her old favourite; and of cloſing his great military actions by a war, in which he was to appear, rather as the generous protector of the rights and liberties of the Germanic body at large, than as acting at all under the influence of any partial policy.

On the other ſide, the paſt campaign had afforded a full conviction to the emperor, (a prince prepared for war beyond almoſt any other, by the fine ſtate of his armies, and the reſources of his own indefatigable and reſolute ſpirit) of the immenſe difficulty, of making any ſucceſsful impreſſion upon ſuch an adverſary as the King of Pruſſia. With ſo vaſt a force, and aſſiſted by ſuch conſummate commanders, he could only act upon the defenſive; and could not prevent his own dominions from being rendered the theatre, and being conſequently ſubjected to all the calamities of war. It was true indeed, and no ſmall matter of boaſt in ſuch a conteſt, that he had ſuffered neither defeat nor diſgrace; that the enemy had been obliged to abandon Bohemia, notwithſtanding their utmoſt endeavours to eſtabliſh a ſecure footing there during the winter; and likewiſe, that the loſſes on both ſides were

pretty

pretty equally balanced. But then it was obvious, that the ſeaſon was the immediate cauſe which compelled the enemy to retreat from Bohemia; however, the good diſpoſitions made by the emperor, which equally baffled all the efforts made by the King of Pruſſia, for gaining his favourite point of a general action, and defeated his views of obtaining any ſure hold in the country, tended more remotely to that effect. Such a view of the circumſtances of the campaign, could afford no great encouragement to an obſtinate perſeverance in the conteſt. A defenſive war, however ably conducted, or however abounding with negative ſucceſs, could by no means, whether in point of honour or effect, anſwer the purpoſes for which it was undertaken; and the proſpects of changing its nature were confined indeed.

However numerous or cogent the cauſes and motives we have aſſigned, or others of a ſimilar nature, might have been on either ſide, for the diſcontinuance of an unprofitable war, they would have been found unable to ſubdue the ſtrong paſſions by which they were oppoſed, if another, of greater power than the whole taken together, had not, happily for Germany, and perhaps for no ſmall part of the reſt of Europe, ſupervened in reſtoring the public tranquility. The late illuſtrious Maria Thereſa, along with her other eminent virtues and great qualities, poſſeſſed at all times, however counteracted by the operation of a high and powerful ambition, a mind ſtrongly impreſſed with an aweful ſenſe of religion. This diſpoſition, which naturally increaſed with years, was farther ſtrengthened by the melancholy ariſing from the early loſs of a huſband whom ſhe tenderly loved; and was latterly finally confirmed by the happy ſettlement of her numerous offspring, which freeing the mind from care and ſolicitude, tended equally to wean it from the affairs of the world.

The event of the late ſtruggle with the King of Pruſſia, notwithſtanding the immenſe aſſiſtance ſhe then received, and which ſhe could not hope now to receive, muſt have added great force to theſe motives. She could not wiſh to end her life in the midſt of ſuch a war. It was, accordingly, much againſt the inclination of that great princeſs that the preſent war was undertaken; and ſhe is ſaid to have ſubmitted with the greateſt reluctance to the opinion of her council, and the deſire of the emperor on that point. For, although that prince could only derive his means of action through the power of his mother; yet it would have been a matter of exceeding difficulty to her, directly to thwart the opinion and inclinations of a ſon, who was in the higheſt degree deſervedly dear to her, who was to be her ſole and immediate ſucceſſor, and who ſcarcely ſtood higher in her affection than in her eſteem. It was probably this reluctance to the war, on the ſide of the Empreſs-Queen, which produced thoſe various appearances, of fluctuation in the councils, or of irreſolution and indeciſion in the conduct of the court of Vienna, of

which we have formerly taken notice.

The ineffectiveneſs of the campaign, the equal fortune of the war, and the ceſſation of action occaſioned by the winter, ſerved, all together, to produce a ſtate of temper and diſpoſition, which was far more favourable to the pacific views and wiſhes of the empreſs, than that which had hitherto prevailed. She perceived, and ſeized the opportunity; and immediately applying her powerful influence to remove the obſtacles which ſtood in the way of an accommodation on the one ſide, had ſoon the ſatisfaction of diſcovering that her views were well ſeconded, by the temperate diſpoſition which prevailed on the other.

It is however to be obſerved, that the mediation of the court of Verſailles, and the powerful interpoſition of the court of Peterſburg, contributed eſſentially to further the work of peace. France was bound by the treaty of 1756, to aſſiſt the court of Vienna with a conſiderable body of forces, in caſe of a war in Germany, and ſhe had been called upon early in the preſent conteſt to fulfil that engagement. The court of Verſailles was likewiſe diſpoſed to wiſh well to the houſe of Auſtria from private motives; as well as to cultivate and cement the new friendſhip and alliance from public. But France being likewiſe a guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, her old engagements militated totally with her new in the preſent inſtance; ſhe being thereby bound to reſiſt all ſuch infractions and invaſions of the rights of the Germanic body, as thoſe which ſhe was now called upon by the court of Vienna to ſupport. She muſt therefore, in any ſituation, in which ſhe was not diſpoſed to become an abſolute party in the conteſt, wiſh to be relieved from this dilemma. But her war with England, and her views with reſpect to America, operated more forcibly upon her conduct on this occaſion, than any German treaties or connections. In the contemplation and purſuit of theſe grand and capital objects, the neceſſity of keeping her force whole, her attention undivided, and of reſtoring peace upon the continent, were all equally obvious, and were all mutually dependent. No wiſdom could foreſee, or venture to preſcribe, what unexpected connections and alliances might ſpring up, and what new colliſions of intereſts might take place, under a further progreſs of the war. France could not recollect the ruin brought upon her in the late war, without ſhuddering at the thoughts of Germany. It is not then to be wondered, that ſhe was equally ſincere and zealous in her endeavours to reſtore tranquility on the continent.

The court of Peterſburg had from the beginning ſhewn and expreſſed the ſtrongeſt diſapprobation of the conduct, and paid no favourable attention to the claims, of that of Vienna; and had early avowed a full intention of effectually ſupporting the rights of the Germanic body; at the ſame time that preparations were actually made, for the march of a large body of Ruſſian troops. Her powerful interpoſition, through the medium of her miniſter Prince Repnin, had no ſmall effect in facili-

facilitating the negociations for peace.

Under such circumstances, and the offices of such mediators, little doubt was to be entertained of the event. Whether it proceeded from a view of giving weight to their claims in the expected treaty, or from any jealousy in point of arms or honour, which might have lain behind from the preceding campaign, however it was, the Austrians attacked with extraordinary vigour, and with no small degree of success, several of the Prussian posts on the side of Silesia and the county of Glatz, soon after the commencement of the year. The livelinesss of these insults did not induce the king to any eagerness of retaliation. Points of honour of that nature weighed but little with him. He foresaw that an accommodation would take place; and he knew that no advantages which could now be gained would tell in the account upon that settlement; whilst a number of brave men would be idly lost without object or equivalent. An armistice on all sides was, however, published, before the season could have admitted the doing of any thing essential, if such had even been the intention.

March 10th. 1779.

The Congress which was to preserve Germany, from the most alarming and dangerous war to which it could have been exposed, was held at Teschen in Austrian Silesia; a town and district, which the emperor had generously consented to constitute into a Duchy, under the title of Saxe-Teschen, in favour of Prince Albert of Saxony, upon his marriage with an Arch-Duchess in 1765. At that place, the garrison being previously withdrawn, the Imperial and Prussian ministers, with those of all the princes engaged or interested in the present contest, as well as of the two mediating powers, were assembled, immediately after the publication of the armistice. And so happy were the dispositions which now prevailed among the contending parties, and so efficacious the endeavours of the mediators, that the peace was finally concluded in two months.

May 13th.

By this treaty, the late convention between the court of Vienna and the Elector Palatine was totally annulled; and the former restored all the places and districts which had been seized in Bavaria, excepting only the territory appertaining to the regency of Burghausen, which was ceded to the house of Austria, as an equivalent or indemnification for her claims and pretensions. That court likewise gave up to the Elector Palatine, all the Fiefs which had been possessed by the late Elector of Bavaria; and agreed also to pay to the court of Saxony, as an indemnification for the allodial estates, and other claims on that side, the sum of six millions of florins; (amounting to something near 600,000 pounds sterling) to be paid in the course of twelve years, without interest, by stipulated half-yearly payments. Some cessions were likewise made by the elector, in favour of the house of Saxony; and some equivalent satisfaction promised by the emperor to the Duke of Deux Ponts, on his succession to the double electorate. All former treaties between the court of

Vienna and the King of Prussia were renewed and confirmed; and the right of the king to succeed to the margraviates in the remote younger branches of his own family, upon the failure of issue in the immediate possessors, (a right which had been only called in question through the vexation of the late contest) was now fully acknowledged and established. The ducal house of Mecklenburgh was put off without any other advantage in lieu of its claims, than the promise of some new privilege with respect to appeals.

Upon the whole, few treaties of peace have been conducted upon more equitable principles, than those which seem to have prevailed in the present. The territory acquired by the house of Austria is not inconsiderable; being about 70 English miles in length, and something from about half to a third of that extent in breadth. This acquisition lies between the Danube, the river Inn, the Saltza, and the borders of Austria; including the towns of Scharding, Ried, Altheim, Braunau, Burghausen, Fryburg, and some others; forming, all together, a strong barrier, and a fixed unequivocal boundary, the limits of which are decisively marked out by those great rivers, between that archduchy, and the present dominions of Bavaria. This accession of territory, the court of Vienna seems, however, to have purchased at something about a fair price; partly to be paid in money, and partly by a renunciation of old, vexatious, and otherwise inextinguishable claims, which however, in general, unproductive, would for ever have kept open a source of litigation, trouble, mischief, and war. To which may be added, that the establishment of a fixed and permanent barrier and boundary between the two states, seems to be a measure fraught with greater advantage to the Elector of Bavaria, as the weaker prince, than to the Arch-Duke of Austria, who is so abundantly his superior in strength. It may likewise be farther observed, that several parts of the ceded territory, were, what may be called, debateable land; the titles being disputed, opposite claims laid, and they having been heretofore, at different times, objects of great contest.

Such was the early and happy termination of the German war. A war of the greatest expectation; not more from the great power, than from the great abilities of the principal parties.

Many circumstances attending the late war and peace between Russia and the Porte, could not fail to sow the seeds of future discontent, jealousy, ill-will, and litigation, between the parties. Extraordinary success and triumph on the one side, with an equal degree of loss and disgrace on the other, are little calculated to promote any intercourse of friendship, or cordiality of sentiment, among men; nor will a recollection of the hard necessity under which a peace was subscribed, serve at all to render palateable the bitterness of its conditions. On the other hand, the victors are sure to consider the vanquished as owing them too much. They are apt to think, that they have always a right to claim those advantages, which they omitted to secure

cure in the moment of their fortune; and which they look upon as rights existing though neglected, as they could not at that time have been refused if demanded.

The navigation of the Black Sea, the opening the gates of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, so as to admit a free intercourse from the White Sea to the Black, the affairs of the Crimea, with those of the Greek dependent provinces of Moldavia and Walachia, afforded the grounds of those disputes between the two empires, which were now risen to such a height, as seemed to render a new war inevitable.

With respect to the first of these articles, we have formerly had occasion to observe, that nothing less than the most urgent necessity, under the pressure of immediate and imminent danger, could have induced the Porte to admit Russia to the navigation of the Black Sea. It might be compared in private life, but under circumstances of infinitely greater danger and loss, to a surrender of the benefits, navigation and fisheries of a fine lake, lying in the center of an estate, into the hands of a powerful and litigious neighbour, who was watching only for means and opportunities to grasp at every part of the whole manor. It is not then to be doubted, that the Porte used every possible evasion to avoid a compliance with, and threw every obstacle in the way which could tend to render ineffective, that article of the late treaty. It seems however, that the Russians had notwithstanding, with wonderful spirit and industry, very speedily advanced large capitals, and opened a considerable commerce on that sea. It may then be fairly presumed, without an absolute possession of facts, that commercial avidity was continually increased, in proportion to the number, magnitude, novelty, and value, of the objects which were gradually opened to its view; and that thus, new, and perhaps unreasonable claims, were as frequently started on the one side, as an indispositon to comply with the fair and literal terms of the treaty, was prevalent on the other.

The second ground of dispute, seemed still more difficult and delicate. The Porte had unwillingly consented by the late treaty, to admit or acknowledge the independence of the Crimea. That independence must be considered only as nominal. Between such powers as Turkey and Russia, such a power as the Khân of the Crim Tartars, cannot be really independent. The Turks were in hopes, as that prince and his subjects are Mahometans, to weaken the force of that article, by their natural inclination to the Porte. Otherwise they would have considered their concession in a still worse light. To have thrown that whole country, situated as it is, with its own and the adjoining nations of Tartars, together with the reigning family, the immediate descendants of Tamerlane, and in direct succession to the Ottoman throne, entirely into the hands of Russia, were circumstances exceedingly grievous to a power, which used to give and not to receive the law. Yet this was already the disagreeable and alarming consequence of that concession. For Russia, by a judicious but unsparing distribution of pre-

ſents amongſt the Tartars, and by artfully fomenting ſome diviſions which had originated within themſelves, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, had been able (as we have formerly ſhewn) to defeat and depoſe the reigning khân, and to place a creature of her own, although a prince of the royal blood, in poſſeſſion of the nominal ſovereignty; whilſt the government was now in effect more dependent upon Ruſſia, than it had even formerly been upon the Porte; the dependance being doubly ſecured, as well by a predominant faction among the people, as by the diſpoſition or attachment of the prince. By theſe, and by other means, the Crimea, with Little Tartary, and the Budziac, were become ſcarcely any thing leſs than provinces to Ruſſia; or at leaſt, they were as dependent on that empire, as the nature of that ſingular people will admit of their being, while they retain any conſiderable degree of inherent ſtrength.

This conduct, and theſe circumſtances, which certainly militated, at leaſt, with the ſpirit of the late treaty, could not but give great umbrage to the Porte; and afforded, if not a clear juſtification, a tolerable ground of controverſy, with reſpect to any ſlackneſs or non-compliance on her ſide, in fulfilling its conditions. But they alſo afforded cauſe of the moſt ſerious concern and alarm. For that peninſula, ſurrounded as it is by the Black Sea, and the Palus Mœotis, and commanding the communication between both, would afford ſuch a claim of right to Ruſſia, with ſuch an intereſt in, and ſuch a ſtrength upon thoſe ſeas, as nothing could afterwards be capable of oppoſing.

The diſputes relative to the Greek nominal princes, but in effect governors, of Moldavia and Walachia, though not of a nature ſo immediately alarming and dangerous as the foregoing, yet were founded on claims, and on an interference, which tended ultimately to the ſame point; to the depreciation of the Ottoman power and government, the narrowing of its European dominion, and the finally throwing every thing on that ſide of the Danube into the hands of Ruſſia. The attachment which the Greek Chriſtians, who inhabit theſe provinces, had ſhewn to Ruſſia in the late war, had, along with other motives, induced her to obtain very conſiderable conceſſions in their favour at the concluſion of the peace. The effect of the partial advantages granted to theſe two provinces was ſoon apparent, by the emigration of Chriſtian inhabitants, from thoſe on the other ſide of the Danube which it naturally occaſioned; who, as well as the natives, looked up to another power, than that to which they avowed allegiance, for favour and protection. In order to ſecure their independence on the Porte, Ruſſia made a demand, that thoſe princes ſhould not be depoſed or puniſhed, (misfortunes to which they were particularly liable) on any pretence or account whatever.

In ſo unhappy a ſtate of weakneſs and diſorder was that vaſt and unweildy empire, that it might be a queſtion of doubt, whether to admire the ſpirit, or to condemn

demn the raſhneſs, which induced the apparent reſolution and vigour, with which ſhe prepared for war. The ill ſucceſs of the late war, had drawn out and exhibited in their utmoſt magnitude thoſe enormous diſorders, which had for ſo many years been acquiring growth, under a weak and wretched ſyſtem of government. The diſtant provinces were ſtill torn to pieces by faction and diſſention; and the officers of the ſtate, as well as the great men of the reſpective countries, were ſtill, in many inſtances, too powerful to be governed. To crown the calamity, the plague had in the preceding year made ſuch horrible ravages in Conſtantinople, as had not been before known in that capital, (to which it is ſo frequent a viſitor) ſince its firſt acquiſition by the Ottomans. It was computed that above 160,000 perſons periſhed by that dreadful diſorder, within the metropolis and its environs.

On the other hand, though Ruſſia was conſcious of the advantages acquired by the late treaty, ſhe was far from deſirous of war. That war, amidſt its great and ſplendid ſucceſſes, had diſcovered ſome ſymptoms of internal weakneſs. The rebellion of Pugatſcheff, was a fit which laid open ſome defect in the conſtitution. Beſides, Ruſſia probably could never hope, with the conſent of other powers, to obtain advantages equal to the victories ſhe might hereafter purchaſe as dearly as ſhe had done thoſe of the preceding war. By which, along with her laurels, ſhe brought the plague into a country exhauſted of men and treaſure. The empreſs was therefore very willing to receive any mediation, conſiſtent with her dignity, which in all events ſhe was reſolved not to ſacrifice. France had the addreſs to avail herſelf of this ſituation. The French miniſter was again the friendly mediator, and the ſucceſsful negociator in bringing about an accommodation. And his merits and ſervices were again honoured and rewarded, with ſimilar expreſſions of gratitude, and with ſimilar marks of favour from both ſides.

It was, in the firſt inſtance more eſpecially, a matter of no ſmall general aſtoniſhment, that Great Britain, which had been ſo long and ſo cloſely united, in the ſtricteſt bands of friendſhip, and apparent political communion of views and intereſts, with Ruſſia, and which had even gone ſome extraordinary length in the late war in her favour, ſhould not have undertaken the friendly office of mediator; by which means ſhe would likewiſe have had an opportunity of wearing off that, not unfounded, jealouſy, which the Porte could not but entertain of her late conduct. On the other hand, a ſtrong jealouſy had for ſeveral years ſubſiſted between France and Ruſſia; and their political intereſts and regards ſo much claſhed with reſpect to that war, that all the world knew, it was in a good meaſure the apprehenſion of England, which prevented the houſe of Bourbon from taking a decided part againſt the latter, upon her ſending a fleet to the Mediterranean.

Whether it was that we were too feeble in the Mediterranean to appear with any luſtre in ſuch a negociation,

negociation, the effect seemed to be, that France, for some time at least, seemed to attain the ascendant at St. Petersburgh, and the credit of Great Britain in that court proportionably to decline.

March 21st. We are not entirely masters of the conditions of the new convention which was now signed. Concessions were made on both sides; and matters of claim, interference, and litigation, amicably adjusted. Some concessions were made by the Porte with respect to commerce, and some new regulations made in favour of its Christian subjects. On the other hand, Russia relaxed in some matters with respect to the Crimea, and the provinces of Moldavia and Walachia, and obtained satisfaction in others. The new Khân of the Tartars was acknowledged by the Porte, and the apparent independency of the Crimea confirmed on both sides. The Empress of Russia had on opportunity of displaying her usual magnificence, by the splendid presents which she made to the French and Turkish ministers, as well as to M. de Stachief, her own resident at Constantinople; who received the valuable, but in other countries unheard of gift, of a thousand peasants; a kind of gift, which also includes the land which they cultivate and inhabit. Upon the whole, this convention seems to have afforded considerable satisfaction to both parties; nor has any matter of complaint or dispute since arisen on either side. By this arrangement, the Porte has had time to breathe, and to settle its affairs. With respect to Russia, it has afforded her leisure to direct her attention to her constant object; that of displaying her authority, by becoming an arbiter in the public affairs of Europe; although, perhaps, the means of her becoming the greatest monarchy in the universe, (if she be not already such) do not lie on the side of Europe.

With regard to other powers, Spain, in conformity to the new, and, to us, dangerous system, adopted by the house of Bourbon, directed her whole attention to her navy; whilst her land force continued in its usual form. As her rescript to the court of London, on the 16th of June, avowed the part she would take, so the siege of Gibraltar, which speedily followed, pointed out the first and immediate object of her designs.

France, under a new king, and who was not originally suspected of great designs, experienced a wonderful change in her circumstances. That prince very soon appeared to follow better maxims than those of his predecessors. His first step was to reconcile all differences between the crown and the body of the law. He drew from neglect and obscurity men without intrigue, who were rendered respectable to the public by a general opinion of their probity. Maurepas, was a person long laid aside; and now much advanced in years; but he preserved, in that great age, considerable vigour of mind. He is at present, without any office, the most prevalent in the French councils. St. Germain, whose conduct in the late war had entitled him to universal esteem, was in a like manner drawn from the bottom of his province, and placed in the office of secretary of state; in which, if he had lived, there is no doubt he would have done great

great ſervices. Mr. De Sartine, was not a man of rank; but he had the merit of following up, with extraordinary ſpirit and diligence, the plan of increaſing the marine, which had been adopted in the late reign; but more languidly purſued on account of the ill ſtate of the revenue. But the preſent king took a ſtill ſtronger ſtep in the regulation of that important object. Louis the XVI. had the magnanimity, to place Mr. Necker, a foreign gentleman, and a proteſtant, at the head of his finances. The ſucceſs and reward, were equal to the liberality and wiſdom of the meaſure. France recovered her public credit. The people of France, for the firſt time, had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing a war carried on by ſacrifices on the part of the king, and with an attention to the eaſe and relief of the people. This meaſure could not fail to encourage and promote their confidence in government; and muſt prove a ſource of ſtrength, which that great monarchy never poſſeſſed before. The virtues of a republican ſtate were profeſſed, and in ſome meaſure practiſed.

France opened the year by a ſucceſsful expedition to the coaſt of Africa. The ſquadron employed upon this ſervice was commanded by the Marquis de Vaudrevil, and a land force, much greater than was neceſſary, (but both taking Africa only in their way to reinforce D'Eſtaing in the Weſt Indies) was commanded by the Duke de Lauzun. As the garriſons in that quarter were totally incapable of making any reſiſtance, the Britiſh forts, ſettlements, factories, and property, at Senegal, in the river Gambia, and other parts of that coaſt, fell without trouble into the hands of the enemy, between the latter end of January, and that of February, 1779. The French upon that ſucceſs, abandoned the iſland of Goree, which they had recovered by the late peace; and tranſported the artillery and garriſon to ſtrengthen Senegal. Sir Edward Hughes ſoon afterwards, on his paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, ſeized and garriſoned the iſland of Goree; and as he had a body of troops on board the ſquadron, it was eagerly expected and hoped by the public at home, that he would have recovered thoſe ſettlements which we had ſo newly loſt. But as no attempt of that ſort was made, it muſt be concluded that officer's orders did not extend ſo far. It was perhaps an object not ſo important as to riſque upon it the much greater objects which were then in view.

As the ſummer advanced it was thought neceſſary in France to attempt ſomething, which might ſhew an early alacrity in ſome ſort correſpondent to their great military preparations. The firſt was an attempt on the iſle of Jerſey, part of the ancient dutchy of Normandy. This, with Guernſey and the leſſer iſlands, being the ſole remains of our vaſt poſſeſſions on the continent of Europe.

The deſign was laid by a prince, or count of Naſſau; whoſe anceſtor, if we are not miſinformed, had rendered a very diſputed claim, of being in ſome manner deſcended from a defunct branch of that illuſtrious family, the means of much furthering his fortunes in France. The force employed upon this ſervice has been eſtimated, by different accounts, from three,

to

to five or six thousand men. They appeared in sight of the island, in about fifty flat-bottomed boats, under the convoy of five frigates and some armed cutters, early in the morning, and attempted a debarkation in St. Ouen's Bay. But they were so warmly and vigorously received, by the 78th regiment, and by the militia of the island, that after a faint, spiritless, and ill supported attempt, they relinquished the enterprize, with very little loss on either side.

May 1st, 1779.

Trifling and ineffective as this diversion was, it had the fortune of being productive of some consequences, with respect to the American war. For it happened that Admiral Arbuthnot, with a squadron of men of war, and a prodigious convoy, amounting to about four hundred merchantmen and transports, was then on the outset of his voyage to New York. He happened to fall in with the vessel which was sent express from Jersey to England, with the first account of the attack upon, and the apparent imminent danger of the island. That commander had spirit and resolution enough, rather to hazard any personal consequence that might attend his venturing upon a breach of orders, than to suffer the loss of so valuable an island, whilst he commanded a force in the channel. He accordingly ordered the convoy to wait for him at Torbay, and proceeded himself with the squadron, to the relief of Jersey. Although the delay immediately occasioned by this measure, was in the first instance but trifling, yet through the succeeding casualties of wind and weather, the fleet was not able o get clear of the land of England, until the beginning of the ensuing month, and did not arrive at New York till near the end of August. As that fleet conveyed the reinforcements, camp equipage, stores, and other necessaries, which were to enable Sir Henry Clinton to open the campaign with any vigour, the consequences of so late an arrival are sufficiently obvious.

Notwithstanding the repulse and disappointment which attended the late attempt upon Jersey, the design did not, however, seem to be relinquished. The French troops were landed and retained for several days on the small islands which lie between it and the continent; while the armed vessels paraded on the opposite coasts of Normandy. The spirit, activity, and gallantry of Sir James Wallace, in the Experiment of 50 guns, being seconded by two frigates, and as many armed brigs, by which he was accompanied, put an end to this appearance of threat, and state of alarm. That officer having pursued several large frigates, with some smaller craft, into the bay of Concalle in Normandy, until they had run ashore under the cover of a battery, and his pilots not venturing to take any farther charge of his ship, he directly took that charge and risque upon himself, and boldly carried her up the bay, and layed her ashore abreast of the battery. In that situation he continued to engage, until he had silenced the guns of the battery, and compelled the French crews to abandon their ships; which being then boarded by the armed boats from the Experiment and Cabot brig, the La Danae, of 34 guns, and rated at

May 13th.

250

250 men, with two ſmall loaded prizes, were brought ſafely off; but the country people, with ſome troops and militia, now keeping up a conſtant fire, with cannon and howitzers, as well as ſmall arms from the ſhore, they were obliged to be contented with burning, or otherwiſe deſtroying, two other ſtout frigates, an armed cutter of 16 guns, with a number of ſmall craft.

The attempt upon Jerſey appeared, however, to be only a prelude, or intended as a preparatory exerciſe, to that grand invaſion of Great-Britain, Ireland, or both, which ſeemed at that time, and during the greater part of the ſummer, to be in the immediate contemplation of France. Whether that deſign was really adopted, was, with ſome, a matter of doubt; but it was certainly ſtrongly indicated by appearances; the northern provinces of France were every where in motion; as well on the coaſts, as in the interior country. Armies were marched down to the ſea coaſts of Normandy and Brittany; the ports in the bay and on the channel, which were the beſt calculated for the purpoſe, were crowded with ſhipping; and the king named the generals and principal officers, who were to command or to act in a grand intended expedition. The military power of England was not at that time fully called forth; and the defenceleſs ſtate of Ireland in the beginning of the year might well have given birth to ſuch a deſign.

Whatever the deſigns of the enemy were, Great Britain ſeemed to have one great object of policy with reſpect to the direction and diſpoſition of her naval force in Europe. This was to prevent the junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets, by blocking the former up in the port of Breſt, until the ſeaſon of enterprize was over.

Although this meaſure was undoubtedly in contemplation, yet, whether the naval preparation of Great Britain was not ſo forward as was imagined and given out; or from whatever cauſe, the ſea was left open; and the French fleet at Breſt was permitted to join the Spaniſh at Cadiz. This neglect, or neceſſity, was the more felt, as it ſerved in its conſequences to govern all the enſuing naval events of the campaign; and to give a new caſt and colour to the ſtate of public affairs between the houſe of Bourbon and Great Britain. The murmur and diſſatisfaction were likewiſe much increaſed, from a general report and opinion, not only that the French fleet was more backward in point of preparation and condition than the Britiſh, but that the latter had been dilatory in its motions after it had ſailed, as well as ſlack in its endeavours to prepare for ſailing. However theſe charges or opinions might have been founded, they could not but derive great ſtrength from the ſubſequent inſult on our coaſts, which appeared to be the direct conſequence of that junction of the enemies united force.

The French fleet, conſiſting of about 28 ſail of the line, under the command of M. D'Orvilliers, ſailed from Breſt early in the month of June, and 4th. by directing its courſe to the ſouthward, indicated its deſtination to the coaſt of Spain. It has been ſince ſaid, that it was very defective

tive in point of preparation; but that it hurried to ſea in that condition, from an apprehenſion of its being intercepted by the Britiſh fleet under Sir Charles Hardy, which was then daily expected in the Bay of Biſcay. It ſpent ſome conſiderable time on the Spaniſh coaſts; and it was reported, that ſome miſunderſtanding, or difference, between ſome of the commanders on both ſides, prevented an enterprize of the utmoſt importance from taking place. It would ſeem that this muſt allude to an attack upon Gibraltar, a deſign which does not, however, ſeem very conſiſtent with their ſubſequent conduct. It does not ſeem improbable that the delay proceeded from the defect of preparation on both ſides.

However that may be, the whole force being at length joined, the combined fleets made a tremendous appearance; amounting to between ſixty and ſeventy line of battle ſhips, beſides a cloud of frigates, fireſhips, and all thoſe ſmaller kinds and denominations of veſſels which in any manner appertain to war. This formidable force, having turned its face to the northward, continued to direct its courſe to the coaſts of Great Britain.

It was rather ſingular, that the Britiſh home fleet, under Sir Charles Hardy, amounting to about 35, or from thence to 38 ſhips of the line, was then cruizing in ſome part of the bay, or ſomewhere near the chops of the channel, and was paſſed by this great armament, which covered ſo great an extent of ocean, without their having any knowledge of each other.

The enemy entered the Britiſh channel about the middle of Auguſt, and paraded two or three days before Plymouth, to the great alarm of the people, but without making any attempt on the place. The Ardent man of war, of 64 guns, which was on her way from Portſmouth to join Sir Charles Hardy, miſtaking them from the Britiſh fleet, had, however, the misfortune of being taken in ſight of Plymouth. A ſtrong eaſterly wind, which continued for ſeveral days, ſeems to have driven them out of the channel. They however pretended, that they went in ſearch of the Britiſh fleet; and they continued to range about the Land's End, the Scilly Iſlands, and the chops of the channel, until the end of the month. On the laſt of Auguſt, the wind being in his favour, Sir Charles Hardy gained the entrance of the channel, in ſight of the combined fleets, without their being able to prevent him. The great object of that commander, was to draw them up to the narrow part of the channel, where, if he ſhould be obliged to an engagement, he could engage upon leſs diſadvantageous terms; and where, either a defeat, or certain changes of the wind, might have been productive of the moſt ruinous conſequences to the enemy.

The enemy purſued him as high up as Plymouth; but being ſenſible of the danger, particularly at that ſeaſon of the year, they did not adventure much farther. And as the combined fleets were now become ſickly in the moſt extreme

extreme degree, ſo as almoſt wholly to diſable ſome of the ſhips; that their ſhips were otherwiſe much out of condition; and the equinox faſt approaching; their commanders thought it neceſſary, pretty early in September, totally to abandon the Britiſh coaſts, and repair to Breſt for the aſſiſtances which they wanted.

Thus ended the expectations of the enemy, and the apprehenſions of Great Britain. Never had perhaps ſo great a naval force been aſſembled on the ſeas. Never any by which leſs was done, or, except by ſickneſs, leſs ſuffered.

Nothing could have been more fortunate in theſe circumſtances, than the arrival in England, a few days before the appearance of the enemy, of a great Jamaica fleet, amounting to about 200 ſhips; and that eight homeward bound Eaſt Indiamen, having timely notice of the danger, had thereby an opportunity of putting into Limerick in Ireland.

CHAP. II.

State of public affairs previous to the meeting of parliament, Vaſt combination of power againſt Great Britain. Proclamations; for reprizals on Spain; and for defenſive meaſures in caſe of an invaſion. Various manifeſtos, and public pieces, iſſued by the belligerant powers. Some obſervations on the charges exhibited by Spain. Oſtenſible cauſes, and real motives for war, on the ſide of the Houſe of Bourbon. Ireland. Cauſes which led to the preſent ſtate of affairs in that kingdom. Commercial, and non-conſumption agreements. French invaſion threatened. Military aſſociations. People become ſtrongly armed. Exemplary condnct of the aſſociators. Prudent meaſures of government in that country. General demand of a free and unlimited commerce. Diſcontents in Scotland, under an apprehenſion of a relaxation of the popery laws. Outrages in Edinburgh and Glaſgow. Subſcriptions for raiſing troops, and other public purpoſes. Eaſt India company grant bounties for raiſing 6000 ſeamen, and undertake to build three ſhips of the line, as an augmentation to the royal navy. State of parties. Changes in adminiſtration. Meeting of the Iriſh parliament.

THE receſs of parliament, in the year 1779, opened a period of great danger, and preſented a new and unuſual face of public affairs, with reſpect to this country. Our ſituation in the preceding year had been deemed ſufficiently alarming and perilous. We had, however, the fortune to ſuſtain our ancient naval reputation; to maintain our ſovereignty perfect in the European ſeas; to afford the fulleſt protection to our own commerce, whilſt we nearly ruined that of the enemy, and to ſuffer no diſgrace any where. It is true, that abroad, we loſt the valuable iſland of Dominica; but if this was not compenſated for in point of commercial value by the reduction of St. Lucia, it was amply

ply so with regard to the advantage of a naval station, and in point of honour, by the double defeat both by sea and land, which, with forces so greatly unequal, D'Estaing received from the gallantry and conduct of Admiral Barrington and General Meadows. At the same time, the advantages obtained in the East Indies were of the first importance; and the reduction of Georgia, opened the way for goading and wounding the Americans in their most tender and sensible part, by that war which has been ever since carried on in the southern colonies.

In this year, the appearance of things was by no means so favourable. The flags of our enemies, were now for the first time, or at least after a very long interval, seen flying triumphant in our seas, and their fleets braving the British shores with impunity. The mighty accession of the whole weight of the Spanish monarchy, to that dangerous confederacy which was already formed against us, could not but deeply sink a scale, which, without that accession, was apparently to a level with our own. Such a combination of real power, and of actual effective force, has seldom been known in Europe upon any occasion, much less against any single state; excepting, perhaps, only that, which was lately united, but without any application of strength, in the partition of Poland. The great and formidable confederacy against the king of Prussia in the late war, will not hold in this comparison. For besides that he was ably supported by a most potent ally, various impediments arose in the way, which prevented the accumulation, and the actual exertion of several of the parts, of that vast force which was destined to his destruction. The operations of one of the most formidable of his enemies, were greatly impeded by distance, and still more by internal circumstances. A second, not less dangerous, was, excepting a very short period, taken wholly off his hands by Great Britain. A third, was deprived of power by surprize; and a fourth, was ineffective by nature. Similar exceptions might be found with respect to the grand alliance formed against Lewis the XIV, at the opening of the present century; and it should be remembered that Spain, though it was, in some respects, rather a burthen, than an accession of force to that monarch, yet was more conveniently situated for him than for his enemies; and that the treasures and commerce of the Indies were in a great measure in his hands during the war.

It was not even against a state, single, but whole, that the present mighty combination of power was directed. It was against a state, already weakened by a ruinous civil war, and now disparted by defection; whilst the severed parts operated against it in the duplicate ratio, of a privation of native strength, and a communication of actual force to the combination.

The resistance of Great Britain to that mighty combination, filled all those parts of Europe which looked on with astonishment and respect. At home, her resources seemed to grow with her neces-

neceſſities. In no part of the world was her naval or military glory obſcured, where it was thought proper to exert, either her naval or her military power. The combined force of the enemy was incumbered with thoſe difficulties which ever attend combined operations: and this was probably the cauſe of their loſs of ſeveral opportunities, the right uſe of which might have proved fatal to us. It was not, as in the war againſt Louis the fourteenth, in the power of the allies to bring on thoſe great battles which decide the fate of empires. The war was at ſea; and the ſea is a wide field. The naval mode of war is perhaps in its nature not ſo deciſive as that which is carried on by land. It was become every day more and more difficult to bring on a deciſion by land. The alarm of the preceding time had cauſed a great exertion in England, which, from a ſtate very much unprepared, became at length to be powerfully armed. It muſt be obſerved, however, that this ſtand, which was made ſometimes by bold puſhes, and ſometimes by prudent retreats, has had no tendency to bring the war to a termination. The heterogeneous parts of the alliance obtained time to coaleſce. The great ſubject of alarm to all thinking men was the regular progreſſive growth of the enemy's naval force; and that not only in number of ſhips, but alſo in naval ſkill. This had been too much overlooked in the beginning, from our confined attention to the American war. Againſt this no ſufficient precaution ſeems to have been taken. Whether afterwards it was in our power to recover our ſuperiority, it is not eaſy to determine.

Thus, we not only had to encounter the antient ſpirit and gallantry of our neighbour rivals, but likewiſe that artificial and dangerous courage, ariſing from a conſciouſneſs of profeſſional knowledge and ability; and our ſeamen could not but be amazed, to ſee ſome of their own peculiar characteriſtics, with reſpect to maritime ſkill and dexterity, as it were, ſuddenly transferred to the enemy.

The hoſtile manifeſto preſented by the Marquis D'Almodovar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, beſides the recal of Lord Grantham from Madrid, drew out from the court of London, on the third day after it was preſented, a proclamation for reprizals on Spain, along with another, containing regulations for the diſtribution of prizes taken during the continuance of hoſtilities with that country. Theſe were followed, ſoon after the riſing of parliament, by another proclamation, which announced to the public the receiving intelligence of an intended invaſion of this kingdom by our enemies; and which likewiſe iſſued orders to the proper officers, for carefully watching the coaſts; and, upon the firſt approach of the enemy, for the immediate removal of horſes, oxen, cattle, and proviſions, to places of ſecurity, and at a proper (but undefined) diſtance.

June 16th. 1779.

July 9th.

Theſe were followed, at due intervals, and according to all the eſtabliſhed rules of form, by

measured and regular discharges of the diplomatique artillery on all sides. France led the way, as well to bring Spain forward with a good grace upon the occasion, and to justify their respective and reciprocal conduct, as to convince the world, of the close connection of interests and inseparable union, which subsisted between the two crowns. She accordingly issued her manifesto, under the title of "an exposition of the motives and conduct of his most Christian majesty towards England." In this piece, the following are avowed to be the motives of the war with the united courts, viz. "*to* "*avenge their respective injuries,* "*and to put an end to that tyran-* "*nical empire, which England* "*has usurped, and pretends to* "*maintain upon the ocean.*"

Two royal Spanish Chedulas, as they are called, and a circular letter, which were all issued before the end of June, and the first signed in five days after the delivery of the rescript at London, may be considered in part as domestic papers; for although they include, in effect, a declaration of war, they likewise hold out a justification of the king to his subjects for his having recourse to that extremity; along with regulations to be observed by his officers, in respect to the persons and property of the English within the kingdom, and an interdiction of all commerce and connection between the two nations.—In the circular letter, the three following points are particularly insisted on, and seem, although without any direct specification, to be intended for the instruction of the Spanish ministers at foreign courts; viz. "first, that whilst the court "of London sought to amuse "that of Spain, in seeking de- "lays, and in finally refusing "to admit the honourable and "equitable proposals which his "majesty made, in quality of me- "diator, to establish peace be- "tween France, England, and "the American provinces, the "British cabinet offered, clan- "destinely, by means of secret "emissaries, conditions of like "purpose with the propositions "of his majesty."—"That these "offers and conditions were not "to strange or indifferent per- "sons, but directly and imme- "diately to the minister of the "American provinces residing at "Paris." And, "that the Bri- "tish minister hath omitted no- "thing to procure, by many "other methods, new enemies to "his majesty."

All this might be true. The British ministers might see reason for declining the mediation of Spain, and applying directly to the American agents. This might have been a proceeding faulty with regard to dignity or to wise policy; (though that is by no means clear) but furnishes a very bad reason for the court of Spain to declare war against that of Great Britain.

These lesser pieces were not long after followed by a state paper of considerable length, published at Madrid, in the nature of a manifesto, declaring the motives which had induced his Catholic majesty to withdraw his ambassador, and to act hostilely against England. This piece abounds with the same sort of loose random charges, exceedingly deficient in point of specification; but with

an unuſual preciſion, in giving the ſum of ſuppoſed injuries or grievances, in round and definite numbers, which ſo much diſtinguiſhed that preſented by the Marquis D'Almodovar. As a juſtification of the charge of *one hundred* injuries laid in that piece, and a proof of the cautious dread of offending the truth, which prevailed in the making of that ſtatement, (which is likewiſe particularly noticed) eleven charges are laid here, (as the lawyers expreſs it) in one count, twelve in another, and eighty-ſix in a third. We are at the ſame time aſſured, that they have abſtained from leſſer and more diſtant matters of complaint, as being too multitudinous for ſpecification.

Theſe charges may be arranged under the five following heads; violations of territorial rights; inſults, or injuries, to the Spaniſh flag, navy, or commerce; injuſtice of the Engliſh admiralty courts, particularly, or entirely, in the Weſt Indies; numberleſs wrongs, of various kinds, in the Bay of Honduras; and perſonal contempt, inſult, and attempt at injury, to the Spaniſh monarch, during the late negociations for peace, in which he aſſumed the character of mediator.

With reſpect to the firſt of theſe heads, conſidering it diſtinctly from what related to the Bay of Honduras, the only charge ſpecified, is directed to the redreſs of a notorious act of violence committed by the Spaniards themſelves, who in open defiance of the Britiſh flag, had unwarrantably ſeized, and were beginning to plunder, beſides exceeding ill uſage to the captain and crew, a ſmall veſſel in the Bay of Gibraltar, which happened to be becalmed, or croſſed by the current, as ſhe was going in with proviſions or neceſſaries for the uſe of that fortreſs. This outrage was committed in open day-light, in the ſight of the garriſon, and under the view of three Britiſh frigates of war, which were then riding in the harbour. As the want of wind did not admit the direct interference of the frigates, they diſpatched their long-boats for the redemption of the veſſel; the officers and crews of which bravely performed the ſervice, by cutting out and bringing her off, from under the fire of the Spaniſh batteries. As the ſucceſs in this buſineſs was attended by thoſe uſual circumſtances of triumph, which are in ſome degree peculiar to that intrepid order of men who were the actors in it, theſe now conſtituted no ſmall part of the preſent charge.

The charges claſſed under the ſecond and third heads, are of a nature which admit of no opinion, much leſs deciſion, without a due courſe of enquiry, including a full examination of the evidence on both ſides; and are matters which could afford no difficulty in the ſettling, if the parties were amicably diſpoſed. It may, however, be obſerved on the whole, that it was not very probable, if any ſuch violations did exiſt, that they were countenanced by the Britiſh miniſters, whoſe policy with regard to their favourite points in America, would naturally make them cautious of giving particular cauſe of quarrel to the houſe of Bourbon.

The charges relative to imputed

or real tranſactions, on the coaſts, or in the Bay of Honduras, would require inveſtigation and evidence like the former, in order to determine the queſtion of right in ſome inſtances, and to eſtabliſh the matter of fact in others. Some of them are evidently and groſsly miſtated; and others are founded upon claims, which are either controverted or abſolutely denied. The charge of exciting the Moſquito Indians to a revolt, ſeems not better ſupported. Some connection had been conſtantly kept up with theſe people, who having never acknowledged the Spaniſh dominion, have always been regarded as a free nation. Perhaps the affairs on that coaſt, ought to have been put on a more diſtinct footing in the treaty of Paris.

Under the laſt head of grievance or injury, the charge of duplicity made, as we have ſeen, on the court of London in the circular letter, is more fully enforced, and more particularly ſpecified. It aſſerts, that the Britiſh cabinet or miniſtry, (as they are indifferently called) at the ſame time that they rejected the propoſals made openly by Spain, as mediator, in the negociations for a peace, were privately inſinuating themſelves at the court of France, by the means of ſecret emiſſaries, and making very great offers to her to abandon the colonies, and to make a peace with England. And, that at the very ſame time they were treating, by means of another certain emiſſary, with Doctor Franklin, miniſter plenipotentiary from the American colonies at Paris, to whom they made various propoſals to diſunite them from France, and to accommodate matters with England; thus, not only holding out conditions ſimilar to thoſe which they had rejected and ſpurned at, when coming through his Catholic majeſty; but in fact, including offers much more favourable to the Americans. From theſe premiſes, the neceſſity of the Spaniſh king's giving full efficacy to his engagements with France, is endeavoured to be ſhewn, and concluſions to the following purport are likewiſe drawn; — that the Engliſh policy was principally directed to diſunite the two courts of Paris and Madrid, by means of the ſuggeſtions and offers ſeparately made to them; and alſo, to ſpread a net for the American ſtates, ſo that, being drawn in by flattering and magnificent promiſes to a ſeparate accommodation, or even to join their arms againſt the houſe of Bourbon, England might afterwards, when they were left alone without protectors, and without guarantees to the treaties which ſhe now concluded with them, again become the arbiter of their fate, and renew all their former oppreſſions.

Thus far we have ſeen the oſtenſible cauſes of the war on the ſide of Spain. The ſecret and prime motive, to which all theſe ſerved only to afford a colouring, was either ſo predominant that it could not be entirely concealed, or things were now ſuppoſed to be in ſuch ſituation as rendered concealment unneceſſary. The dangerous deſign of cruſhing the Engliſh naval power appears rather unexpectedly in the tail of this manifeſto; but is as fully to the purpoſe as in that of France. It declares,

declares, that, to attain the much wiſhed-for end of a ſecure peace, it is abſolutely neceſſary to curtail and deſtroy the arbitrary proceedings and maxims of the Engliſh maritime power; an object, in the attainment of which all other maritime powers, and even all nations in general, are become much intereſted.

Such are, in part, the dangerous combinations, and alarming deſigns, to which our fatal civil commotions have afforded too ſubſtantial a being.

The juſtifying memorial of the king of Great Britain, in anſwer to the French manifeſto, compleated the circle of thoſe formal appeals to mankind, which the etiquette of modern courts has eſtabliſhed, as a ſort of preludes to the opening of thoſe real ſcenes of war and deſtruction, which they are preparing to exhibit. They uſually trumpet forth the godlike attributes of juſtice, equity, mercy, and, above, all, that univerſal benevolence and tenderneſs to mankind, with which their reſpective courts or ſovereigns are ſuppoſed to be infinitely endued; and deplore, in the moſt pathetic ſtrain, thoſe very evils which they are bringing on, and thoſe miſeries which they are exerting their utmoſt powers to inflict. If they produce little, or no effect, it is, however, generally as much as is expected from them; and, however ſmall the ſhare of credit which they obtain with the public, it is, almoſt to a certainty, as much as they deſerve.

In this ſtate of danger from our foreign enemies, the empire ſeemed convulſed in almoſt all its parts, and on the point of being farther rent, by internal diſſatisfaction and diſcontent. In Ireland, affairs ſeemed approaching faſt to a criſis. It was not to be expected that a country dependent on Great Britain, and much limited in the uſe of its natural advantages, ſhould not be affected by the cauſes and conſequences of the American war. The ſagacious in that kingdom could not avoid perceiving in the preſent combination of circumſtances an advantage, which was to be now improved, or given up for ever.

A new ſtate of public and private diſtreſs, along with a ſtrong ſenſe of recent affronts, (as they were now conſidered) were the powerful agents, which, combined with ſeveral others of a ſubordinate degree, produced this revolution in the temper and diſpoſition of the people of Ireland. We have on former occaſions, and particularly in our laſt volume, taken notice of ſome of theſe matters. Habitual reſtraint ſeems in length of time to become ſo much a part of our nature, that it requires ſome new exertion, or an application to ſome tender or untried part, in order to excite any very uneaſy ſenſation, or at leaſt any particular degree of reſentment. The reſtrictions on the commerce and manufactures of Ireland, might have been paſſed over for ſome ages to come, with perhaps even leſs difficulty than they had been endured for near a century paſt, if a temporary diſtreſs had not quickened their apprehenſions.

Of all the evils of which they complained, the three years embargo on the only ſtaple export of that kingdom, ſeemed the moſt immediately miſchievous; and be-

ing considered, from the conceſſions to America, as particularly inſulting, was accordingly the moſt highly reſented by the people. One of the public writers of that country ſays—"That it was ſent as a curſe, and operated as a peſtilence." It was likewiſe, along with its pernicious tendency and effects, charged with being not only unconſtitutional, but directly illegal; and a gentleman of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons only failed in bringing the queſtion of legality to a final deciſion in a court of law, by the unexpected death of a cuſtom-houſe officer, who, from the ſeizure of a cargo fitted out on the purpoſe, was rendered defendant in the ſuit which the former inſtituted. But what aggravated every circumſtance relative to this buſineſs to the higheſt poſſible degree, was the national contempt, which it was ſuppoſed to convey. For it being conſidered merely as a government job, and calculated only (as they ſaid, without reſerve, both in parliament and out) to raiſe immenſe fortunes for a few Engliſh and Scotch adherents to the Britiſh miniſtry, nothing could exceed their indignation at the reflection, that the intereſts of the kingdom ſhould be ſacrificed, and a whole nation reduced to diſtreſs, only (as they aſſerted) to favour the rapacity of a ſet of contractors.

The public diſtreſſes, they ſaid, kept pace with the private, and proceeded from ſimilar cauſes. Whilſt the means of ſupply were cut off by unjuſt reſtriction, a corrupt and profuſe ſyſtem of government, which, they pretended, had been early adopted, and had generally prevailed, during the preſent reign, had continually enhanced every article of the public expenditure, until the whole was ſwelled to its preſent enormous and ruinous ſtate; far exceeding the ſtanding revenues of the kingdom, and ſtill much farther all paſt example of expence. Thus, inſtead of a full exchequer, as heretofore, which might happily afford encouragement to the cultivation and improvement of the country, and to arts and induſtry among the people, the great object and labour now of every ſeſſion of parliament, was the multiplication of taxes, and the making ſome farther accumulation to that national debt, which had been contracted under this ruinous ſyſtem.

Some other real or ſuppoſed matters of irritation, or cauſes of jealouſy, as they excited diſcontent, ſuſpicion, or apprehenſion, ſerved likewiſe to render the ſenſe of immediate grievance or diſtreſs ſtill more inſupportable in that country. The doctrines of taxation without repreſentation, and of unconditional ſubmiſſion, which were extended to America, were urged, not unplauſibly, as matter of apprehenſion and alarm to Ireland; and it was openly ſaid, that the chains forged for the colonies, would, in caſe of ſucceſs, afford a mode for the fetters which would ſoon after be made fitting to themſelves. Some ſtrong and very unprofitable language uſed in the Britiſh parliament, ſerved very much to increaſe this apprehenſion and jealouſy, in drawing parallels between the conſtitutions of Ireland and the colonies, and deriving arguments for the ſubmiſſion

miſſion of the latter, from the reſtraints to which the former had been ſubject.

Still, however, the hopes of ſome conſiderable enlargement of their commerce, which were repeatedly held out in parliament, operated wonderfully in ſoothing diſcontent, and in preſerving the temper, and fortifying the patience of the people. Thus all public buſineſs, for a conſiderable time, was ſtill carried on ſmoothly; and the compliance and obſequiouſneſs of their parliament, with reſpect to all the propoſals and meaſures of government, continued to be as conſpicuouſly diſplayed as ever.

But when the people of Ireland found that little effectual was done in conſequence of theſe declarations, and that little attended with much diſcontent and oppoſition from many of the trading parts of Great Britain, the hopes of redreſs became daily more faint, and the acquieſcence, and good temper founded upon them, were proportionally exhauſted. They obſerved that when a bill, which, although of no vaſt conſequence, would have afforded ſome alleviation to their diſtreſſes, had been nearly carried through in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, the miniſter himſelf, who they had been taught to conſider as a friend, came in perſon, armed at all points, to defeat this their only and laſt hope. The two bills which were afterwards paſſed in the ſame ſeſſion, for permitting the cultivation of tobacco, and encouraging that of hemp, in Ireland, inſtead of affording ſatisfaction, or promoting harmony, produced a directly contrary effect; being conſidered as nothing leſs than mockeries, and as inſults offered to their diſtreſs.

March 18th. 1779.

In this manner, things were repreſented and felt in Ireland; and when the attempt to keep parliament ſitting for the purpoſe of ſettling ſome plan for their ſatisfaction was defeated, the flame, which had for ſome time been ſmothered, broke out with great violence.

Aſſociations againſt the purchaſe and uſe of Britiſh manufactures, and for the encouragement, in every poſſible degree, of their own, had already taken place in ſome parts of that country; but ſeemed to be kept back, as a matter of conſideration, and a final reſort in caſe of extremity, by the greater part of the kingdom. All reſerve upon this ſubject was now at an end; aſſociations became univerſal; and the non-importation, and non-conſumption agreements, included the uſual penalties, or denunciations of vengeance, not only againſt violators, but againſt thoſe importers or ſellers of the prohibited commodities who had not acceded to the general compact. By this means they computed, that, even in the preſent weak ſtate of their manufactures, they would ſave a full million ſterling, which went annually to Great Britain. This great ſaving would, they ſaid, afford compenſation or redreſs for many of their grievances and diſtreſſes; and, what was no ſmall object of ſatisfaction with them, would be the means of pulling down and puniſhing the pride and ingratitude of Mancheſter and Glaſgow; towns which had been conſtant

and immenſe gainers in the Iriſh trade, and which had notwithſtanding, they complained, been the foremoſt, the loudeſt, and the moſt effective, in oppoſing and defeating every meaſure of redreſs or relief which had ever been propoſed in favour of that kingdom.

But the turn of affairs, and perhaps the future fortune of Ireland, were to depend on aſſociations of a more effective, if not more dangerous nature, than any which related merely to commercial or domeſtic regulation. To the accumulation of alarms which we have already ſeen, had been lately added, the imminent danger of foreign invaſion; a meaſure evidently intended, if not abſolutely avowed by France. This ſituation was the more alarming, as the military force ſupported by Ireland, had been continually drained of and weakened for the American war.

In order to provide for their defence, they ſaid it muſt be placed in thoſe who had the beſt intereſt in it. The ſtate was unable or unwilling to defend them effectually; and the mode of defence, which was unequal to their protection, might be ruinous to their liberties. Military aſſociations were renewed; and the ſpirit of theſe aſſociations ſoon became univerſal in that kingdom. They declared they were intended for the double purpoſe, of defending their ſafety againſt foreign enemies, and their rights againſt, what they called, domeſtic uſurpation. That they were loyal to the king, and affectionate to Great Britain. But that it was with ſuch loyalty and affection, as conſiſted with their own liberty and proſperity. In every part of the kingdom were ſeen to ariſe, as it were by magic, vaſt bodies of citizens, ſerving at their own charges, chooſing their own officers, trained to great expertneſs, and obeying with exemplary regularity and ſteadineſs. No nobleman, no gentleman, could ſhew his face in the country, who did nor fall in (and they did univerſally, and for the moſt part chearfully concur) with the prevalent diſpoſition of the inferior and middling ſorts of their countrymen. Men of great fortunes ſerved in the ranks. All this was done without any ſort of confuſion or diſorder whatever. On the contrary, the peace of the country and the obedience to the laws was never better provided for. Conſidering the temper lately prevalent in that country, and its ſcenes of inteſtine diviſion, this ought to be conſidered as one of the moſt extraordinary revolutions recorded in hiſtory.

The numbers, thus trained and armed have been variouſly repreſented. They were not probably much under thirty thouſand men in the very firſt year; and they have ſince been very conſiderably increaſed; ſome ſay to forty, others aſſert to ſixty thouſand men, admirably appointed.

Government ſaw this proceeding with aſtoniſhment. It was in vain to offer the leaſt reſiſtance to the deſign of a general armament; nor could it be wiſhed to reſtrain the ſpirit ſo far as regarded a foreign enemy. They wiſhed to regulate this force, and to bring it, if poſſible, to act under the authority of the crown; but, after a very few and feeble attempts, which were fruſtrated with ſcorn, it was thought more wiſe to concur in what

what could not be prevented. Government gave out a conſiderable ſupply of arms to the volunteers, although far ſhort of what was neceſſary; and thus this new eſtabliſhment, ſo favourable to the rights of citizens, and of an example ſo flattering to the ſufficiency of the people at large to provide in an orderly and effectual manner for their own defence, without any poſitive law, or the interpoſition of the ordinary magiſtrate, has been ſanctified and recognized by the ſtate itſelf.

After having provided for their defence againſt foreign enemies, the Iriſh began to look towards their rights, or claims of rights—and in general declared all authority in the Britiſh Parliament over them to be a groſs uſurpation. Among others, the Britiſh mutiny act was denied to be valid. This was carried to ſuch a length, that the troops were for ſome time, in a conſiderable degree, confined to their reſpective ſtations, as ſcarcely a magiſtrate could be found in the kingdom, who would iſſue billets for their quarters. It required the greateſt degree of temper and circumſpection in thoſe who governed in Ireland, and in the commanders of the king's forces there, to prevent a colliſion of two ſuch armies; and it would be invidious to deny them very great praiſe for the prudence of their conduct.

This ſtate of things was not the work of a party, or of any particular order of men; but was produced and upheld by every rank, claſs, and denomination of the people. The wiſe and humane conduct of the Britiſh legiſlature, in relaxing the penal reſtrictions of the laws againſt the Engliſh Roman Catholics, was a meaſure of ſuch obvious utility, that the example was ſpeedily followed by the Iriſh parliament; who communicated ſimilar benefits to thoſe of that profeſſion in their own country. This meaſure tended in a great degree to deſtroy thoſe animoſities, which had for ſo many ages been the ſource of weakneſs and diſtreſs in that kingdom. The newly reſtored citizens, who form ſo vaſt a majority of the people in Ireland, ſoon perceived, that as they now poſſeſſed a common ſhare in the common intereſts, ſo they were equally called upon with all others, to the public defence, and to the ſupport of the public rights. All envy and averſion on the one ſide, and all diſtruſt and apprehenſion on the other, appeared to vaniſh, and one general principle and ſpirit to operate upon the whole people.

A free and unlimited commerce with the whole world was the firſt, the great, and the general object of redreſs; for which no compenſation could be admitted, and without which, no other conceſſions or advantages, however great or beneficial, could afford ſatisfaction. This was the *ſine qua non*, from which there was no departure. Such was the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, previous to, and during the receſs of the Britiſh parliament.

During the long courſe of real or ſuppoſed grievances, of public diſcontents, or of actual commotion, which, for ſeveral years paſt, have more or leſs agitated every other part of the Britiſh empire, Scotland alone had the fortune to eſcape the general contagion; and, feeling the happineſs of her own peculiar

peculiar circumſtances and ſituation, omitted no occaſion of teſtifying her gratitude, by the fulleſt approbation of all the conduct of miniſters, and the moſt perfect ſatisfaction in thoſe meaſures, which were elſewhere productive of ſo much uneaſineſs, and ſuch heart-burnings, in all other parts of the Britiſh dominions. The ſpirit of fanaticiſm, which has ſo often laid the proudeſt monuments of human wiſdom and power in the duſt, was, even there, to produce a revolution in that ſettled temper and diſpoſition, which had hitherto ſtood the teſt, and ſhewn ſuch ſuperior proof, to the application of every other public and political touchſtone.

Upon the paſſing of the late law, in favour of the Engliſh Roman Catholics, ſome gentlemen of conſideration and authority in the northern part of the united kingdom, expreſſed their warm wiſhes in parliament, that its benefits were extended to thoſe of that communion in their own country; and as the ſeaſon was then too far advanced, declared their intention of bringing in a bill for that purpoſe in the enſuing ſeſſion. Similar ſentiments ſeemed to prevail during the receſs with ſome others; and as that ſpirit of intolerance, which had once ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed Scotland from other reformed countries, was ſuppoſed to have been in a great meaſure worn away, along with the darkneſs of the times, from which ſuch a diſpoſition generally derives its force; it was ſcarcely imagined that the intended meaſure of relief would have produced any conſiderable degree of oppoſition, or even of murmur.

The general aſſembly of the church of Scotland happened to be ſitting at the very time that the Engliſh act was in agitation; and that body rejected, by a majority of above an hundred voices, a motion then made, for a remonſtrance to parliament againſt the paſſing of the bill. This inſtance of moderation in the national church could not but afford great encouragement to the Catholics in Scotland to hope, that they ſhould be permitted to partake of the indulgence which had been granted to their brethren in England, and in Ireland. They accordingly prepared a petition to parliament, and employed counſel to frame the outlines of a bill for that purpoſe.

While matters were in this train, an inflammatory pamphlet, againſt the doctrines and members of popery, repreſenting the latter as inimical to all ſtates, and as the common enemies of mankind, was written by a nonjuring clergyman, printed at the expence of the ſociety for propagating Chriſtian knowledge, and circulated with great induſtry though every order of the people. The effects of this publication ſoon began to appear in ſome of the provincial ſynods, where the matter being taken up and agitated with much heat, angry reſolutions were paſſed againſt the unfortunate people who were the objects of their jealouſy; and theſe reſolutions, including a full determination of oppoſing every meaſure of relief which was or might be intended for them, being publiſhed in the news-papers, could not fail to excite ſome ferment. The conduct of the ſynod of Lothian and Tweeddale, upon which the eyes of the people were particularly turned, ſeemed, however, calculated

calculated to reſtrain that fury of zeal, which was now generating, from ſpreading to any great extent. Notwithſtanding the efforts of a violent party among themſelves, the humane reſolution iſſued by that aſſembly, went totally to diſclaim their having any hand in oppoſing the mild intentions of government, for giving relief to their fellow-ſubjects.

Whatever good effects might have been expected from this temperate conduct, they were entirely defeated or prevented, by the activity and boldneſs of a few obſcure zealots in Edinburgh; who, under the guiſe of ſome eſtabliſhed political body of the ſtate, undertook the protection and defence of the national church in the place of their clergy, whom they charged with a ſcandalous and impious deſertion of the cauſe of God and religion. This ſelf-created body, artfully concealing their inſignificance, by ſtudiouſly keeping their names, occupations, and number in total darkneſs, equally availed themſelves of the opportunity which their ſituation in the capital afforded, of aſſuming an extraordinary degree of importance; and under the ſpecious and pompous title of the committee for the proteſtant intereſt, eaſily paſſed upon the public, not only for men of rank, conſequence, and authority, but as the acting delegates of a ſtill greater body.

Under this deluſive appearance, to which the prejudices or fears of the people afforded all the ſanction they could wiſh, they ſoon became ſo popular, that committees for correſponding with them were eſtabliſhed in ſeveral parts of that country, and particularly in the weſtern ſhires; and the public confidence and opinion increaſing, in proportion to the magnitude of the dangers which they deſcribed, and were ſuppoſed to have diſcovered, they were conſidered as the fitteſt and moſt effective agents, for applying the contributions of the well-diſpoſed to the immediate defence of religion. Thus a few unknown men ſeemed to be entruſted with the care of the purſes, as well as of the conſciences of the people; and by this means they were enabled to publiſh and diſtribute inflammatory pamphlets gratis, and without number; while the news-papers and ſtreets were crowded with letters, paragraphs, and hand-bills, teeming with ſedition, invective, and abuſe; all tending evidently to excite a people, naturally warm and irritable, to acts of outrage. The effect anſwered their moſt ſanguine expectations; and they ſoon beheld the flame which they had ſo ſucceſsfully (they ſaid unintentionally) blown up, not only ſpread through every part of Scotland, but extended into the ſouthern part of the united kingdom; until, at length, it literally blazed forth in its utmoſt violence, and attended with all its horrors, in the metropolis of the empire.

As people are always curious to know ſomething of thoſe inſtruments, that are the means of producing extraordinary or unexpected effects, it may be expected that we ſhould take ſome notice of the committee in queſtion. From the only account of it which we have ſeen, and which is ſaid to have been obtained with no ſmall difficulty, it appears, that in point of number it amounted only to thirteen

teen perſons; that the three firſt or principal of theſe, ſo far as may be judged from apparent rank or condition, were, a merchant, a goldſmith, and a teacher of the poor in an hoſpital; that the remainder were either men exerciſing mean trades, or elſe writing-clerks, ſome ſerving in counting-houſes, and others in public offices; excepting only the thirteenth, who being yet an apprentice, filled, notwithſtanding, the important office of ſecretary to the committee. Such were the redoubted champions, who undertook the protection and defence of an eſtabliſhed national religion; already guarantied and fortified, not only by its invincible truth and holineſs, but by laws, habits, length of poſſeſſion, public opinion, and the united force of a whole empire.

The wretched people who were thus marked out as the objects of public execration and vengeance, apprehending the moſt fatal conſequences from the dangerous ſpirit now raiſed, thought it prudent and neceſſary, early in the year 1779, to acquaint Lord North, through ſome of the northern members of parliament, that chuſing rather to ſacrifice their own future eaſe and advantage, than to endanger the immediate peace of their country, they would accordingly refrain from any application to the legiſlature, for the expected, and ſo much wiſhed-for indulgence. And hoping to aſſuage the fury and rage of the multitude, the letter written upon the ſubject by theſe gentlemen to the miniſter, including that reſolution, and act of forbearance on their ſide, which totally removed every new object of jealouſy and diſcontent, was publiſhed in the news-papers.

No conceſſion could, however, allay the fury of that outrageous zeal which was now let looſe. For ſome time the Roman Catholics had been ſubjected, in open day-light, and in the public ſtreets, to contumelious treatment and ſhocking threats, from the enraged rabble. Magiſtracy probably did not imagine to what lengths they might proceed. As the deſtined time of vengeance drew near, ſeveral days previous notice was publicly given, by an infinite number of incendiary letters and hand-bills, which were diſperſed through every part of Edinburgh, not only ſpecifying time, place, and object, but calling upon, or ſummoning, the aſſiſtance of the people in the enterprize.

This public announcement of a dangerous deſign, did not produce a greater alarm, or any meaſure of prevention; and was followed by ſeveral light attacks with ſtones, and other miſſile weapons, which ſeemed only calculated to feel the courage, and to excite the rage of the populace, and which went no farther than the breaking of windows, or other ſimilar miſchiefs; which were all paſſed over in the ſame manner.

On the appointed day, the firſt and great object of attack, was a new houſe, in which the principal Roman Catholic clergyman, or biſhop, along with ſeveral other families of that perſuaſion, dwelt; one room or floor of which had been deſigned and prepared for a place of worſhip, or private chapel, as being more commodious than another of the ſame nature, and ſituated likewiſe

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wise in a private dwelling-house, which they had for many years occupied in another part of the town. Although it appears that this room had been destined for the use, to which it was not then applied, a year before any thing was agitated in parliament for the relief of the Roman Catholics, yet the zealots of that party, in order to inflame the people, represented this building as the immediate consequence of that indulgence; and held it out as a new and signal instance of the intolerable pride and daring spirit of popery, which, on the first gleam of hope or favour, had thus at once burst through all the boundaries of decency and discretion, and ventured equally to insult the nation and the Protestant religion, by erecting in the metropolis, and in the face of both, this pompous place of worship, and ostentatious display of its triumph, in which it was publicly to exhibit all its superstitions and pageantries.

The people were accordingly particularly called upon, in those incendiary letters which we have noticed, to meet at Leith Wynd, in order "to pull down that Pillar of Popery lately erected there." It is to be observed that the house, which carried no appearance without side of its containing any place of worship whatever, was inhabited by four families, besides that of the clergyman's; and that the room laid out for a chapel is represented as being only 34 feet in length. This house was violently assaulted, and set on fire, and the flames continued until the noon of the following day. The inhabitants with difficulty escaped with their lives.

During the demolition of this main "Pillar of Popery," a detachment from the main body were dispatched to the Old Chapel, in a place called Black Friars Wynd. The house which had the ill fortune of containing that place of worship, was inhabited by several families of trades-people, whose property and effects, as well as the inside of the house and chapel, were totally destroyed. Here a considerable library belonging to the Roman Catholic bishop was also destroyed or carried away. The rioters afterwards directed their violence against the Catholics in other parts of the town; and totally destroyed the stock in trade and effects of two or three tradesmen of that profession; few houses being inhabited by them, as their number was very inconsiderable, and consisting chiefly of poor Highlanders, the lowest and most indigent of the people. One or two ladies of fashion of that communion were threatened and insulted, and obliged to take refuge in the castle.

It is disagreeable to enter into the detail of these savage disorders, which continued with little or no effectual resistance from magistracy for some days. Some of their attempts, as they were more wicked, appeared more suitable to their courage, than the hunting out of their obscure retreats a handful of miserable people. They now extended their views to the punishment or destruction of those gentlemen, of whatever rank, or religion, who had been supposed to favour, or in any degree to afford their countenance, to the late design of obtaining a relaxation of the popery laws. The failure of success which attended their efforts,

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on this enlargement of design and object, served, however, greatly to damp the spirit of future enterprize. Their first fury was directed to the house of Professor Robertson, the celebrated historian, and to that of Mr. Crosbie, an eminent advocate; who standing high, if not at the head of his profession, was still more distinguished by the excellency of his character and disposition. The enlightened views and liberal sentiments of the first of these gentlemen, which rendered him an enemy to all persecution, rendered him an object of it to the deluded populace; and the second had submitted to the crime of being professionally employed as counsel by that people, and of having accordingly drawn up the bill, which their representatives had intended to present to parliament. The mob found the houses of these gentlemen so well armed, and guarded with so determined a resolution by their numerous friends, that they refrained from proceeding to extremities; and retired, without any farther outrage than the breaking of some windows.

These attempts seemed to alarm the magistracy; as it did not seem now easy to determine, to what farther lengths the malice of zeal might be carried, nor to what extent the objects of its revenge might be multiplied. They accordingly ordered some troops of dragoons into the town, who, with detachments from the Duke of Buccleugh's regiment of fencibles, formed chains across the streets and passes. But the same weakness or inertness on the side of the civil government still continued; and the soldiers, standing with arms in their hands, on this odious and painful duty, were most shamefully pelted with stones, and grievously wounded by the mob.

At length, on the last day of the week, a proclamation of a singular nature was published by the magistracy. In that piece, the Lord Provost assures the people, that no repeal of the penal statutes against papists should take place. The past riots are attributed to the apprehensions, fears, and distressed minds of *well-meaning* people. But they are informed, that, "after this public assurance, the magistrates will take the most vigorous measures for repressing any tumultuous or riotous meetings of the populace, which may hereafter arise; being satisfied that any *future* disorders will proceed only from the wicked views of bad and designing men." A clause which seems to imply the strange concession, that the magistrates had not hitherto done their duty in suppressing the riots; and the no less extraordinary proposition, that the past disorders proceeded from good and well-disposed people.

The example of Edinburgh was in some degree copied in Glasgow; but the conduct of the magistrates in that great trading city was widely different. The objects of persecution being few in the latter, and being almost wholly, as for the greater part they were in the former, composed of poor and laborious people, who were even destitute of a clergyman of their own profession, the fury of the populace was first and principally directed to a Mr. Bagnal,

Bagnal, an Engliſh Roman Catholic; who being a native of Staffordſhire, had introduced the art peculiar to his own country into Glaſgow, where he had eſtabliſhed, and for ſeveral years conducted a conſiderable manufactory of ſtone ware. The mob burned his houſes; totally deſtroyed his manufactory and ſtock in trade; and obliged himſelf and his family to fly for their lives into the fields. But the laudable meaſures purſued by the magiſtrates and principal inhabituns for reſtoring the public peace and tranquillity were ſo efficacious, that the miſchief went no farther, and order and ſecurity were ſoon reſtored. Being alſo, at the ſame time, equally aſhamed and concerned, that the character and government of ſo extenſively commercial a city ſhould ſuffer under the imputation and diſgrace of ſuch an act of outrage and perſecution, they ſeemed willing, ſo far as it could be done, to obliterate every trace of it from the memory. Bagnal was accordingly ſpeedily acquainted, that he ſhould be reimburſed for every part of his loſſes to the uttermoſt farthing; and ſeveral of the principal inhabitants, including reſpectable names among the clergy, acquired no ſmall honour, by the attention and tenderneſs which the wife and family of the ſufferer experienced from them, during the immediate preſſure of their terror and diſtreſs.

Theſe matters were of courſe agitated more than once in parliament during that ſeſſion; and a patriotic member of the houſe of commons was upon the point of bringing in a bill for affording compenſation and relief to the ſufferers, until the miniſter gave an aſſurance, that the matter would be privately ſettled to their ſatisfaction. Upon theſe occaſions, the conduct of the magiſtracy of Edinburgh underwent no ſmall degree of animadverſion; and the aſſumption of the chief magiſtrate, in venturing to anſwer in his proclamation for the future conduct and meaſures to be purſued or adopted by the Britiſh legiſlature, was particularly and ſeverely reprehended. Neither did the miniſters, nor parliament itſelf, eſcape a ſhare of that cenſure, which was upon this occaſion freely adminiſtered by one or two members of the oppoſition; who obſerved, that it was too near and too cruel an inſult, ſo ſoon after the immenſe ſacrifices which we had made to the falſe pretence of ſupporting the ſupremacy and dignity of the Britiſh legiſlature in every part of the empire, to ſuffer a frantic and contemptible rabble at home, not only to fly in the face of its preſent authority, but to preſcribe limits, beyond which it was not to paſs, to its future operation. Thus, they ſaid, ſowing, under the ſanction of a recorded precedent, the ſeeds of diſorder, outrage, contempt of authority, and abſolute rebellion, in every remaining part of the Britiſh dominions.

However unequal to the cauſe the effect may ſeem, it was through this religious combuſtion, and the circumſtances attending it, that adminiſtration loſt that firm hold of the temper and diſpoſition of the people of Scotland, which nothing elſe, perhaps, could have

looſened. For the cry and alarm of popery being once raiſed, and freely propagated by the preſs in every part of the country, the violent ſpirit thus conjured up, was not ſatisfied to confine its wrath to the immediate objects of apprehenſion and averſion; but tracing the ſuppoſed grievance and danger to its primary ſource, would fix the more refined part of its reſentments much higher. Thus, by degrees, not only the miniſters were held out as objects of public execration; but every department of the ſtate, including the higheſt and moſt ſacred ſources of the legiſlative and executive government, were little, if any thing, leſs than directly charged and repreſented with forming a conſpiracy for the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion, and the eſtabliſhment of popery on its ruins. Under this perſuaſion or pretence, the zealots in Scotland, not content with combating and defeating the phantom of danger which had appeared in their own country, would purſue it to its laſt refuge in England; and eagerly undertook to preſerve or free their brethren in the ſouthern part of the united kingdom from thoſe religious dangers, to which they had themſelves been hitherto totally inſenſible.

One, among the reſt, of theſe publications, being a kind of proteſt, iſſued by the heritors of the town and Pariſh of Carluke, in the county of Lanerk, ſeems a more direct and pointed libel upon adminiſtration in particular, and government in general, than the licence of the preſent times in the ſouth ſeems to have produced.

With reſpect to the charge of ſupporting popery, they hold the following language, having firſt laid it down as a poſtulatum, that whenever that religion is eſtabliſhed, liberty is baniſhed; viz. "We are certainly authorized to "ſay, that, from the paſſing the "Quebec bill to the preſent "hour, the encouraging and "tolerating that bloody reli-"gion ſeems to be the only "conſiſtent, and (we obſerve it "with pain) the only ſucceſsful "meaſure, which the preſent "miniſtry have adopted. And "perhaps this ſingle principle "may account for all that ſeem-"ing weakneſs and fluctuation "of councils which have ſo re-"markably characterized their "adminiſtration." —They conclude the charges againſt miniſters by this declaration or opinion, that, —"If Great Britain "for manifold ſins is devoted "to perdition,"—"whether her "miniſters have acted from weak-"neſs or deſign," —"her a-"venging angel could not have "hit on more proper inſtru-"ments to haſten her ruin."

Nor is parliament treated with much more ceremony. They diſclaim all hope of redreſs from that body; which, they ſay, — "Not ſatisfied with repealing "their own fooliſh acts, have "dared to repeal the wiſe-enact-"ed penal ſtatutes againſt pa-"piſts, the palladium of our e-"ſtabliſhed religion and civil li-"berties," &c.

Theſe ſpecimens will afford ſome idea of the ſpirit and tem-

per

pet[illegible] the time in that country. The original of this curious publication, was ordered to be depoſited in the archives of the committee of correſpondence in Glaſgow, and copies of it to be publiſhed in the Edinburgh and Glaſgow newſpapers. It was probably about this time they opened a correſpondence with ſome fanatics in London, then obſcure and little noticed, calling themſelves the Proteſtant Aſſociation, whoſe object ſeems to have been the ſame with theirs, but yet purſued with leſs violence.

Such was the ſtate of public affairs in Ireland and Scotland. In England, beſides all other or former real or ſuppoſed cauſes of diſſatisfaction, the long continuance, contrary to the expectations held out, of the American war, and its hopeleſſneſs of ultimate ſucceſs in the minds of many, began now to affect the feelings of the people, ſo generally and powerfully, as to open a ſource of diſcontent, which, by degrees, ſeemed to grow wider, than any other of which they had hitherto complained. Many of thoſe who had been among the foremoſt in ſupporting, and the warmeſt in approving, the meaſures which led to that iſſue, and the principle on which they were founded, were now among the loudeſt in lamenting the conſequences of the war, and the moſt eager for its being brought to a ſpeedy concluſion. No change, they ſaid, had taken place in their original principle or opinion; but they were compelled to conform their ſentiments, and to ſubmit, to the preſent neceſſity of the times. The weakneſs of the counſels and meaſures, under which the American diſputes and conteſt had been ſuffered to linger for ſo many years, had, they ſaid, totally changed the ſtate and nature of things. If we have loſt, ſaid they, the advantages which ſhe afforded, by our folly, let our wiſdom now immediately cut away thoſe fatal incumbrances which are left behind; thoſe incumbrances which clog and impede all our motions, and render all our exertions againſt the common enemy ineffective. Let the evils follow the benefits. It muſt be the extreme of madneſs to retain one without the other.

Such was now the language held by no ſmall number of thoſe, who had formerly ſupported or approved of the American meaſures, and by the whole of thoſe who had conſtantly oppoſed or condemned them. They alſo uniformly coincided in another general opinion; which was, by no means to ſhrink from the war with the houſe of Bourbon. Holding a firm confidence, that if America was in any manner detached from the quarrel, or even rendered ſo far ineffective as not to be conſidered as a principal object, and our whole force, under the guidance of wiſe counſels, and the ability of thoſe great commanders, which all the world knew we poſſeſſed, was directed againſt our natural enemies in their moſt vulnerable parts, they would not only be ſoon ſickened of the part which they had taken in our domeſtic conteſt; but that we might alſo make ſuch reprizals on them, as would afford no inconſiderable compenſation for the loſſes we had ſuffered.

The danger held out of an invaſion, and the proclamation ordering proviſions to be made againſt it, were ſeverely criticized by oppoſition; as tending more to alarm the people than to ſecure the country; as weak and indefinite in its directions, and only calculated to draw out a few miſerable ſubſcriptions, which might lay a claim of merit for individuals, but could never be a ſubſtantial aid to government. It was only indeed a little trick, to confound an attachment to miniſters with a regard to the ſafety of the country.

On the other hand it was contended, that to caution without alarming was a thing impoſſible. That future directions, when occaſions aroſe, would render the proclamation more explicit. That the whole intent was to make the people alert, and to call forth the general exertion. And as for ſubſcription, if it ſhould ſhew a confidence in adminiſtration, it was a confidence deſerved, and would be repaid in the honour and ſafety of the nation.

The meaſure was not without effect. Large ſums were raiſed in ſeveral counties, and applied to the levying of independent corps or companies. About 20,000l. was ſubſcribed in the city of Weſtminſter, although ſome conſiderable pariſhes refuſed to concur in the meaſure. Some of the inhabitants alſo of that city aſſociated, and were formed into diſtinct bodies, armed and officered, with a view of being ſo far trained in military diſcipline and exerciſe, as would enable them to act with effect, under the immediate neceſſity of common defence. In ſome counties, however, the meaſure was rejected; and in others it was not propoſed. In one, where a conſiderable ſubſcription was made, the money was tranſmitted to the diſpoſal of the Marine Society; as a more uſeful and conſtitutional application than to the raiſing of land forces.

In London, the propoſal brought out another for a ſtrong petition to the throne, as a previous meaſure, requiring the diſmiſſion of incapable miniſters and evil counſellors, and the employment of men in whom the nation could place a confidence, and who might be capable of retrieving its affairs. The final conſequence was, that the firſt propoſal, after much diſcuſſion, was rejected, and the petition then laid by. In the trading cities and towns, the money was applied to the manning of the navy; by which means, the various bounties to ſeamen, accumulated in ſome places, particularly Liverpool, to a height before unheard of. The Eaſt India company behaved with a magnificence, ſuited to its greatneſs, and to the apparent proſperity of its affairs. Beſides a conſiderable bounty for the raiſing of 6000 men for the naval ſervice, it made a liberal offer to the crown, which was accepted, of building and furniſhing three ſeventy-four gun ſhips, as an addition to the royal navy.

The meaſures of home defence met with ſimilar animadverſion. The vaſt military force which was kept for our internal defence, a purpoſe to which, they ſaid, the miniſter had avowedly in parliament ſacrificed all other conſiderations, and particularly

cularly hazarded the preſervation of our Weſt India Iſlands, was ſaid to be ſo injudiciouſly diſpoſed, as to be rendered incompetent to its only deſign. Towns of the greateſt commercial conſequence, and garriſons which defended the moſt valuable inlets and harbours, were left in a ſtate of nakedneſs. The defenceleſs ſtate in which even the great ſecurities to our ſtrength, Portſmouth and Plymouth, were afterwards reported to be, and the conſequent danger to which they were ſuppoſed to be expoſed, upon the approach of the enemy, ſerved much to corroborate theſe aſſertions and opinions; and even afforded a degree of ſtrength to others of a ſimilar nature.

All theſe and many more topicks were agitated, and they were agitated with the greater effect, from the junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets in the channel. The ſending the fleets out to America and the Eaſt Indies, under the decided ſuperiority of the enemy in our own ſeas, was much condemned.—Events, which uſually decide the publick on political meaſures, and the inefficiency of thoſe mighty fleets, have at length anſwered all theſe criticiſms.

The proclamation which had been iſſued by the commiſſioners upon their departure from America, together with ſome miniſterial declarations in parliament, had occaſioned a very general perſwaſion, that as no farther lenity or forbearance was to be practiſed with reſpect to the refractory colonies, (a miſtaken tenderneſs, to which many were apt to attribute the ſpinning out of the conteſt for ſo many years) ſo the war would have been carried on in the enſuing campaign, with a degree of vigour and activity hitherto unknown. At the ſame time, the declaration made by the American miniſter in parliament, that a vaſt majority of the people on that continent were zealouſly attached to the intereſts and government of Great Britain, and that even the remainder were either tired out and heartily ſick of the war, or torn to pieces by factions and diſſentions among themſelves, ſpread an opinion no leſs general, that the defence on the one ſide would be proportionally as weak and ineffective, as the coercion on the other would be powerful and concluſive.

In proportion to the ſanguine expectations thus raiſed, was the diſappointment and concern which prevailed towards the cloſe of the year, as the failure of ſucceſs or inactivity in the American campaign, and the loſs and danger in the Weſt Indies, came by degrees to be known. The people were wearied out by the tediouſneſs and length of that war, and diſguſted by the continued repetition of hopes and diſappointments which they had ſo long experienced.

In this ſtate of danger from without, and of diſcontent within, the miniſters ſeemed as little united among themſelves, as any claſs or part of the people who were committed to their government. At the ſame time, the ſeveral parties which formed the oppoſition ſeemed to be drawing cloſer together, and to act with more apparent union and concert than hitherto they had done. At

no time do we remember the confidence of the people in government so low, as it appears to have been at that period.

Oct. 12th. 1779. The parliament of Ireland met before the middle of October, and soon shewed that they had received a portion of the general spirit of the nation. They declared in their addresses to the throne, that nothing less than a free and unlimited trade could save that country from ruin. The addresses were carried up with great parade amidst the acclamations of the people. The duke of Leinster, who commanded the Dublin volunteers, escorted the speaker in person upon that occasion; whilst the streets were lined on both sides, from the parliament house to the castle, by that corps, drawn up in their arms and uniforms. That nobleman had also moved for the thanks of the Lords to the volunteer corps throughout the kingdom, which was carried with only one dissenting voice.

The associations and people at large, full of anger and jealousy, manifested strong apprehensions of political duplicity on this side of the water; and perhaps, did not place a perfect confidence in the steadiness or perseverance of their own parliament. They were afraid, that they would be amused by fair and empty promises, until they had resigned their power along with the national purse, by granting the supplies for the two following years, according to the customary mode in that country; when being no longer necessary to government, a sudden prorogation would put an end to all hope of, at least, amicable redress, for the present. Under this apprehension, a short money bill, for six months only, by which means parliament would still continue indispensably necessary to government, became the general cry of the nation.

As this innovation upon established form and method, was strongly opposed, particularly by the court party, the Dublin mob thought it necessary to shew their zeal in the public cause; they were accordingly guilty of great and violent outrages, as well in their endeavours to enforce the measure, as in their punishment of the refractory. Although the Irish parliament used proper measures to express their resentment, and to maintain their dignity upon this occasion; yet many of themselves being inclined to a vigorous proceeding, and the rest borne down by a cry almost universal in the nation, the representatives found it at length necessary to comply, and the short money bill was accordingly passed on that side. A necessity equally convincing, secured the passage of that humiliating and mortifying act in England.

It seemed remarkable, especially in a season of so much difficulty and trouble, that the office of secretary of state for the northern department, should have continued vacant for so great a length of time, as that which elapsed from the death of the Earl of Suffolk in the beginning of the preceding month of March. Nor did the dissentions among themselves produce any new arrangement in administration, until the approach of the meeting of parliament,

liament, when their effect became conſpicuous, and continued to operate for ſome time longer. Juſt at that period, the Earl of Gower, Lord preſident of the council, re-
Nov. 24th. ſigned that high office, and was ſucceeded by the Earl of Bathurſt. Lord Weymouth likewiſe reſigned his office of ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, and was ſucceeded by the Earl of Hillſborough. Lord Stormont, late ambaſſador at Paris, was appointed to the northern department; the buſineſs of which had been conducted by Lord Weymouth, ſince the death of the Earl of Suffolk. And the old place of firſt lord of trade and plantations, which had been abſorbed and included in the new office of ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies, was now ſeparated, and beſtowed upon the Earl of Carliſle.

It was the received opinion at that time, that this defection of thoſe who formerly compoſed what has been called the Bedford party (which had a conſiderable time before been preceded by the falling off of the Earl of Upper Oſſory, and others, to the oppoſition) would now have become general. But the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Rigby continued in their places; and it would ſeem, from ſubſequent appearances, as if meaſures had been ſince taken to qualify in ſome degree that diſguſt, which then operated on ſome others.

Such was in general the ſtate of public affairs, previous to, and about the time of the meeting of parliament.

CHAP. III.

Speech from the throne. Addreſſes. Amendment moved in the Houſe of Commons by Lord John Cavendiſh. Great Debates. Strictures upon public meaſures in general, and upon the conduct of the preceding campaign. Able defence made by the miniſter. Amendment rejected upon a diviſion. Amendment in the Houſe of Lords moved for by the Marquis of Rockingham. After long debates, rejected upon a diviſion.

UNDER the circumſtances which we have deſcribed, it ſeemed no eaſy matter to determine what ground to chooſe, in framing a ſpeech for the opening of parliament. This ſeaſon of the year had generally been peculiarly favourable ſince the commencement of the troubles, in the production of ſome intelligence, which might ſerve to bring miniſters and parliament together with a face of good humour; and which might warrant in ſome meaſure the holding out of ſuch a degree of expectation with reſpect to the war, and ſuch a proſpect of the attainment of its firſt and principal object at no very great diſtance, as afforded encouragement to perſeverance, and inducement to preſent liberality of ſupport.

But the preſent ſeaſon was not fortunate in this reſpect; and the proſpect of affairs at the opening of the ſeſſion, ſeemed ſcarcely to afford more room for hope, than the retroſpect did for exultation.

In theſe circumſtances, the judicious arrangement of the matter could only ſupply its defects in the conſtruction of the ſpeech. It was neceſſary to keep back thoſe parts which were diſguſting, and only to bring thoſe forward which might be diſpoſed of to ſome advantage. Loſs or misfortune were therefore properly paſſed over; and an eſcape from imminent danger, afforded ſufficient matter of ſatisfaction, if not of triumph. In a failure of active exertion, it became the more neceſſary to hold out to the people, a full confidence in that defenſive ſtrength ariſing from their common union; and where a recital of particular events could not admit of much happy application, it was to be judiciouſly evaded, by taking a wider field upon general ground.

Nov. 25th, 1779. The ſpeech from the throne accordingly opened with an obſervation, that being attacked by an unjuſt and unprovoked war, and contending with one of the moſt dangerous confederacies that ever was formed againſt the crown and people of Great Britain, they were called upon by every principle of duty, and every conſideration of intereſt, to exert their united efforts in the ſupport and defence of their country.—That, although the deſigns and attempts of our enemies to invade this kingdom had been hitherto fruſtrated, they ſtill menaced us with great armaments and preparations; but it was truſted, that we were well prepared to meet every attack, and to repel every inſult.—His majeſty knew the character of his brave people; the menaces of their enimies, and the approach of danger, had no other effect on their minds, than to animate their courage, and to call forth that national ſpirit, which had ſo often defeated the projects of ambition and injuſtce; and which had enabled the Britiſh fleets and armies, to uphold and preſerve the liberties of Europe, from the reſtleſs and encroaching power of the houſe of Bourbon.

The ſtate of Ireland, they were informed, had not been unattended to. In conſequence of their former addreſſes, the neceſſary papers would be laid before them; and it was recommended, that they ſhould conſider what further benefits and advantages might be extended to that kingdom, by ſuch regulations and methods, as might, moſt effectually, promote the common ſtrength, wealth, and intereſts of all the dominions.

A total ſilence was obſerved with reſpect to America and the Weſt Indies; nothing that related to either was even alluded to. The circumſtances of the war, and the events of the campaign, in whatever part, were equally paſſed over.—The inevitable great and heavy expences of the enſuing year were regretted; but the uſual reliance placed on their wiſdom and public ſpirit for the neceſſary ſupplies.—The diſcipline, good conduct, and ſteady perſeverance of the militia, was acknowledged with entire approbation.—Thanks were returned to all ranks of loyal ſubjects who had ſtood forth in this arduous conjuncture, and by their zeal, their influence, and their perſonal ſervice, had given confidence as well as ſtrength to the national defence.—And the ſpeech concluded by declaring a firm

firm reſolution to proſecute the war with vigour, and to make every exertion, in order to compel our enemies to liſten to equitable terms of peace and accommodation.

An addreſs, in the uſual ſtile and form, was moved for and ſeconded in the Houſe of Commons by the Lords Lewiſham and Parker.—An amendment to the following purport was moved for by Lord John Cavendiſh, viz. to beſeech his majeſty to reflect upon the extent of territory, the power, the opulence, the reputation abroad, and the concord at home, which diſtinguiſhed the opening of his majeſty's reign, and marked it as the moſt ſplendid and happy period in the hiſtory of this nation; and on the endangered, impoveriſhed, enfeebled, diſtracted, and even diſmembered ſtate of the whole, after all the grants of ſucceſſive parliaments, liberal to profuſion, and truſting to the very utmoſt extent of rational confidence; that his majeſty will naturally expect to receive the honeſt opinion of a faithful and affectionate parliament, who would betray his majeſty, and thoſe whom they repreſent, if they did not diſtinctly ſtate to his majeſty, that if any thing can prevent the conſummation of public ruin, it can only be new counſels and new counſellors, without farther loſs of time, and a real change, from a ſincere conviction of paſt errors, and not a mere palliation, which muſt prove fruitleſs.

As the amendment propoſed in the Houſe of Lords, was ſubſtantially the ſame with that which we have ſtated, we ſhall indifferently bring into one point of view, the principal arguments uſed in both Houſes, excepting where ſome circumſtances peculiar to either, may render a diſtinction neceſſary. The oppoſition now feeling their ſtrength, as well from their own union, as from the voice and opinion of the people, aſſumed a new aſpect, and held a higher and more determined tone in parliament, than they had hitherto practiſed. All temporizing meaſures and obſervances ſeemed to be done away; their language was ſevere, their cenſures unqualified, and their charges pointed, direct, and ſent home to their adverſaries. The debates were accordingly maſculine, bold, ſerious, and awful; and were more immediately and generally intereſting, than they had been from the beginning of the preſent unhappy troubles. They did not now confine themſelves to narrow ground; to the examination and cenſure of recent meaſures, the conduct of the war, nor even to that of the preſent miniſters. They firſt took a wide and comprehenſive range, which included the general adminiſtration of public affairs during much the greater part of the preſent reign, before they referred to particular meaſures or men.

On that general ground they peremptorily inſiſted, that the cauſe of all our misfortunes, of that unexampled change, which, within the laſt ſeventeen years, had taken place in the ſtate and circumſtances of the Britiſh empire, proceeded from a new, inſidious, and moſt pernicious ſyſtem of government; a ſyſtem calculated to deſtroy all principle, and to diſſolve all the bands of opi-

nion which unite mankind; a ſyſtem which had already been ſubverſive, in a very unhappy degree, of the national honour and character, and which tended ultimately to the diſſolution of the conſtitution, if not of the government of this country. This unhappy ſyſtem, they ſaid, however artfully covered, and however inviſible its authors, had not eſcaped obſervation at its introduction, any more than in its progreſs. It had been ſeen, with the deepeſt concern, from about the year 1763, to the preſent time, that however the inſtruments were changed, however appearances varied, however the mode was occaſionally ſhifted, or whatever temporary interruptions occurred, the ſyſtem itſelf never changed its nature, was never out of ſight, and was, although with different degrees of exertion, conſtantly purſued with the moſt unremitting perſeverance.

This fatal ſyſtem, they ſaid, had viſibly ſpread its baleful influence through the army, the navy, the ſenate, through every department of the ſtate, and through every order of the people; and as its grand and leading principles of action, were, corruption, the deſtruction of character, with that wretched and abominable policy, the *divide et impera*, it was not to be wondered at, that its progreſs ſhould be every where marked, by the confuſion, diſcord, and ruin which it produced; by the diſgrace which it brought upon our arms, the contempt, ridicule, or execration of mankind, which it had drawn upon our public counſels; by that bitter ſpirit of contention and animoſity which it had generated even in parliament, and what was ſtill worſe, that unequalled contempt of order, of government, of the laws, and of the legiſlature, which it had ſpread among the lower ranks of the people. Yet, notwithſtanding the irretrievable loſſes, and the ſtill greater dangers, of which this favourite ſyſtem had already been productive, it was ſtill, they ſaid, ſo pertinaciouſly adhered to, that the loſs of national renown, with that of half the empire, and the imminent danger of the remainder, were ſacrifices offered, or hazarded, without ſcruple, to its ſupport.

This ſyſtem, they ſaid, muſt be totally done away, or nothing could be effectually done; expedients might render things poſſibly worſe, but they could not render them better. But it would be in vain to hope for any ſincere and real change of the ſyſtem, while its inſtruments were ſuffered to continue in power.—New counſels, and new counſellors, they contended, were not only now loudly demanded by the nation, but were become a matter of abſolute neceſſity with reſpect to our political exiſtence; and the ſovereign muſt alſo give his confidence to thoſe whom he apparently truſts, or it would be deluſory to expect, that even new counſels and new counſellors could ſucceed.—They ſummed up the whole by concluding, that it was only from ſuch an effectual and total change, that a rational hope could be entertained, even of the preſervation of the ſtate in any form; but that nothing leſs could afford the ſhadow of hope, of our ever

ever again recurring to thoſe antient principles of government, under which our commerce and our fame had been extended to every part of the globe, our intereſts became connected with thoſe of the remoteſt nations, and we had riſen to that extraordinary pitch of power, glory, and domeſtic happineſs, which alternately excited the admiration, and the envy of mankind.

From a general view of the ſuppoſed ſyſtem, they entered into a detail of its imputed effects on the executive and ſubordinate parts of government. Thoſe officers, they ſaid, civil and military, who were in great truſt or in high command, particularly if their merit had placed them high in the opinion and confidence of their country, were the marked objects of its pernicious influence. Thus, while knowledge and integrity were proſcribed in our councils, diſtinguiſhed valour and ability were equally proſcribed in our fleets and armies.—Our great naval commanders were driven from the ſervice; nor were more atrocious and dangerous attempts left untried; the military commanders were no better treated; and in the moment of difficulty and danger, the ſtate was robbed of its beſt and ſureſt defence.—Thus our fleets and armies were either languiſhing in diſcontent, or torn to pieces by diſſention; and the ſpirit of enterprize ſunk under the benumbing conviction, that whatever honour or advantage might be atchieved by brave and hardy ſervice abroad, muſt inevitably periſh under the fatal blaſts of that malignant influence which prevailed at home.

The public meaſures and tranſactions of the current year at home and abroad, whether with reſpect to the actual operations of war, the diſpoſition of our fleets and armies, or the adopted ſyſtem of home defence, opened a wide field for animadverſion, which was occupied with no ſmall degree of vigour by the oppoſition. As the alledged criminal neglect, and conſequent fatal decline of our navy, had held a principal place in the general charge of paſt miſconduct, ſo the ſuppoſed exemplification of that unhappy decline and weakneſs, which, they ſaid, had been recently exhibited in the channel, afforded an opportunity for the moſt direct application of particular cenſure.

The powers of language ſeemed accordingly exhauſted, in the various expreſſion of grief, ſhame, indignation, and reſentment, diſplayed upon this ſubject. They ſaid it was reſerved for the preſent inauſpicious and diſgraceful æra, for the adminiſtration of thoſe men who had ſevered the empire, and who had plunged the Engliſh nation in all the guilt and calamity of a cruel and inextinguiſhable civil war, to brand this country with the indelible diſgrace of the preceding ſummer; to exhibit the unthought of and unheard of ſpectacle, of a Britiſh fleet flying, in ſight of their own coaſt, before that of Bourbon. Thus, ſaid they, reſigning all at once, that empire of the ocean, the inexhauſtible ſource of all our power and greatneſs; the prize of paſt valour, and the reward of antient virtue; thus giving up, without a blow, even the dominion of the narrow ſeas, our hereditary, and hitherto

hitherto undiſputed patrimony; and thus, while all Europe was loſt in aſtoniſhment, was that name, national character, and general opinion, which bear ſo great a ſway in the affairs of mankind, in a moment annihilated.

Without enquiring at preſent, they ſaid, into the cauſes of that lamentable naval inferiority, through which our naked and aſtoniſhed coaſts were abandoned to the outrage of the enemy, and the triumphant flag of the inſulting foe ſo long domineered on our native ſeas, it was fitting to aſk miniſters, what defence they could make, or what apology to the nation, for the unguarded and defenceleſs ſtate, in which Plymouth, the ſecond of our great naval arſenals, and the depoſitary of a treaſure, which no money, nor perhaps time, could replace, was, in that ſeaſon of diſgrace and danger, not only expoſed to his inſult, but to abſolute deſtruction? The inſufficiency of the fleet, they ſaid, afforded no cover of defence or excuſe; as that great maritime key of the kingdom, was poſſeſſed of ſufficient ſtrength, to require nothing more than a proper garriſon, and the neceſſary military proviſion, for its effectual protection.

Another queſtion, they ſaid, naturally aroſe from the ſlighteſt view of the tranſactions of that ſhameful period, to which it behoved thoſe who aſſumed the conduct of our public affairs, to give a clear and ſatisfactory anſwer.—If miniſters are not really chargeable with wilfully bringing on our late diſgrace and danger, how can they pretend to account for not preventing the junction of the French and Spaniſh fleet?—This, they ſaid, was a meaſure fully within their reach. They well know, that the Breſt fleet was far more backward in point of preparation than the Britiſh; and it is a matter of public notoriety, that the latter loitered for a fortnight, without any object, at Torbay, or on the coaſt, when its proceeding to ſea would have prevented the junction, or what would have been ſtill more important, might have afforded an opportunity of intercepting the French fleet; and that, under ſuch circumſtances of advantage, as muſt have produced effects deciſive of the fortune of the campaign, if not of the war.

The miniſters, ſaid they, will not venture to tell us, that they were ignorant of the great ſuperiority which the junction of the Bourbon fleets would produce. Their line of conduct was marked out by long eſtabliſhed and repeated precedent. They know, or ought to know, that this meaſure of prudence had not only been conſtantly adopted and ſtrictly attended to in all former wars with thoſe powers united, but that in the conteſts with France alone, the junction of her Mediterranean fleet with that of the Ocean, had been uniformly guarded againſt with the moſt unremitting care and induſtry. Yet theſe precautions were uſed in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate of our navy; in thoſe happy ſeaſons of power and fortune, when ſome inattention to the rules of prudence might ſeem not altogether inexcuſable. But can, ſaid they, in the preſent ſtate of things, any preſumed ſtock of ignorance, any ſuppoſed portion of negli-

negligence or folly, satisfactorily account for so dangerous, and for what might well have been, so fatal an omission?

The neglect of the island of Jersey, was no less an object of censure. Through the want, they said, of two or three frigates, of that small marine force, which would have been sufficient to repel the desultory attempts, that were at that season to be expected from St. Maloes, Admiral Arbuthnot, in his laudable zeal for the relief or recovery of the island, was obliged to abandon his convoy, and to defer his voyage to New York. By that means, a fleet of three hundred merchantmen and transports, were exposed to the dangers of the sea and the enemy in the open road of Torbay, the trade was detained a full month at home, and suffered, at least, an equal delay on the voyage, to the immense loss and expence of the merchants; and the reinforcements for Sir Henry Clinton, which, to answer any effectual purpose, should have been landed at New York before the time of their departure from England, did not arrive at the place of their destination until the end of August, when the season for action was nearly over, and the troops had suffered so much from the unusual length of their confinement on shipboard, that they were incapable of any immediate service. Thus, said they, were all the views and hopes of the campaign frustrated in the outset; and thus, year after year, is the blood and treasure of the nation consumed, and its strength exhausted, in that fatal contest; while the unequalled misconduct which prevails at home, renders all the exertions of valour and ability fruitless, and predestinates the ill success that follows.

The disposal, the amount, and the government of the military force kept within the kingdom, afforded a copious subject of animadversion and censure. This was stated, including the militia, and the various corps of new-raised troops, as exceeding a hundred thousand men actually in arms. Yet this vast force, which, they said, under former wise and happy administrations, would have conveyed terror and destruction home to our enemies, and spread alarm and danger through their remotest possessions, was kept supine and idle at home. The enormous and cumbersome machine, which was framed and supported at so immense an expence to the public, was kept inert without life or action, through the ignorance and incapacity of those who were intrusted with its movements.—Nothing, they said, could more clearly point out, either the atrocious designs, or the consummate folly of administration. It was either intended that this prodigious force should act against the people, or it was unnecessary and had no object—they might chuse the alternative. If we had no fleet, it was more than competent to internal defence; if we had a fleet, and could trust to it, we had no occasion for so vast a land force. A vast fleet, and a vast military force, were incompatible; if the strength of the nation was to be equally divided between the land and the naval services, neither service could be rendered effectual. Independent of

of experience or precedent, our ſituation pointed out the true policy.

But miniſters boaſted loudly of the wiſdom of their conduct in this reſpect, and of the eſſential benefits which it had produced;—we had eſcaped from danger—and they had fruſtrated the deſigns of the enemy. Utterly incapable, they ſaid, through a total want of genius and ability, of conducting the war upon an extenſive ſcale, or of forming any bold and comprehenſive ſcheme of action, they narrowed its objects to the meaſure of their own ideas, and reſt their merits upon a mean and daſtardly ſyſtem of local defence, confined merely to the ſeat of empire. Such has been the wretched application of all the joint power during the preſent year, of three hundred thouſand men in arms, of three hundred ſhips of war, and of twenty millions of pounds ſterling. Yet it will be found, ſaid they, that their domeſtic merits are upon the ſame ſcale with their foreign; and that all their meaſures at home and abroad, are marked by the ſame peculiar fatality. Although they ſacrificed every other object to the home defence, the meaſures which they adopted for that purpoſe were as ſhamefully defective, as thoſe which they had purſued in the active operations of the war. Thus, with a force lying dormant within the kingdom, ſufficient to have carried terror and hoſtility into the heart of the moſt powerful ſtates, the diſpoſition of this great force, under the incapacity of its direction, was ſo ſuperlatively wretched, as to render it totally inadequate to its deſign; our weſtern coaſts were in a manner abandoned to the enemy; we were expoſed in the moſt tender and valuable parts to the moſt imminent danger; Plymouth ſeemed doomed to inevitable deſtruction; nor was the ſecurity of Portſmouth much better eſtabliſhed. So vaſt an army, under ſuch a guidance, could not afford protection to thoſe invaluable repoſitories of our naval ſtrength; and we were expoſed to a loſs, which no human means could have ſupplied or remedied.

Miniſters, they ſaid, might well boaſt in the ſpeech, of their new and only ally, Providence; whoſe folly and miſconduct had rendered them ſo univerſally contemptible or odious, as to be abandoned by all mankind; and who having interdicted all wiſdom and ability from their counſels, had alſo, in the midſt of a moſt ruinous and dangerous warfare, and ſinking under the preſſure of a greatly ſuperior combination of force, driven every commander by ſea and land from their ſervice, who was capable of giving efficacy to their military exertions. In ſuch circumſtances, with an inferior fleet, a defenceleſs coaſt, a treaſury exhauſted by folly and prodigality, with an adminiſtration ſupine, divided, and incapable, we muſt have fallen a prey to our combined enemies, if they had ſeized the critical opportunity of making the attack. But this miraculous interpoſition of providence, in blinding the enemy at one ſeaſon, and ſtriking them with contagious diſtemper at another, only went to our preſervation. Providence left the unparalleled diſgrace, and the cauſes of the danger, to be anſwered for by miniſters.

Nor was the internal government of our military force leſs animadverted

madverted upon, than its disposition or application. The new system adopted of modelling the army, was condemned in the strongest terms, and represented, as not being more unjust and scandalous in the practice, than ruinous in the effect. The honourable scars and long services of the experienced veteran, they said, were obliged to give way, to the superior interest, to the, perhaps, secret and corrupt influence, which supported the raw subaltern, who could lay no claim either to merit or service. Nor did the evil, however glaring and shameful, stop there. Men totally unacquainted with military affairs, were called from the civil walks of life, and suddenly appointed to the command of regiments. Desks, counting-houses, and public offices, were stripped of their useful and peaceable occupiers, to supply a new race of commanders and generals for our armies. Thus were officers of long service and tried honour, reduced to the hard necessity, of either abandoning a profession, to which they had dedicated their small fortunes, their hopes, and their lives, or of submitting to the military disgrace of obeying those whom they were used to command, and of receiving orders from men, whose incapacity and ignorance rendered them objects of their sovereign contempt.

By this means, they said, continual murmurings, jealousies, and discontents, were generated among those who were fighting the battles of their country. Men who were bravely encountering all the fatigues, hardships, and perils of war, and who from their habits of life, and the nature of their profession, were exceedingly susceptible and quick in their sense of injury, and habitually nice in points of honour, were, by the caprice and corruption of ministers, continually fretted and galled in the tenderest part, their attention disturbed in the execution of their duty, and their minds alienated from the service, while their spirits were broken, and their military pride subdued, by seeing all their hopes of due preferment blasted, and by being obliged to crouch under a sense of indignity and injury, which they could not resent without personal ruin.

The alarming and dangerous situation of Ireland, presented new objects of stricture to the opposition, and afforded a new edge to their censure. They said, that every evil and danger there, was owing to that fatality which had influenced the incomprehensible conduct of ministers in the preceding session. They had been repeatedly warned of the danger and of the injustice of delay by the opposition; the latter had used their utmost endeavours in both houses to defer the adjournment of parliament, until some remedy was afforded for the evils which oppressed our sister island. But although this proposal held out the most favourable opportunity to them, by remedying the ill effects, to obliterate the traces of their own past negligence and misconduct; yet so blind and incorrigible was their obstinacy, and so unhappily devoted the zeal of that standing majority which supports all their measures, that it was triumphantly overruled, in contempt of all reason and argument, and in defiance of all consequences. A moderate

degree

degree of equitable condeſcenſion then, would have been received by our ſiſter iſland, as the moſt friendly kindneſs, and acknowledged with the moſt laſting gratitude; whereas, the greateſt ſacrifice of her commercial and political intereſts which this country can now make, inſtead of being conſidered as the grant of favour, will be regarded as the mean conceſſion of fear.

The ſame conduct, they ſaid, which prevailed in Europe, was to be traced in every other part of the world. The enemy had, at one ſweep, carried every thing that was Engliſh away, through the whole extent of the African coaſts. The dominion of the ſea, was no leſs effectually, they ſaid, though much leſs diſgracefully, loſt in the Weſt Indies, than in the narrow ſeas and the channel. Our brave commanders and ſeamen in that quarter, determined that the Britiſh name, and their own profeſſional character, ſhould not be ſunk under the fatality and diſgrace of our public counſels; but they were unable to ſupport her power againſt the ſuperiority of the enemy. The French flag reigned as triumphantly in the gulph of Mexico, as in the European ſeas; and the ſame unhappy and diſgraceful ſeaſon, ſhewed the downfal of our naval power in every part of the world.

Our Weſt India iſlands, they ſaid, had been more properly delivered up to the enemy, than ſubdued by him. It made no difference in the nature of things, whether our poſſeſſions were ſurrendered or ſold, by a public or private treaty with France, or whether they were left ſo naked and defenceleſs, that the enemy ſhould have nothing more to do, than to ſend garriſons to take poſſeſſion of them. This they inſiſted to have been the caſe with reſpect to the iſlands we had loſt; and thoſe that remained, they deſcribed, as not being in a much better ſituation. Jamaica, in particular, they ſaid, the moſt valuable now of our colonial poſſeſſions, and the principal ſource of our remaining trade and wealth, was moſt ſhamefully abandoned; and was at that moment in the moſt imminent danger, if not already loſt.

This courſe of invective was wound up by declaring, that the omiſſions and defects which produced all theſe calamities, went ſo much beyond any thing which could be allowed for impotence and imperfection of mind, that they ſeemed under a neceſſity of charging their conduct to direct treachery. That final ruin, or a total change of ſyſtem and of men, was the ſhort alternative to which we were now reduced. The ſhort ſentence of *New Counſels and New Counſellors* included, they ſaid, all the means of our national ſalvation, and expreſſed the ſentiments of every intelligent and independant man in England; it was the univerſal language out of doors, and of thoſe within, when they went out.

The ſpeech itſelf underwent its ſhare of cenſure, with reſpect both to matter and omiſſion; and the acknowledgment in the propoſed addreſs of the bleſſings enjoyed under government, afforded an opportunity for much ſeverity of comment and obſervation in that houſe. It was freely aſked, whether that recognition of public happineſs was founded in truth? Whether it was not an inſult

ſult to parliament, when applied to the miniſters? Whether there was a noble lord preſent, of any deſcription, who could lay his hand to his heart, and fairly congratulate his majeſty on the bleſſings enjoyed under his government? A majority might indeed grant a vote; but they could go no farther; they could neither cloſe the eyes, nor warp the opinions of mankind. Such an approbation, given in defiance of public notoriety, and the evidence of every man's ſenſe and feeling, muſt not only fail of its intended, but produce a very contrary effect; it would only ſerve to excite contempt and ridicule in the firſt inſtance, and tend to the degradation of parliament in the ſecond. For themſelves, they ſaid, that no motive whatever ſhould induce them to the vain and ſcandalous attempt, of giving a ſanction to ſo groſs a ſpecies of deluſion and impoſition, by the acknowledgment of bleſſings which did not exiſt, and a recognition of the merits of government, in direct contradiction to experience and fact.

The miniſter oppoſed, in the Houſe of Commons, the indirect charges of treachery which were made on the other ſide, with temper and firmneſs. He obſerved, that ſuch charges or inſinuations ſeemed of late to become a favourite topic with gentlemen in the oppoſition, who perhaps hoped to derive ſome great advantage from the frequent repetition; but if they were not entirely vague and unfounded, and calculated merely to ſtir up or nurſe diſcontent and ſuſpicion abroad, why did they not come forward like men, and purſue their accuſations? Why did they not follow them up with ſpecific and defined proofs; thereby to fix the guilt, and bringing it home fairly and directly to its proper object, compel the miſcreants, whoever they were, or where-ever found, to undergo that fate which treachery deſerves? In alluſion to what had ſo repeatedly been ſaid, of the general opinion and diſcontent of the people, he eagerly exclaimed, "God forbid, that there ſhould be a voice in the nation, ſtronger, louder, more peremptory or deciſive, than that of parliament."—For himſelf, whenever his accounting day ſhould come, and that day, he ſaid, muſt come, he ſhould meet it without fear. There were laws for the protection of innocence, and if his accuſers adhered to the laws, he ſhould be ſafe. His innocence would be his ſhield, and the laws would render him invulnerable under that protection.

Our being deſtitute of allies, or, as it was called on the other ſide, our being abandoned by mankind, was not to be attributed to any diſlike on his ſide to continental connections; but to the prevalent, though miſtaken politics of other powers, and to the peculiar circumſtances of the conteſt in which we are at preſent engaged. If France had attacked any power upon the continent, others would have felt themſelves immediately intereſted in the conſequences and event, and would accordingly have taken an active and decided part. Our policy would have led us to a ſimilar interference; and the reciprocality of intereſts, with the ſame object in view, would have been a common bond of alliance

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and union. But Great Britain not being conſidered as a continental power, other ſtates did not think themſelves ſo much intereſted with reſpect to the preſent attack made upon her, or ſo liable to be affected by its conſequences, as if it had been made upon their more immediate neighbours. The conteſt was likewiſe, in its origin, merely colonial and domeſtic; its objects were in another quarter of the world; and even ſtill, the operations of the war being either naval, or conducted at a vaſt diſtance, did not much diſturb the internal peace of Europe, nor were the conſequences conſidered as affecting the general balance of power.

Our being left alone to encounter the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy, was not then to be imputed to any fault or neglect on the ſide of the councils or miniſters of the throne, but to the miſtaken opinion and erroneous policy of other ſtates; who had, from thence, blindly permitted the united houſe of Bourbon, to bring their whole force, unmoleſted and undiſturbed, to bear upon this country. This was a miſchief, which was as little to be foreſeen as prevented by the miniſters of Great Britain. They could not be accountable for the conduct of other ſtates. It was not, however, to be doubted, that other powers would ſpeedily perceive and rectify their error; and that, with a proper attention to their true intereſt, as well as to the general ſyſtem of Europe, they would interpoſe to check the ambition of the houſe of Bourbon.

The ſame argument applied with equal effect to that charge, on which all the eloquence of grief, and all the indignation of apparent paſſion, had been exhauſted on the other ſide; that of our naval inferiority, particularly on the narrow ſeas. It was impoſſible for Great Britain alone, to oppoſe an equal number of ſhips to the whole united force of the houſe of Bourbon; but if ſhe even equalled or exceeded them in point of number, ſtill the wide arrangement of her naval ſervices, which was indiſpenſably neceſſary for the protection of her numerous, expoſed, and remote dependencies, muſt at any rate, notwithſtanding any ſkill or judgment in the diſpoſition, afford an opportunity to the enemy of obtaining a ſuperiority in ſome particular part. Yet with that vaſt ſuperiority which they actually poſſeſſed in the preceding ſummer, it would be found, on due conſideration, that the diſgrace was on their ſide, and not on ours. They had fitted out a great and formidable armament; and it was true, that they had appeared upon our coaſts; they talked big, threatened a great deal, did nothing, and retired.

Two things were to be particularly remembered, that the enemy were avowedly acting on the offenſive, and we as profeſſedly on the defenſive. They came with a declared intention to invade us, we undertook to defeat the deſign; they were therefore foiled; for they had not dared, even to make the attempt. Their immenſe armaments paraded, and paraded to no purpoſe; and their millions were ſpent in vain. Had they landed, (and it were almoſt to be wiſhed they had) their reception would have been ſuch, as would not only have added to their diſgrace, but would have afforded them

them ſome more eſſential matter to crown the hiſtory of their campaign.

It was denied, that the retreat of the Britiſh fleet, under Sir Charles Hardy, up the channel, could with any propriety be conſidered as a flight. The whole conduct of that admiral, demanded no leſs the admiration than the applauſe of his country. To decline an engagement, when he expected a reinforcement, and when the enemy were ſo vaſtly ſuperior in number, was the effect of prudence, and eminent profeſſional ſkill; to have accepted a challenge, would have been the madneſs of valour. It was not, however, in any degree a flight; he endeavoured, by ſeveral judicious motions, to have drawn the enemy up the channel, where, from its narrowneſs, and other circumſtances, our fleet might have engaged them with leſs diſadvantage, and they might have been ſubjected to much danger. The enemy did not chuſe to venture far up the channel; but the deſign was the reſult of prudence and ſuperior judgment. It was indeed true, that if the commander could then have poſſibly known the internal ſtate and ill condition of the enemy's fleet, he would have eagerly ſought an engagement, inſtead of avoiding it; but as the knowledge was unattainable, he could not profit of the occaſion.

It was invidious, they ſaid, on the other ſide, to endeavour to deprive miniſters and commanders of their due merits, in the protection of our trade, and in baffling all the deſigns of the enemy, by aſcribing ſolely to providence, theſe happy and important circumſtances. It would be more ingenuous to acknowledge, that it required great ſagacity, and no common abilities, with no more than from thirty-ſeven to forty ſhips of the line, to amuſe, fix the attention, and keep in continual motion for ſo long a time, without their being able to gain any advantage, the vaſtly ſuperior fleets of the enemy, which counted no leſs than ſixty-ſix ſhips of the ſame rank and character. This judicious conduct produced the moſt ſalutary effects. An immenſe hoſtile armament was kept together during the campaign, and its efforts directed to a point where they could be of no avail; whereas, had this vaſt force been employed upon ſeparate ſervices, and directed to ſpecific operations in the weſtern world, or, perhaps, other parts, beſides the deſtruction of our commerce, which muſt have been inevitable, we ſhould probably, by this time, have been diſrobed of ſome of our moſt valuable poſſeſſions.

The miniſter acknowledged, that it would have been a matter of no ſmall moment, to have prevented the junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets; he likewiſe acknowledged, that we were much more forward in point of naval preparation than France; but he had every reaſon to believe, that it was not in our power to prevent the junction. The meaſure was in contemplation; and had the French continued in port, until they were in real condition for ſervice, the junction would have been moſt aſſuredly prevented; but they perceiving our intention, rather choſe to ſlip out of Breſt, as they were, while we were ſtill preparing, than to wait for proper equipment at

the riſque of an encounter. If it was aſked, why we were more nice with reſpect to preparation than France, the anſwer was obvious; we had another enemy to attend to; the naval force of Spain was in full equipment; our all depended on our fleet; we were therefore of neceſſity cautious.

With reſpect to Plymouth, the charge was partly denied, its force weakened, by alledging the conviction of government that no debarkation was there intended by the enemy, and the attention was called off from the paſt to the preſent ſtate of that place, by ſtating the effectual meaſures which had been ſince taken for its ſecurity.

As to Ireland, the miniſter obſerved, that if it was diſtreſſed, and he heard it was, it was certainly entitled to relief. England would undoubtedly grant her every thing that could be given without injuring herſelf, and Ireland could not, with juſtice, aſk more. Ireland could bear no reſentment to the preſent adminiſtration, for ſhe had received more favours and national benefits from them, than from any other during the forty preceding years. Her complaints were not directed againſt the preſent ſervants of the crown; they were laid againſt the conſtitution of this country; for the great ſource of their complaints lay in thoſe laws, which were paſt during the reign of Charles the ſecond and William the third, impoſing reſtraints upon their trade. He did not believe in their diſtreſs; and as he did not know the evil, he was not able to point out a ſpecific remedy. But whenever her grievances appeared, he was well diſpoſed to redreſs them. Ireland, ſo far as his voice went, ſhould have what was reaſonable; and he was ſo well convinced that ſhe would be ſatisfied, that he did not entertain the ſmalleſt apprehenſion on that ſubject.

He concluded, upon the whole, that our ſituation was not by any means ſo lamentable as it had been deſcribed; that it was much more ſecure and reſpectable at preſent, than it had been at the ſame ſeaſon of the preceding year; our fleet was much ſtronger, and likely to be ſoon conſiderably augmented; though he would not encourage too ſanguine expectations, he entertained ſtrong hopes that the enſuing ſpring would open a brilliant campaign; and inſtead of thoſe ſuppoſed ſymptoms of danger, which were ſaid to keep mankind at a diſtance, we ſhewed ſuch a fulneſs of ſtrength, and growing vigour of preparation, that no power in Europe could heſitate, on that account, at making a common cauſe with us.

He obſerved, with regard to the propoſed amendment, that the language it contained was ſtrictly parliamentary. It was the duty, as well as the right of parliament, to cauſe the removal of evil miniſters; but juſtice required, that proof ſhould firſt be made of their delinquency. To remove the ſervants of the crown, without aſſigning any cauſe for it; or attributing to them, without evidence or trial, thoſe errors or crimes, which on trial would not be found imputable to them, would be equally unjuſt and unprecedented. Therefore, though he admitted, to the fulleſt extent, the right of that houſe to addreſs the throne for a removal of miniſters; yet, as there

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was nothing specifically charged against them in the amendment, he must certainly oppose it on principle; much less could it be supposed that he would agree to the implied censure upon himself, which was included in the general requisition for new counsels and new counsellors.

One of the ablest advocates on the same side observed, that the address was totally unexceptionable in all its parts; that it went no farther in its tendency than to carry up to the throne, those expressions of duty and affection, which had ever been the language of parliament, in their answer to the speech of the sovereign. There was not a word in the address, which could imply that parliament pledged itself to the support of any particular measure, or to oppose or protect any particular description of men. Along with the usual terms of respect, it contained nothing more than a general profession of union, on the common principle of self-defence.

On the other hand, the amendment, according to the explanations which had been given in its support, implied a requisition, not only that his majesty would dismiss all his counsellors, whether guilty or guiltless, old or new; but that he would go still farther, and adopt an entirely new system of government. On this he observed, that the constitution had placed the executive power of this government in the sovereign, the official functions of which are performed by persons of his appointment, each of whom is personally responsible for his conduct in office. It was absolutely necessary, he said, for preserving the due equilibrium prescribed by the constitution, that the prince should have free liberty to appoint those persons to the various executive offices, who appeared to him the most proper to fill them; otherwise the government would degenerate into an aristocracy, and assume the worst vices, without the virtues, of a republic. If the prince were debarred of such a choice, either the nobles would acquire a most dangerous ascendancy over the crown, or the commons, encircling the throne, like a spider's web, with a ministry of their own choosing, would throw every thing into anarchy and confusion, and reduce us to the worst and most despicable state of government.

Neither the course of reasoning, the arguments, or the assertions of the minister, were sufficient to afford any satisfaction to the other side. They observed, that with his usual ingenuity, he had converted the heaviest charges against his conduct, into the means of actual defence. The criminal neglect and fatal decline of the navy under his administration, illustrated and proved by its acknowledged inferiority, and late indelible disgrace, afforded a charge of so alarming and capital a nature, that it seemed to lay him under an indispensible necessity of shewing, either, that it had not declined, or that the grants afforded by parliament were not adequate to its support. But without the smallest trouble of that sort, the minister applies that

very inferiority, which conſtitutes his moſt deadly crime, to the juſtification of its ſhameful conſequence, the ſcandalous flight of the Britiſh fleet; and tells us with the greateſt unconcern, that it would have been madneſs not to run away.

The noble lord, they ſaid, was not leſs ingenious in the exculpation of other parts of his conduct. Adminiſtration were entirely guiltleſs of all thoſe ruinous conſequences, which can only be generated, by a long conjunction of evil government and political folly. The common union and revolt of thirteen colonies, who never agreed in any thing elſe, with the loſs of America, he accounts for in one ſhort ſentence, by charging it to the rebellious diſpoſition of a people, who had ever been eminently diſtinguiſhed for their loyalty. If we are abandoned, in a manner unexampled in hiſtory, at this perilous moment, without the aſſiſtance or hope of a ſingle ally, the miniſter comforts us with the aſſurance that it is no fault of his, but proceeds merely from the blind folly, or ſtrange ingratitude of other powers. The loſs of our Weſt-India iſlands, is by no means to be charged to the indolence or neglect of miniſtry, but to the activity and impudence of D'Eſtaing, who unexpectedly took them from us. And if Ireland was ſlipping out of our hands, by a repetition of the ſame meaſures and conduct which loſt America, ſtill our immaculate miniſters were totally free from blame; for it was eaſily ſhewn by this new logic, that the Iriſh themſelves were the cauſes of their own grievances and diſturbances. Such, they ſaid, was the mode of reaſoning, with which miniſters and their advocates, in the preſent day, dared to inſult the underſtanding of parliament.

But they demand proofs of their incapacity and miſconduct. Could any proofs upon earth exceed, or equal, a bare recital of their acts, and of the conſequences which they produced? Is not the unexampled ruin, which, within a few years, their government has brought upon a country, ſo great, ſo glorious, and ſo flouriſhing as this was, at the commencement of the preſent reign, the moſt concluſive poſſible evidence, either, of the moſt wretched incapacity, or of wilful deſign and treachery. But if every other proof of ignorance and incapacity, and of the neceſſity of demanding from the throne the removal of the preſent miniſters and counſellors, were wanting, the noble lord himſelf had juſt ſupplied the ſtrongeſt that could be given; and what, indeed, might well ſuperſede all other evidence. For, after the long notice he had received from that houſe, the repeated warnings given him by the oppoſition, and the very alarming motives, which every day grew more urgent, for his making a full and immediate inquiry into the affairs, ſtate, and condition of Ireland, and duly weighing and conſidering the means, for affording a proper and adequate relief to her wants, and providing a remedy for her diſorders, he had now candidly, but inadvertently confeſſed, that he was equally ignorant

rant of the wants, the diſorder, and the cure. Could the moſt inveterate enemy, ſaid they, have urged a better or ſtronger reaſon for the diſmiſſion of a miniſter, than was included in that confeſſion? Could any other evidence be ſo unexceptionable, or eſtabliſh ſo full a conviction? Or, after ſuch a confeſſion, was it poſſible for that houſe to heſitate a moment in voting for the removal of ſuch a miniſter?

After very long debates, in which an infinite quantity and variety of public matter was canvaſſed, the queſtion being put, at a late hour, the propoſed amendment was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 233, to 134.

The addreſs was moved for in the Houſe of Lords by the Earl of Cheſterfield, and ſeconded by Lord Grantham, late ambaſſador at the court of Madrid. The amendment was moved for, and ſupported with great ability, by the Marquis of Rockingham; who, in a long ſpeech, took a comprehenſive view of the general policy of the preſent reign, as well as of the particular circumſtances and public tranſactions of the current year. The debate was ſupported, on that ſide, by the Dukes of Richmond and Grafton, the Earls of Shelburne, Coventry, and Effingham, with the Lords Camden, and Lyttelton. On the other ſide, the two great law lords in office, the two new ſecretaries of ſtates, the noble earl juſt placed at the head of the board of trade, and the marine miniſter, bore the weight of the conteſt.

It will be eaſily ſeen from a view of the antagoniſts, that no advantage could be gained on either ſide, from any defect of addreſs or ability on the oppoſite. The debates were accordingly exceedingly intereſting, embraced a variety of ſubjects of the greateſt importance, and were carried on, without languor, through a length of time very unuſual in that houſe. Among other matters, the affairs of Ireland were much agitated; and much unqualified cenſure paſt upon that criminal neglect, as it was called, to which their preſent dangerous ſituation was attributed. But no part of our recent public conduct, underwent a more critical inveſtigation, or was more ſeverely condemned, than what related to the diſpoſition and government of the army within the kingdom, and to the means of defence adopted, or ſuppoſed to be neglected, during the ſummer. On this ground, the charges were ſo numerous, ſo directly applied, and ſupported with ſuch ability and knowledge of the ſubject, particularly by the Duke of Richmond, that the noble lord at the head of that department, notwithſtanding his habitual coolneſs and command of temper, could not but feel ſome embarraſsment; and indeed it would have required ſuch habits of argument, and ſuch a portion of eloquence, as are not often acquired by, nor frequently the lot of military men, to have ſucceſsfully reſiſted their effect, and entirely effaced the impreſſion which they made.

As the charge of an undue ſyſtem of government, and the ſtrictures upon the general policy of the preſent reign, were prin-

cipally made in that houſe, the matters arifing from thoſe ſubjects, were, of courſe, more particularly canvaſſed there; and brought out much ſeverity and bitterneſs of reply. The lords in adminiſtration, beſides an abſolute contradiction or denial of every thing advanced on that ground, expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, at the new and extraordinary language now held. They ſaid, that the propoſed amendment, along with the comments and explanations by which it was attended, were replete with invective, and in reality a kind of libel upon government. That nothing could be more fallacious or invidious, than the contraſt drawn, and the manner in which it was applied, between the degree of power, proſperity, and pre-eminence, attributed to the nation at the time of his majeſty's acceſſion, and the misfortune or danger of the preſent period.

It muſt indeed, they ſaid, be acknowledged, however it might be regretted, that too many of the unfortunate facts ſtated on the other ſide, were too well eſtabliſhed to be controverted; but the deduction drawn from theſe premiſes, that our public misfortunes were imputable to the preſent miniſters, did not by any means follow. It would have been more ingenuous to have attributed theſe misfortunes, in a very great degree, to our internal diviſions, and to that incautious and violent language, which was too frequently held in parliament. But if they were imputable to the preſent adminiſtration, they were equally ſo to every other during the preſent reign. Dead and living miniſters, thoſe now in oppoſition, as well as thoſe in office, muſt all bear an equal ſhare of the blame. There was ſcarcely a lord, on the ſame ſide with the noble marquis who moved the amendment, who had not been a member of one adminiſtration or other within that period. They had all a ſhare in thoſe public meaſures, and in the ſupport of that ſyſtem, as it is affected to be called, which they now ſo bitterly inveigh againſt. Even the forbidden ground of America, which is execrated as the ſource of all our evils and calamities, has been indifferently trodden by every adminiſtration ſince the year 1763.

The preſent miniſters had neither paſſed or repealed the ſtamp act. They had not laid on thoſe American duties, by which the ſeeds of the preſent rebellion were firſt ſowed. And, whatever the meaſures were, good or bad, wiſe or unwiſe, which they purſued, they only followed up the line, which had already been chalked out for them by their predeceſſors. Why then, this ſudden and violent cry, "of new counſels and new counſellors?" Or what was meant by new counſels? It was evident from the ſpeech before them, that the object of the preſent ſyſtem of government, was to purſue the war with vigour and effect: would the noble marquis and his friends have that ſyſtem changed? Did they wiſh to have it carried on with the reverſe of vigour? Would they recommend to have it followed with weakneſs, and conducted without ſpirit? If not, what was the intent or purpoſe of new counſels?

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To this it was answered, that supposing the facts to be fairly stated, (which was not, however, in any degree the case) it was a new and extraordinary mode of defence, to bring the errors, vices, or crimes of former ministers, whether dead or living, in exculpation of the erroneous conduct, and destructive measures of the present. It must afford much satisfaction to the public, and be a matter of great comfort in their present distresses, to be informed, that their ministers had only obstinately persevered, in despite of reason, warning, and experience, in following up, to the final extremity of ruin, to foreign and domestic war, and to the dissevering of the empire, certain measures of absurdity and evil, which had been either dreamed of in theory, or attempted in practice, by some of their predecessors. It was, indeed, rather unlucky, that it was only in such instances, that they ever attempted to profit by example. Upon other occasions, the maxims and conduct of their predecessors went for nothing. When it suited their own views, or the purposes of the arbitrary system under which they acted, they not only readily over-stepped all antient and established rules of government, but they could, with as much ease, make long strides beyond the limits of the constitution itself. But they wholly denied the universality of the charge on all the ministers of this reign. Some of them had no share in those measures, except in correcting the ill consequences of them; and none but the present ministers persevered in direct opposition to all experience.

The late resignations and appointments afforded an opportunity to the opposition for much animadversion and some satire. They attributed the resignation of the lord president of the council, to his disdain of continuing any longer in office with men, who he found totally incapable of conducting the public business, and of acting up to any fixed rule or principle of conduct. The recent bringing in of a noble lord, to a short epistle of whose writing when formerly in office, they directly charged the loss of America, was severely censured in both houses, as a measure which tended to render all reconciliation with the colonies still more desperate.

But the spirit of that system, they said, which had so long governed, and so long disgraced our public counsels, was peculiarly operative in the business of appointments. When the measures, which eventually led to the loss of America, were first planned under that fatal system, it had been thought proper to create a new office, under the title of secretary of state for the colonies, in order to give a supposed degree of weight, and the greater eclat, to the intended proceedings. And now, in the fulness of the same spirit, and according to the true wisdom of that system, when we have no colonies to take care of, and that America no longer forms a part of the British empire, it is thought necessary to create or renew another high and expensive office, by adding, to

the ſecretary of ſtate for that department, a firſt lord of trade and plantations.

The defection of a young nobleman, who then poſſeſſed, and had for ſome years held, a ſinecure office of conſiderable emolument and diſtinction, and who had conſtantly been one of the warmeſt and moſt able advocates of adminiſtration in that houſe, was not more a matter of obſervation or ſurprize, than the exceeding ſeverity of cenſure, and bitterneſs of language, which marked his expoſure and condemnation of their conduct and meaſures. Such a deſertion, at ſuch a period, and ſo untoward a direction of abilities, of no ordinary form, might well have been conſidered as ominous to adminiſtration, if the ſudden death of this nobleman, which happened almoſt immediately after, had not put an end to all expectation and apprehenſion in that reſpect.

The queſtion being at length put, at half after one o'clock in the morning, the amendment was rejected, upon a diviſion, by a majority of juſt two to one; the numbers being 82 to 41. The addreſs was then carried without a diviſion.

The debate of this day in the Houſe of Commons, was diſtinguiſhed by a circumſtance, at that time, rather unuſual in parliament. The repreſentation of ſomething in the news-papers, which had fallen from Mr. Charles Fox in his ſpeech, and which was paſſed over at the time without any particular notice, affording ſome diſſatisfaction to Mr. Adam, another member, he thought it neceſſary to require of the former gentleman, a public diſavowal and contradiction of it, through the ſame vehicles of intelligence in which it had appeared. This requiſition or demand, being deemed highly improper by Mr. Fox, he abſolutely refuſed a conceſſion, which he thought it would be inconſiſtent with his character to make. The conſequence was, a meſſage from Mr. Adam, and a duel with piſtols in Hyde Park, in which Mr. Fox was wounded. The novelty of the affair would, in any caſe, have excited much curioſity; and this was not only greatly increaſed, but blended with ſcarcely a leſs degree of anxiety, through the intereſt which the public took in the life of that gentleman. At the ſame time, that the affair being generally attributed, rather to the animoſity or views of party, than to the oſtenſible motives, ſo it contributed, not a little, to ſpread and inflame that ſpirit without doors, from which it was ſuppoſed to have originated within. *

* For the particulars of this duel, ſee the chronicle part of our laſt volume, page 235.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Vote of cenſure againſt miniſters, relative to their conduct with reſpect to Ireland, moved by the Earl of Shelburne. Debates on the queſtion. Part taken by the late lord preſident of the council. Motion rejected upon a diviſion. Similar motion in the Houſe of Commons by the Earl of Upper Oſſory. Defence of adminiſtration. Animadverſion. Motion rejected upon a diviſion. Motion by the Duke of Richmond, for an œconomical reform of the civil liſt eſtabliſhment. Motion, after conſiderable debates, rejected upon a diviſion. Miniſter opens his propoſitions, in the Houſe of Commons, for affording relief to Ireland. Agreed to without oppoſition. Two bills accordingly brought in, and paſſed before the receſs. Third bill to lie open till after the holidays. Earl of Shelburne's motion relative to the extraordinaries of the army; and introductory to a farther reform in the public expenditure. Motion rejected on a diviſion. Notice given of a ſecond intended motion, and the lords ſummoned for the 8th of February. Letters of thanks from the city of London to the Duke of Richmond and to the Earl of Shelburne, for their attempts to introduce a reform in the public expenditure; and ſimilar letters ſent to his royal highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, and to all the other lords who ſupported the two late motions. Mr. Burke gives notice of his plan of public reform and œconomy, which he propoſes bringing forward after the receſs.

AS the affairs of Ireland held a principal place in point of importance, ſo they took the lead in the buſineſs of the preſent ſeſſion. The ſubject was firſt brought forward in the Houſe of Lords, where the Earl of Shelburne prefaced an intended and avowed vote of cenſure on miniſters, by ſhewing from the journals, that their addreſs, which had been moved for by a noble marquis, and unanimouſly paſſed on the 11th of May laſt, had ſtrongly recommended to his majeſty's moſt ſerious conſideration, the diſtreſſed and impoveriſhed ſtate of that loyal and well-deſerving people; at the ſame time requiring, that ſuch documents, relative to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland might be laid before them, as would enable the national wiſdom to purſue effectual meaſures for the common intereſt of both kingdoms; and likewiſe, that the anſwer, returned from the throne on the following day, was entirely conſonant to the ideas and requiſition held out in the addreſs.

Dec. 1ſt.

He then referred to the addreſs which he had himſelf moved for, and which had been rejected by a great majority on the ſecond of the following June, which reſtated the neceſſity of giving ſpeedy and effectual relief to Ireland, and offered the full cooperation of that houſe for the purpoſe; at the ſame time recommending, that if the royal prerogative, as veſted in the throne by the conſtitution, was not adequate to the adminiſtering of the relief wanted,

wanted, that his majeſty would be pleaſed to continue the parliament of this kingdom ſitting, and give orders forthwith, for calling the parliament of Ireland, in order that their juſt complaints might be fully conſidered, and remedied without delay.

He obſerved, with reſpect to the firſt-mentioned addreſs, that it contained, in its original ſtate, as framed by the noble marquis, an implied and juſt cenſure on miniſters, for their ſo long and ſo ſhamefully neglecting the immediate concerns of our ſiſter iſland, and in ſo doing, endangering the union, and ſacrificing the proſperity of both kingdoms. That the noble earl, then at the head of his majeſty's counſels, propoſed an amendment, by which the cenſure was omitted, and the addreſs reduced to its preſent form. That, although the amendment did not meet the ideas of many lords on that ſide of the houſe, any more than his own, yet they agreed to accept of it, leſt their rigid adherence to the original terms of the addreſs, ſhould produce the abſolute rejection of the whole. They beheld a people already driven to the verge of deſpair, and they could not look forward, without the greateſt apprehenſion, to the fatal conſequences which were to be expected, from the rejection, by a majority in that houſe, of any propoſal, which at ſo critical a period, carried even the appearance of being in their favour.

That the noble framer of the addreſs, with ſeveral other lords on that ſide, in conſenting to the modification, which extracted the ſting againſt miniſters, did it expreſsly on the condition, that its great object, the obtaining of effectual and immediate relief for Ireland, was to be fixed and inviolable. He then obſerved, that a ſimilar addreſs had on the ſame day been paſſed by the Houſe of Commons; ſo that theſe two addreſſes, with the anſwers from the throne to both, held out the full concurrence of every part of the legiſlature in granting the propoſed relief.

Thus, he ſaid, a new æra was commenced in the affairs of Ireland. This furniſhed a ground of hope, and even of certainty to that kingdom. But what muſt her indignation and reſentment be, when ſhe diſcovered that her hopes were totally unfounded; and that no reliance could be placed on any ſanction, however ſolemn or ſacred, held out by the Britiſh legiſlature? Three weeks had elapſed, without a ſingle ſtep being taken, or a ſingle meaſure adopted, which could tend to the propoſed buſineſs. That, in order, if poſſible, to prevent the fatal and inevitable effects of ſuch a conduct, he had himſelf, on the 2d of June, moved for that ſecond addreſs which had been juſt read. The miniſters ſet their faces directly againſt the remedy, which their own faults had rendered neceſſary. The lateneſs of that ſeaſon, the waſte of which conſtituted no ſmall part of their crime, was the oſtenſible argument which unhappily prevailed in that houſe to the rejection of his motion; and thus the fate of Ireland was, by a Britiſh miniſtry and parliament, committed to fortune, chance, or accident.

The ſituation and circumſtances of that country were at the time ſingular. She had long maintained, for internal defence and ſecurity,

curity, a great military force, at an expence which exceeded her ability. Of this, contrary to royal faith and compact, she had been stripped, for the support of the American war; a contest in which she had no other national concern, than a well founded cause of apprehension, that the principle from which it had generated, would, in the next instance, be applied to the subversion of her own constitution. Struggling, as she had been before, under long continued oppression, this additional misfortune was decisive. For to crown the climax, in this state of weakness, she was known to be the marked object of hostile invasion from our powerful and inveterate enemies.

Still, however, she thought that the wisdom and justice of a British parliament would afford full redress to her domestic evils; and that deprived as she was of her internal strength, in the support of our quarrel, the power of this country would be her sure protection against the designs of the enemy. But the time was now arrived, which was to shew her hopes to be equally delusive in both respects. After appearances, which seemed only intended as a mockery of her distress, every prospect of relief was finally closed by the rising of the British parliament. On the other hand, as to the point of defence, the ministers told them plainly they must take care of themselves; they would spare them some arms; but as to protection, they acknowledged openly, and pleaded, inability.

Thus exposed, defenceless, and abandoned, Ireland was reduced to the simple alternative, of either perishing, or of finding the means of preservation within herself. Through the public spirit, and gallantry of her sons, she was happily saved. With a peculiar magnanimity, the most divided people in the universe instantly forgot all their differences, and united as one man to ward off the impending destruction of their country. The miracle in this instance, could only be equalled by that which ministers had already produced, in the union of the thirteen American colonies. Above forty thousand men were already arrayed, officered, and formed into regular bodies. This, already formidable, and daily increasing force, was not composed of mercenaries who had no interest in the cause for which they armed; it was composed of the nobility, gentry, merchants, respectable citizens, and substantial farmers; men who had each a stake to lose; and who were willing and able to devote their time, and a part of their property, to the defence of the whole.

By this union and exertion of native strength and spirit, all ideas of invasion were effectually erased from the designs of the enemy. But the Irish became sensible at the same time, of the respect due to that internal force, which, until it was called forth through the weakness of government, they were unconscious of possessing. The means were in their hands; and they seized the occasion with that spirit and wisdom, which shewed they were worthy of whatever advantages it was capable of affording.

In these circumstances, Ireland only acted the part, which every thinking

thinking man must have foreseen. The government had been abdicated, and the people resumed the powers vested in it; a measure in which they were justified, by every principle of the constitution, and every motive of self-preservation. But being now in full possession, they wisely and firmly determined, that in again delegating this inherent power, they would have it so regulated, and placed upon so sound and liberal a basis, as would effectually prevent a repetition of those oppressions which they had so long experienced.

Their parliament, usually at the devotion of the court, found itself, for once, obliged to conform to the universal sentiments of the people. The late address to the throne from both Houses of the Irish parliament declares, that nothing less than a free trade could save that country from certain ruin. This was the united voice of that kingdom, and conveyed through its proper constitutional organs; there was but one dissenting voice in both Houses. All orders and degrees of men, church of England Protestants, and Roman Catholics; Dissenters, and sectaries of all denominations; Whigs and Tories; placemen, pensioners, and country gentlemen; Englishmen by birth, all join in one voice, and concur in one opinion, for a free trade. But however guarded and temperate the language held by the Irish parliament upon that subject may be in their address, the public at large, in that country, were by no means disposed to consider the freedom of trade as a matter of favour or affection; on the contrary, their eyes were now opened in such a manner, that they viewed it as a natural, inherent, inalienable right; and as it is natural to men to fly from any extreme to its opposite, they do not by any means stop there; they not only call in question, but they absolutely deny, the right of the British parliament to bind that country in any case whatever; and upon that principle, have actually freighted a vessel with woollen goods for a foreign market, in order, that upon the stoppage, or refusal of clearance by the custom-house, the question might be brought to an issue in the common courts of law.

It was obvious, that at the time the noble marquis moved the first address, very moderate concessions would have afforded a full gratification to Ireland; that she would have thankfully received them, both as a proof of present affection, and as an earnest of further favour, when a more auspicious season should present a happier opportunity; and all who know the character of that country would acknowledge, that with such a proof of our kindness and good disposition, she would have disdained to press us, during the time of our troubles and difficulties, for any thing more, than what her own necessities rendered indispensibly and immediately necessary.

On the other hand it was equally evident that through the obstinacy of ministers, no less than their incapacity, and the contempt with which they rejected the advice of parliament, the happy season of conciliation and gratitude was now irrecoverably lost;

loſt; that whatever this country now granted, (and much it muſt grant) would be conſidered as a right, and not as a favour; and that it became difficult to ſay, as it was alarming to conſider, what might yet afford contentment to that kingdom. That, to ſum up the whole, miniſters had firſt ſacrificed the dignity, and hazarded the dominion of the crown, by reſigning the ſword, and relinquiſhing the government of that kingdom; and that now, they have reduced parliament to the melancholy dilemma, either of ſubmitting to whatever terms Ireland might chuſe to dictate, or to the loſs of that country, as well as of America.

He then moved a reſolution to the following purport—That it is highly criminal in his majeſty's miniſters to have neglected taking effectual meaſures for the relief of the kingdom of Ireland, in conſequence of the addreſs of this Houſe of the 11th of May, and of his majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer; and to have ſuffered the diſcontents of that country to riſe to ſuch a height as evidently to endanger the conſtitutional connection between the two kingdoms, and to create new embarraſments to the public counſels through diviſion and diffidence, in a moment when real unanimity, grounded upon mutual confidence and affection, is confeſſedly eſſential to the preſervation of what is left of the Britiſh empire.

The want of proof to ſubſtantiate the charges on which the cenſure included in the reſolution was ſuppoſed to be founded, was the ſtrong ground of objection to the motion taken on the other ſide. They ſaid that the cenſure went indiſcriminately to all his majeſty's miniſters; that it took in the dead, as well as the living; thoſe who had retired from public buſineſs, as well as thoſe who had not been a week in office. That it would be an act of the higheſt injuſtice, in any caſe, to paſs ſuch a cenſure, without the moſt direct and poſitive evidence. That in the preſent inſtance, there was not only a total defect of evidence, but the motion went to the condemnation of perſons who could not poſſibly be culpable.

In fact, what did the charge, taken in its utmoſt latitude, amount to? To no more than this, that parliament had deſired miniſters to do ſomething, which ſome of their lordſhips were of opinion they had not done. In that caſe, two queſtions aroſe which muſt be neceſſarily diſcuſſed, before any determination could be had. Firſt, whether miniſters had not executed what they had been deſired? Or, if they had not, whether they were blameable? There was not the ſmalleſt proof before them, that they had not fully complied with the intentions of parliament; or if it were granted that they had not, there was nothing to ſhew that they could have been complied with. Both muſt however be proved, before the Houſe could, with any colour of reaſon on juſtice, proceed to a vote on either ſide of the queſtion.

The papers on the tables of both Houſes, they ſaid, would fully ſhew, that miniſters had done every thing that lay with them; and that inſtead of being blameable, they were highly praiſeworthy,

worthy, for the diligence which they uſed, in procuring every kind of poſſible information relative to the affairs of Ireland for the conſideration of parliament. So far they went, and farther they could not, nor ſhould not have gone. The means of affording relief to Ireland lay ſolely with the legiſlature. It was a buſineſs of too great a magnitude to come within the embrace of miniſters. Nor was it a matter to be taken up lightly, nor carried through in a hurry, even by parliament. It included ſo many arduous queſtions, relative to the moſt important concerns, and commercial intereſts of both kingdoms, that the moſt mature deliberation, as well as the higheſt wiſdom, and every degree of information that had been obtained, would be found neceſſary for its final determination.

But if any thing more were wanting to convince their lordſhips that the charge was ill founded, and that the king's confidential ſervants had not, in the terms of the motion, been guilty of criminal neglect, a very few days would bring an additional teſtimony of the unwearied aſſiduity of miniſters; as, within that period, the noble miniſter in the other Houſe would bring forward certain propoſitions for the relief of Ireland, being the reſult of that information, which, during the receſs of parliament, they had employed themſelves in obtaining. They concluded, that they muſt on every ground oppoſe a motion, which, if agreed to, could tend only to create unneceſſary jealouſies and embarraſsments, at a time when all parties agreed, that to promote union was the firſt object of every man who wiſhed well to his country; and were at the ſame time themſelves thoroughly convinced, that both the letter and ſpirit of the addreſſes of the 11th of May had been fully complied with.

The defence drawn from a defect of proof, was laughed at by the oppoſition. The neglect charged upon miniſters, they ſaid, was ſelf-evident. The unexampled revolution in the affairs, and ſtill more ſo in the temper of Ireland; the preſent diſorders reigning in that country, and the general alarm which they have ſpread in this; with the new language held by the Iriſh parliament, and that merely an echo of the univerſal voice of the people, eſtabliſh a fund of evidence infinitely ſuperior to any, which the forms and circumſtances of a court of law can either require or compaſs. The Marquis of Rockingham undertook to ſhew, that the non-importation agreement in Ireland was far from general, and only entered into in ſome particular places, at the time of making his motion on the 11th of May. But as ſoon as Ireland perceived, that the relief promiſed by every part of the legiſlature, was witheld by miniſters, the non-importation agreement became general; and in the ſame manner, the ſpirit of military aſſociation, which was before directed ſolely to defence againſt a foreign enemy, aſſumed a new form; and from thence looked forward to compel that relief which was denied; an idea, which, while good will and good intentions appeared on our part, had never an exiſtence

ence in the minds of the people of Ireland. He inſiſted, that if any thing reaſonable, however moderate, had been done, when he firſt moved the buſineſs, or if parliament had been kept ſitting, according to the propoſition of his noble friend, of the 2d of June laſt, that neither the aſſociations, nor the non-importation agreements, would have ever aſſumed their preſent appearance, nor ever exiſted in their preſent extent.

He then aſked, whether their lordſhips, with ſuch ſelf-evident proofs before them, that it was perhaps the only meaſure that could extricate their country from the perils with which ſhe was on every ſide encompaſſed, could heſitate a moment, in paſſing the aweful, but highly neceſſary cenſure of parliament, upon thoſe men, whoſe neglect, or complicated folly and treachery, had forced the Iriſh into meaſures, which, however neceſſary and well intended, moſt clearly amounted to a ſuſpenſion, if not a ſubverſion, of all the powers of legal government; and who had thus involved the affairs of both countries in ſuch difficulties, as were likely without much caution and judgment on both ſides, to terminate in all the calamities and dangers of civil war? He therefore exhorted them in the moſt urgent terms to agree to the motion, as the only method of convincing Ireland, in the firſt inſtance, of the generous intentions of this country towards her, and that the treatment they had experienced from miniſters, by no means accorded with the real ſenſe of the parliament of Great Britain, but was ſolely imputable to the criminal conduct of the king's ſervants.

It was evident that the lords in adminiſtration wiſhed merely to get rid of the motion, without being at all diſpoſed to enter deeply into its ſubject, or to diſcuſs the various queſtions which aroſe from it. The debate on their ſide was more dry than uſual. This was attributed to their having no plan in readineſs. Their reſerve and backwardneſs continued, notwithſtanding the call made upon them, thro' the marked part taken by Earl Gower, late preſident of the council, which contained expreſſions of a nature unuſually ſtrong, and infinitely the ſtronger, as coming from one ſo lately of their own cabinet, and by no means diſpoſed to act in oppoſition to the court. Even this did not oblige them to quit that defenſive plan, in which for the preſent they entrenched themſelves.

That noble earl ſaid that he ſhould vote againſt the motion; although there did not exiſt a ſingle doubt in his mind, that the cenſure it contained was not well founded; and that his motive for acting ſo directly contrary to his opinion, was founded entirely upon the great reſpect with which he regarded the deciſions of that houſe. The men who were the object of public cenſure, had required a few days for their exculpation, and the wiſdom and dignity of parliament forbid their being refuſed the ſhort time which they deſired for that purpoſe. He was, for his own part, fully convinced, that the charge of neglect urged againſt them, was ſtrictly true, though not yet quite evident. Things were not yet ripe for proof, but they would, he ventured to ſay, be ſhortly ſo. He had the good fortune

fortune to unite the houſe laſt ſeſſion, upon the terms of the addreſs to the throne; and was in hopes, that ſomething effectual for the relief of Ireland would have ariſen from the unanimous concurrence of their lordſhips, in the amendment which he then had the honour to propoſe. If nothing had ſince been done for the relief of that country, he aſſured the houſe it was not owing to any fault of his; he had done every thing in his power to keep his word; he was ready to acknowledge, that he had ſolemnly pledge himſelf to their lordſhips; he thought himſelf then fully competent to the engagement; but he muſt now in his own juſtification declare, that his efforts had proved totally fruitleſs. It was not in his power, nor in the power of any individual, to have effected the intended purpoſe.

The noble earl obſerved, that he had preſided for ſome years at the council-table; and that he had ſeen ſuch things paſs of late, that no man of honour or conſcience could any longer ſit there. The times were ſuch as called upon every man to ſpeak out: the ſituation of theſe two kingdoms at preſent, particularly required ſincerity and activity in council. He was confident, that the reſources of this country were equal to the dangerous confederacy formed againſt us; but to profit by thoſe reſources, to give ſucceſs to thoſe abilities, energy and effect muſt be reſtored to government.

Such charges or declarations, coming from ſuch a quarter, and ſo authorized, were ſufficiently alarming; and it ſeemed not a little ſingular, that they did not bring out a ſingle word, whether of obſervation or reply, on the ſide of adminiſtration.

A great law lord, who has been long ſuppoſed to be higher even in favour and power than in office, had, in the laſt debate, ſtrongly recommended a coalition and union of men and of parties, as abſolutely neceſſary to the ſalvation of this country, in its preſent perilous circumſtances; and ſupported his opinion, with his uſual ability, by a reference to the happy effects which proceeded from former coalitions, particularly with reſpect to the coming in of Mr. Pitt, in the beginning of the late war. The tenor, however, of the whole preſent debate was ſuch, as ſhewed little diſpoſition to ſuch a coalition.

The queſtion being put, the motion was rejected on a diviſion, by a majority of more than two to one, the numbers being 82 to 37.

The miniſter in the Houſe of Commons was continually preſſed, in the ſame manner, and on the ſame ſubject. He was reminded of a general obſervation, ſo current without doors as to become almoſt proverbial, that miniſtry were conſtantly a day too late in all their meaſures; that what ſhould be done this day and this year, was then fully practicable, and capable of the greateſt benefits, was conſtantly deferred to the next; and then vainly and diſgracefully attempted, when it was become utterly impracticable. Such, they ſaid, had been the conduct of government, in every one ſtep it took with regard to America; and as America was loſt by this means, ſo would Ireland, if ſpeedy and effective

fective measures, originating from decisive counsels, were not immediately adopted.

Thus doubly pressed on the subject, apparently by the demands of opposition, and in reality by the short supply of the parliament of Ireland, he gave notice on the day of that debate which we have just stated, that he would, in something more than a week, move for a committee of the whole house to enter upon that business. He was then strongly urged to give the house some information of the ground which he intended to go upon; at least some general outline or idea of the plan which he had adopted for settling the affairs of Ireland. He was warned, on a subject of such vast importance, to lay by, what they termed, all wonted modes of concealment and surprize; not to consider it as a party matter; to remember, that in a business of such magnitude, and including the most essential interests of both kingdoms, it was necessary that gentlemen should be fully prepared, by the possession of every degree of previous information, to enter coolly, deliberately, and decisively into the subject. Particularly, that the minister's plan or system should not be disgraced, by any doing, and undoing, holding out and recanting, or appearance of trick and chicanery, in its progress through the house. The minister found the calls for an explanation, which he was not prepared to give, so urgent, and his non-compliance productive of so much observation and reflection, that he was at length under a sort of necessity of acknowledging, that the plan was not as yet finally agreed upon, and could not therefore be communicated.

In a few days after, a vote of censure upon the ministers for their conduct and neglect with respect to the affairs of Ireland, and similar to that which had been lately rejected by the lords, was moved in the House of Commons by the earl of Upper Ossory, and seconded by Lord Middleton. As the attacks on the minister were here more immediately and directly applied than in the other house, so his defence or justification, including of course that of his colleagues, was more fully entered into; and was in fact very ably conducted. Dec. 6th.

In the first place it was contended, that the distresses and miseries of Ireland could not with justice be attributed to the present, or to any late ministers of this country; that her grievances originated many years since in the general system of our trade laws; that the restrictions then laid on, arose from a narrow, short-sighted policy; a policy, which though conceived in prejudice, and founded on ignorance, was so strengthened by time, and confirmed by the habits of a century, that it seemed at length wrought into, and become a part of our very constitution. That the prejudices on that ground were so strong, both within the house and without, that the attempts made in two preceding sessions, only to obtain a moderate relaxation of the restrictions with which that country was bound, met with the most determined opposition; the few who undertook that invidious task, found themselves obliged to encounter preju-

dice without, petitions and counsel at the bar, and to be at length overborne by numbers within the house. It was then evident, that the house was at those times averse to the affording of any favour to Ireland, which could either interfere with our trade laws, or affect certain branches of our commerce or manufactures; nor did it signify, whether this temper proceeded from the common prejudice, or from the attention which they paid to the desires and wishes of their constituents, the operation and effect in either case were just the same. Thus, he said, ministers were fully exculpated from two of the principal charges brought against them. It was demonstrable, that they had no share whatever, in drawing on the calamities of Ireland; and it was as clearly evident, that it was not in their power to have afforded that timely redress to her grievances, a supposed or imputed neglect in which, has been made the ground of so much ingenious, but unfounded, and therefore unjust invective.

The two main pillars of the motion, he said, were, first the charge against ministers, of not effectively following up the address of the 11th of May, by continuing the sitting of the British parliament until redress was afforded to Ireland; and secondly, the charge of negligence since the prorogation, in their not having framed a proper plan for that purpose during the interim, so as to be ready immediately to lay it before parliament at the meeting. To these, he said, a number of answers were at hand, a few of which would be fully conclusive. The British parliament did not rise until the 3d of July, after a sitting of more than seven months. Nobody can have yet forgotten the alarming and dangerous state of public affairs during the last summer. The gentlemen in opposition have already taken care sufficiently to remind us, that the enemy were, for a great part of the time, masters of our coasts and of the channel. Descents and invasion were every day expected, and long threatened. A very great number of the members of both houses must of necessity have been drawn away to join their regiments, and to act in the defence of their country. Those even who held no commands in the militia or army, would have deemed their presence indispensably necessary, in those places where their fortunes and interests lay. Could it then have been consistent with propriety, with reason, or with safety, to have kept parliament sitting at such a period?

But if this necessity, arising from danger and the state of public affairs, had not even existed, still it would have been highly unfitting, and might have been attended with obvious ill consequences, for the British parliament to have at all entered upon the affairs of Ireland, until they were properly informed, what the nature of her wants and the extent of her demands were; as it was from these circumstances only, that any true judgment could be formed, as to the measure of relief which it would be fitting to afford to that country. Now as this knowledge could only be properly obtained from the Irish parliament, which every body knows was not then sitting, every shadow of blame against the ministers, with respect to the prorogation, vanishes

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of courſe. The ſame ſtatement of facts and arguments, goes equally to the overthrow of the ſecond principal charge laid againſt the miniſters, of negligence with reſpect to Ireland during the receſs, as likewiſe to that other, of their not having aſſembled the Britiſh parliament, previous to the meeting of the Iriſh. For if it was unfitting (which ſurely would not be denied) for the Britiſh parliament to enter upon the affairs of Ireland, until they were in poſſeſſion of thoſe data, which were neceſſary to regulate their meaſures, and to afford matter for eſtabliſhing their judgment, it muſt have been much more ſo for his majeſty's ſervants to venture in the dark upon a buſineſs of ſuch magnitude and importance; and the aſſembling of the Britiſh parliament before the Iriſh would have been abſurd, when they muſt neceſſarily wait for the proceedings of the latter.

But by convening the Iriſh parliament firſt, the ſentiments of that people, properly conveyed through the medium of their repreſentatives, was now fully underſtood. The queſtion of policy with regard to that country, and brought forward under the moſt unqueſtionable authority, was now laid fairly within the cognizance of the Britiſh legiſlature; and all they had now to conſider was, how far it would be adviſeable to comply with the requeſts made by Ireland; and with what terms and conditions it might be thought proper to charge the favours granted. The temper and diſpoſition of the people of this country had undergone a great and happy change with reſpect to that; prejudice had worn off both within doors and without; and parliament could not now confer any mark of favour upon Ireland, which would not meet with general approbation.

Upon the whole, he drew from the various premiſes which he ſtated, the following concluſions—That the preſent miniſters, inſtead of being inimical to Ireland, or inattentive to her intereſts, had been her beſt and warmeſt friends—That they had done more for her than all their predeceſſors during a century paſt.—That not only the nation at large, but parliament, were, until now, adverſe to the granting any conceſſions to Ireland, which could afford her either content or redreſs—And that conſequently, if any blame was due for not affording more early relief to Ireland, it was imputable only to the prejudices and temper of the people and parliament of this country, and not by any means to the miniſters; who, as they had no ſhare in the cauſes of her diſtreſſes, were equally guiltleſs as to their continuance.

This ſtate of things, and the arguments ariſing from, or by which it was accompanied, were oppoſed, and attempted to be invalidated by the oppoſition. They reprobated in terms of high indignation the imputation of prejudice laid to that houſe; by which miniſters, they ſaid, according to their now eſtabliſhed, but daring practice, attempted to father all their own blunders and miſdemeanors on parliament. They laughed at the pretended weakneſs and inefficiency with reſpect to the tranſactions of that houſe, which miniſters now affected, in order thereby to ſhield their own neglect with reſpect to Ireland. The miniſter upon this

occaſion is repreſented as a man of ſtraw, a creature deſtitute of all conſequence and efficacy, who only attends as one of the officers of the houſe, merely to hear and receive with reverential awe the decrees of parliament. The noble miniſter has not aſſumed any part of this delicacy upon occaſions, when it would have been highly becoming in him, and of infinite advantage to his country. In ſuch caſes, he has paid as little regard to popular clamour or cenſure without doors, as to reaſon or argument within. If a ſcheme is meditated for depriving all the freeholders in England of the nobleſt portion of their birthright; if the chartered rights of the greateſt commercial company in the univerſe are to be violently invaded, and all parliamentary faith at one ſtroke annihilated; or if a great quarter of the world, if thirteen nations, are to be at once ſtripped of all that is worth the conſideration and value of mankind, of all thoſe rights which they inherited from their anceſtors, and even of the means of exiſtence; on any, and on all of theſe occaſions, the miniſter ſtands forth in all the fulneſs of his power. He leads on his majorities of two or three to one, in all the eaſy pride and conſcious triumph of aſſured victory. He boaſts of them as appendages to his own inherent merit; and tells you gravely, that government could not ſubſiſt, without ſuch an overruling influence, and ſo deciſive a power. But if the nature of the ſervice is changed, and that he is called from the ſucceſsful works of deſtruction, to the ſalvation of one kingdom, by the preſervation of another, he ſinks at once into nothing, and has not authority or influence left, ſufficient for the opening of a turnpike gate. So that in fact it appears, as if the powers of government only exiſted in their contact with evil, but inſtantly loſt their efficacy when applied to any good purpoſe.

They, however, abſolutely denied, that the miniſter had been paſſive, neutral, or inefficacious, with reſpect to the affairs of Ireland; and on the contrary ſeverely charged him, with having, very unfortunately for this country, taken a very active part in that buſineſs in the preceding ſeſſion. For a bill having been brought in to afford ſome relief to Ireland, by admitting the direct importation of ſugars for their own conſumption, and he, as they ſaid, having for a time ſuffered things to take their natural courſe in that houſe, the bill was accordingly (as all matters ever would be under the ſame circumſtances) coolly and deliberately canvaſſed and debated in all its parts; and without being overwhelmed by thoſe extraordinary prejudices which are now pretended, and without its being ſupported by any powerful influence, worked its way, by the ſtrength of its own intrinſic merit, through repeated diviſions, until it had nearly arrived at the laſt ſtage of its progreſs. But at that inauſpicious moment, the miniſter having by ſome means been rouzed from his ſlumber, moſt unhappily reſumed his activity; and departing at once from that neutrality which he had hitherto profeſſed, came down in all the power, and ſurrounded with all the inſtruments of office, in order to defeat the meaſure. He accordingly ſucceeded

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in throwing out the bill; but, as a proof how little prejudice had to do in the buſineſs, his majority upon this occaſion was ſo totally diſproportioned to thoſe which attended his ſteps upon others, that a victory upon ſuch terms ſeemed ſome ſort of degradation. It was to be acknowledged, that the bill, in itſelf, was not of much value, and would have afforded but a ſcanty meaſure to Ireland of that relief which ſhe wanted; but the time, manner, and circumſtances of a favour, frequently ſtamp a greater value upon it than it inherently poſſeſſes; and the paſſing of the bill at that time, would evidently have produced very happy conſequences, and, in a great meaſure, if not entirely, have prevented all the miſchiefs and dangers which have ſince taken place with reſpect to that country. But, on the contrary, when the people of Ireland ſaw that the miniſter had thus openly ſet his face directly againſt them; and found after, that every effort in their favour was rendered abortive by his influence or management, until they ſaw themſelves at length totally abandoned by the riſing of the Britiſh parliament; it was no wonder then that they ſhould become deſperate; and that they ſhould ſeek in themſelves for the means of that redreſs, which they found denied both to favour and to juſtice. The only matter of admiration now, and which does them the higheſt honour as a people, is, that they have not yet proceeded to ſtill greater extremities, and that their demands are not abundantly more exorbitant than they yet appear. But their demands muſt be rejected with the ſame degree of ſcorn with which thoſe of America were treated, before they can think of following that example.

Miniſters, they ſaid, boaſted, that the diſtreſſes of Ireland had not originated with them. It would be readily admitted, tha ſhe was not without grievances, previous to the fatal period of their adminiſtration; but her immediate calamities ſprung principally from the grand ſource of all our evils and dangers, from their own American war. By that Ireland, like England, loſt a valuable part of her commerce, with leſs ability to ſupport the loſs; and the corrupt expences of a feeble government increaſed, as all the means of ſupplying them diminiſhed.

But if miniſters, ſaid they, did not adminiſter relief to Ireland themſelves, they may with juſtice boaſt, that they inſtructed her in the means of obtaining effectual redreſs. In fact, they taught Ireland by example, from their own conduct and that of America, every thing ſhe had to do. They had convinced her, that no extent of affection or ſervice to this country could entitle her either to favour or juſtice. But they ſhewed her at the ſame time, in a ſtriking inſtance, the benefits to be derived from a bold and determined reſiſtance. They taught her to dictate to the crown and parliament of England the terms of their future union. America, for her revolt, had a profuſion of favours held out to her. Every thing ſhort of nominal independency had been offered. Such was the reward of rebellion. The reward of loyalty, and of long forbearance under accumulated oppreſſion and internal diſtreſs, ſhe had herſelf juſt experienced,

rienced, in the refusal of so small a favour as the importation of her own sugars. Ireland, accordingly, profited of the example; and determined not to render vain the wisdom, nor to disappoint the good intentions of ministers.

She also enters into her commercial and military associations. She also, adhering strictly to the line in all its parts, holds the faith and integrity of government in exactly the same degree of contempt, which has been so long and so repeatedly expressed and shewn by the Americans; and which indeed was hitherto prevented, and seems still to shut out the possibility, not only of any reconciliation, but even of peace, with that people. The Irish parliament accordingly, to shew her total distrust of the good faith or honesty of the British government, departs from her own established rules and mode of action, and instead of making a provision for two years as usual, passes a short money bill for six months only; thus telling you, in plain mercantile language, that your character is so bad, that you cannot be trusted for more than six months credit; and pointing out at the same time the inevitable consequences which must immediately attend your refusal to comply with her demands.

Thus, said they, Ireland has filled up every part of the system on her side, but there seems a strange deficiency on that of the ministers. They have yet neglected to hurl the thunders of the cabinet against that kingdom, as they had done before against the continent of America. Dublin has had her mob and riot, as well as ill-fated Boston; yet neither her port has been shut up, nor the rioters brought over here to be tried by an English jury. No alteration has even taken place in the usual mode of trials in that country; their popular meetings and popular elections are not interrupted; no proscription has been issued against their leaders, nor has that kingdom been declared out of the king's peace; we see that Corke has still escaped the flames, nor do we hear that Waterford is yet reduced to ashes. Whence then this wonderful departure from the grand American system? The answer, they said, was plain and obvious. This change of system proceeded neither from lenity, humanity, a more enlightened policy, or from any real accession of wisdom. It proceeded from the tremendous appearance, and the real dangers of the present awful moment; these had compelled insolence and arrogance to give way to fear and humiliation. Ministers were overpowered, aghast, and astonished, in the horrors of that tempest which they had themselves raised; and this drove them to such lengths, as to defend, and to represent as prudent and constitutional, those things, which they considered as causes of war with America, and which they would consider as acts of rebellion even in England.

In this severe and sarcastic manner, and with these bitter parellels, was the whole of the ministers defence treated by opposition. But no part was handled with more spirit, than the plea

plea for not affording timely relief to Ireland, becauſe the parliament of that country was not then ſitting. As if (they ſaid) the Britiſh legiſlature was incapable of thinking juſtly, or acting rightly, with reſpect to the commercial intereſts of both kingdoms, until they were illuminated by thoſe beams of wiſdom and knowledge which were to be reflected on them by the Iriſh parliament. If the charge of incapacity was confined to the miniſters, friends and foes, all mankind, they ſaid, would readily concur in acknowledging the juſtneſs of the application; but with regard to the Britiſh parliament, the reflection was not only uncivil, but indeed conſtituted a libel of a new and ſingular nature. They ſaid, it was entirely needleſs to take the trouble of entering at all into the queſtion relative to the neceſſity of the riſing of parliament; for there had been more than ſufficient time, between the 11th of May, when the buſineſs was firſt brought before them, and the 3d of July, when the prorogation took place, to have done every thing that was then neceſſary with reſpect to the affairs of Ireland. But if they would not forward, why did they oppoſe the relief? Miniſters themſelves, ſaid they, acknowledge, that one half of what muſt now be yielded to Ireland, would then have afforded ſatisfaction. What atonement can they then make, to their ſovereign, to parliament, or to their country, for reducing them to the hard alternative, of either ſacrificing the ſupreme authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, by a compell'd compliance with all the demands of Ireland, or of being driven to the direful neceſſity of opening another civil war, when we are already ſurcharged by France, Spain, and America?

On the other hand, the miniſtry endeavoured to turn the tables on the oppoſition. Here, ſaid they, is the uniform courſe oppoſition faithfully holds, without any deviation from the eſtabliſhed precedents of all their forefathers in faction. Compulſion, conceſſion, things done, or things left undone, are alike a ſubject of clamour. If meaſures of vigour for ſupport of authority are adopted, a cry is raiſed as if tyranny were going to be eſtabliſhed. If, for the ſake of peace, conceſſions are to be made, then the dignity of the nation is ſacrificed. If meaſures are prompt and ſpirited, the miniſtry are accuſed of precipitation; if they are maturely weighed and conſidered, then the charge is timidity, irreſolution, and procraſtination. Finding it impoſſible to pleaſe theſe gentlemen, they would diſcharge their conſciences, and would do what they truſted would be both pleaſing and beneficial to England and Ireland. That, the loyalty of that country was too clear to be ſhaken by all the endeavours of factions either there or here; although attempts were not wanting, by comparing her caſe to that of America, to bring on the like confuſions in Ireland. The armaments in Ireland were ſolely directed againſt the common enemy; and they knew that the conceſſions which would be propoſed (and they hoped adopted) in parliament, as they would be adequate to the neceſſities of

Ireland, would be satisfactory to her wishes. If they were not, both nations would know who to thank for the consequences. The ministers had long and inveterate prejudices to deal with in this kingdom, which obliged them to defer relief to Ireland, until England saw the propriety of it. When such prejudices prevailed, it was necessary perhaps that some inconveniences should be felt from the prevalence of similar prejudices in others, and thus, that the opposite passions of men ballancing each other, might bring them all at length to reason. History confirmed this principle; and it has been seldom or ever known, that one narrow self-interest in states has been got the better of, but in the conflict with some other. It would be hard to make the present ministers answerable for the natural course of things.

The debates were long, various, and interesting. All the wit, ability, and eloquence of the opposition, were thrown out without measure or reserve against the ministers. On their side, they exerted themselves much more than they had done in the House of Lords. The two great leaders and speakers of the opposition in that house took a large share in the debate, and were as usual distinguished. The appearance of Mr. Fox, after his recovery from the wound which he had received in the late duel, occasioned by something that had fallen from him on the first day of the session, afforded matter of much general curiosity; and that incident seemed now to have produced a renovation, rather than any detraction of his former spirit.

The question being put at half after twelve o'clock, the motion was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 173, to 100.

An unexpected motion made on the following day by the Duke of Richmond, brought on a considerable debate in the House of Lords. The noble duke having stated the vast combination of force which was formed against this country, which was left without friend or ally; the suspicious or unfavourable appearance of some powers who were not in declared enmity, and the total indifference, at best, of all others; then entered into a detailed statement of our present vast military establishments by sea and land; which, including the late augmentation of above 20,000 men to the land force, would not fall much short, he shewed, in both departments, of 300,000 men. He proceeded to argue, that it would exceed the ability of any power whatever in Europe, to support, for any continuance, this prodigious force, by sea and land, at the enormous expence which it created to this country. Without at all taking into the account, that the commercial losses of this country, including those of all kinds which proceeded from the defection of her colonies, far exceeded in extent, what could well have fallen to the lot of any other state. 7th.

He then proceeded to examine the state of our resources, and laid down the actual expences of the war. He shewed, by a number of calculations, that if the war only continued to the end of the

the enſuing year, and was only to conſume the proviſion which parliament was now making for its ſupport, it would, by that time, complete an addition from its beginning, of ſixty-three millions to the former national debt; the whole then amounting to very little ſhort of two hundred millions. And, that as the miniſter had given on an average about ſix per cent. for the new debt, the ſtanding intereſt of the whole would not amount to leſs than eight millions ſterling annually; a tribute, to the payment of which, all the landed property in England was to be for ever mortgaged.

Such, he ſaid, would be the ſtate of this country with reſpect to its finances at the cloſe of the following year; and it would only be better by twelve millions, were peace to be concluded at the inſtant he was ſpeaking. Under ſo vaſt a burthen, an expenditure conſtantly increaſing, and which already exceeded all meaſure and example, the moſt exact and rigid public œconomy, along with the moſt liberal exertions of public ſpirit, were abſolutely neceſſary for our preſervation. Our formidable neighbour and enemy had ſet us the example of œconomy. Whilſt the Engliſh were bent down to the earth under the preſſure of their burthens, and the induſtry of our miniſter was exhauſted, in multiplying new and vexatious, but unproductive objects of taxation, France, through the ability of her miniſter, by a judicious reform in the collection and expenditure of her finances, had not yet laid a ſingle tax on her people for the ſupport of the war. How different was the conduct in this country. Inſtead of any attempt towards the practice, or even any profeſſion or pretence of œconomy, our expenditure was ſo ſhamefully laviſh, as to ſurpaſs all recorded example of waſte and miſmanagement, in the weakeſt and moſt corrupt governments.

Our affairs were now, however, he ſaid, arrived at ſuch a point of diſtreſs and danger, as laid us under an abſolute neceſſity of recurring to that never-failing ſource of wealth, œconomy. We could not otherwiſe hope to work out our national ſalvation. It muſt begin ſomewhere, and in ſo trying a ſeaſon as the preſent, he could not but be of opinion, that the example ſhould come from the ſovereign. It would then have a great and general effect; and he could not doubt, that after ſuch a beginning, there was one of their lordſhips, who would not chearfully relinquiſh ſuch a part of their public emoluments, as his majeſty might think proper to recommend. The example would go ſtill farther. It would ſpread through the different departments of the ſtate; it would influence the conduct, and excite the public ſpirit of individuals; and it would likewiſe, in its effect, tend to reſtrain that boundleſs profuſion in the public expenditure which at preſent prevailed. He did not wiſh to abridge the crown of any thing which was neceſſary to ſupport its ſplendour and dignity. He was certain his intended motion could not at all produce that effect. Parliament had, a few years before, augmented the civil liſt

liſt to the enormous amount of 900,000l. a year. His motion could go no farther, in its utmoſt preſumed extent, than to bring it again to that ſtate, in which both the honour and ſplendour of the crown had been well ſupported, in much happier times and more proſperous ſeaſons.

He accordingly moved for an addreſs to the following purport—To beſeech his majeſty to reflect on the manifold diſtreſſes and difficulties, in which this country is involved, and too deeply felt to ſtand in need of enumeration—To repreſent, that amidſt the many and various matters that require reformation, and muſt undergo correction, before this country can riſe ſuperior to its powerful enemies, the waſte of public treaſure requires inſtant remedy—That profuſion is not vigour; and that it is become indiſpenſably neceſſary to adopt that true œconomy, which, by reforming all uſeleſs expences, creates confidence in government, gives energy to its exertions, and provides the means for their continuance.—Humbly to ſubmit to his majeſty, that a conſiderable reduction of the civil liſt, would be an example well worthy his majeſty's paternal affection for his people, and his own dignity; could not fail of diffuſing its influence through every department of the ſtate, and would add true luſtre to his crown, from the grateful feelings of a diſtreſſed people.—And, to aſſure his majeſty, that this Houſe will readily concur in promoting ſo deſirable a purpoſe; and that every one of its members will chearfully ſubmit to ſuch reduction of emolument in any office he may hold, as his majeſty in his royal wiſdom may think proper to make.

The lords in adminiſtration agreed in general with the noble duke, as to the repreſentation of public affairs which he had laid down as the grounds of his motion. We were certainly involved in a dangerous and expenſive war, and obliged to contend with one of the moſt formidable confederacies that Europe had ever beheld. They likewiſe acknowledged, that there had been ſome want of œconomy during the preſent adminiſtration; but they rather conſidered this circumſtance as incident to a ſtate of war, than as being peculiar to the miniſters. They, however, wiſhed, that a more clear and ſatisfactory manner was adopted in ſtating the public accounts, and that the ſtricteſt œconomy ſhould be practiſed in the public expenditure.

But they oppoſed the motion, with reſpect to its direct and principal object, on various grounds; particularly from a conviction that it could not be of any ſervice, and conſidering it beſides, as being of an improper tendency. The mode, they ſaid, was totally inadequate to its object, of extricating us in any degree from our preſent difficulties; at the ſame time that it conveyed a cenſure upon the former proceedings of that Houſe, in the augmentation of the civil liſt. It was inconſiſtent and unjuſt to attempt to withdraw from his majeſty what had been ſo unanimouſly granted to him by parliament. It would be paltry and mean to tax the ſalaries of the ſervants of the crown; and the revenue ſo raiſed would be

be trifling, and totally incompetent to any of the great purpoſes of national expenditure. If we were reduced to ſuch an extremity of diſtreſs as rendered the meaſure indiſpenſably neceſſary, let the contributions from the public benevolence or ſpirit be general and optional; let us follow the example of Holland in ſuch a ſituation, where money was received, without any ſpecification, in the public treaſury, and without its being in any degree accountable for.

Whatever ſyſtem of œconomy might be adopted, it ſhould not by any means, they ſaid, begin at the crown; the ſplendour of which ſhould at all events be maintained, as including in it the honour and dignity of the empire. Œconomy ſhould be directed to the various departments which were connected with the public expenditure, ſo that their reſpective buſineſs might be prudently and honeſtly adminiſtered. They were all intereſted in ſupporting the honour and dignity of the crown; and they muſt all partake in the ſatisfaction of that increaſe of the royal family, which increaſed the neceſſity of an ample revenue. Were we fallen to that deplorable and abject ſtate, to be under a neceſſity of publiſhing to all the world, that we were unable to continue that income which we had ſo freely granted to his majeſty? Such a proceeding would ſink and degrade us ſo much in the eyes of all Europe, that inſtead of affording any benefit, it would be productive of great national prejudice.

The noble lord at the head of the law encountered the motion, with all the weight of his own great natural abilities, as well as with that refined ſubtilty and acuteneſs of argument, which may in ſome degree be conſidered as profeſſional. He aſked, who knew of thoſe diſtreſſes which were ſtated in the motion? How were they before the Houſe? From what inveſtigation of their lordſhips, as a houſe of parliament, was ſuch a reſult drawn? Another aſſertion, he ſaid, was ſurely of too much importance to be hazarded on mere ſpeculation. The motion ſtated that "the waſte of public treaſure required inſtant remedy." If the fact were ſo, the department of government ought to be directly pointed out, in which the waſte of the public treaſure lay; otherwiſe the charge was unjuſt, becauſe it applied alike to all public offices. If the fact were not true, the injuſtice was manifeſtly ſtill greater. No kind of proof had been offered; much leſs had the fact been even attempted to be eſtabliſhed in parliamentary form. Such being the caſe, he ſubmitted to the Houſe, how far it would be decent, how far it would be juſt, to vote an addreſs, which, in any part of it, contained a general and undefined charge againſt the king's ſervants.

As to the main propoſitions, which included the ſubſtance of the motion, he objected to the want of ſpecification, as he did to the defect of proof with reſpect to the preceding aſſertions. What was to be underſtood by the words *conſiderable reduction?* Did they ſignify a moiety, or two thirds of

of the civil list? What minister could, under such a direction, venture to give his majesty any counsel, or to explain to him what the House desired? But he particularly reminded the lords, that if the motion was carried, it could not enforce the advice. It was no act of parliament. His majesty's civil list was established at its present amount, by a positive act of parliament. He concluded by endeavouring to shew, that the object of the address, if the words and language of the motion fairly avowed its purpose, was both inexpedient and impracticable; if it were intended only as a covert attack upon the ministers, and as a means of turning them out of office, he thought it would be more fair and more honourable, to come forward, in a more explicit, a more direct, and a more obvious manner.

The lords in opposition, however, supported the motion with great vigour. The noble earl, who had been himself the mover of the late addition to the civil list, stated the reasons, why he now thought a retrenchment of that establishment to be, even, more necessary, than he, at that time, did its increase. The times were unhappily changed; the situation of this country was totally different; our revenue was lessened; our resources greatly exhausted. The immense sums raised upon the people were either entirely diverted from their purpose, or if applied, squandered without wisdom or effect. With a vastness of supply before unheard of, and a prodigious, but misapplied and ill-directed force, he said, that the coasts of this country were more exposed and defenceless, and her dependencies and commerce in every part of the world worse protected, than ever had been known in any former war whatever. In a word, that our misconduct and misgovernment was so glaring, that this country excited either the pity or contempt of all the world. We were become despicable in the eyes of our avowed enemies, as well as of those who had not yet declared themselves such.

It was only regretted on that side, that the measure had not originated from the throne. Surely they said, if his majesty had any real friends about him, they would not fail to have suggested a measure, which would so effectually have conciliated the affections of all ranks of his subjects; who admiring it, when coming unsought from the father of his people, as an act of the highest wisdom and goodness, could never think they had means sufficient for expressing their gratitude. Queen Anne had set the example, in a war of a far different nature from the present; she had the good sense or good fortune, during all the bright part of her reign, to be guided by wise and honest counsels; she allotted 100,000l. a year of her private revenue to the support of the war; and her civil list was lower by 300,000l. than the present establishment.

Other lords on that side went farther. They attributed all our misfortunes and calamities, to the long increasing and now prodigious influence of the crown. They considered the augmentation of the civil list, as having greatly

greatly increaſed and confirmed that influence. They ſaid, that all temporizing expedients to relieve the people would prove ineffectual; that a reformation of the conſtitution was called for; that its principles were perverted; and that until it was reſtored to its native and original purity, this country could never recover its former power and character, nor could any thing great or deciſive be expected from its utmoſt exertions.—A noble lord, in a high military office, declared his concurrence to the motion, provided that it extended to all places under government: he ſaid, that he knew it was what all people expected; that all ranks felt the general calamity, and looked out impatiently for relief; and that he would chearfully give up the whole emoluments of his own place for the good of his country.

The great and learned law lord was congratulated, on his happy ignorance of thoſe manifold public diſtreſſes and calamities, of which every other man in the kingdom, they ſaid, had too ſenſible a knowledge. He was likewiſe, they ſaid, the only ignorant man in the kigdom, with reſpect to that waſte of the public treaſure which was ſtated in the propoſed addreſs. The fact had been charged, admitted, or acknowledged, on every ſide of the Houſe; and even confirmed by the declaration of a noble viſcount newly come into high office, that the fact was truly ſtated. Although it could not be difficult to give to facts of ſuch notoriety the fulleſt degree of conviction, yet, in order to obtain the learned lord's concurrence with the more material parts of the addreſs, they would undertake to induce the noble framer to withdraw thoſe two paſſages of objection.

The queſtion being at length put, the motion was rejected, upon a diviſion, by a majority of forty-one, the numbers being 77 to 36; including ten proxies on one ſide, and three on the other.

The miniſter at length opened his propoſitions for affording relief to Ireland, in the Houſe of Commons. They were three in number, and went to the following articles.—To the repeal of thoſe laws, which prohibit the exportation of Iriſh manufactures, made of or mixed with wool, and wool flocks, from Ireland to any part of Europe.—That ſo much of the act of 19th George II. as prohibits the importation of glaſs into Ireland, except of Britiſh manufacture, or to export glaſs from that kingdom, be repealed.—And, that Ireland be ſuffered to carry on a trade of export and import to and from the Britiſh colonies, in America and the Weſt Indies, and her ſettlements on the coaſts of Africa, ſubject to ſuch limitations, regulations, reſtrictions, and duties, as the parliament of Ireland ſhall impoſe. Dec. 13th.

The noble lord ſtated, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, and of equal ability and knowledge of the ſubject, the propriety and juſtice, as well as the neceſſity, of affording relief to Ireland; and entered fully into the claims of that country, as well with reſpect to her natural and inherent rights, as to thoſe ariſing from her particular

cular connection with Great Britain. He likewiſe expatiated largely on the mutual and reſpective intereſts of both countries; and very happily collected into one point of view almoſt all thoſe queſtions of commerce and policy, which we have already ſeen agitated upon the ſubject. Indeed, it would not have been eaſy at preſent to diſcover much new ground, upon the general queſtions of right, juſtice, or reciprocal advantage, whatever might be derived from expedience or immediate neceſſity. Such was the happy temper now prevailing, that the reſolutions were agreed to without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. Some ſhort diſcourſe of the nature formerly related; ſome reproach for delay; and ſome doubt of the complete efficacy of any thing which could be done in the preſent circumſtances to give complete ſatisfaction, was the whole of what paſſed on a ſubject, which would formerly have agitated, poſſibly convulſed the whole empire. But the late great revolution had rendered every change eaſy. Bills founded on the two firſt propoſitions were accordingly brought in, paſſed both houſes with the utmoſt facility, and received the royal aſſent, before the receſs. The third, being more complex in its nature, requiring a variety of enquiry, and being ſubject to ſeveral limitations and conditions, was ſuffered to lie over the holidays in its preſent ſtate of an open propoſition; not only to afford time for conſideration here, but for acquiring a knowledge of the effect which the meaſure would produce in Ireland.

The vaſt ſums which were charged to the extraordinaries of the army, and which every year became ſtill more enormous, had long been a ſubject of complaint with the oppoſition in both houſes of parliament; who had likewiſe, from time to time, made various ineffectual attempts to reſtrain them within ſome defined limits.

Although the buſineſs ſeemed more properly to appertain to the Houſe of Commons, yet the former failure, or preſent hopeleſſneſs of ſucceſs there, probably were the motives which induced the Earl of Shelburne to bring it now forward before the lords, who were accordingly ſummoned for the purpoſe. He introduced his motion by entering into an ample diſcuſſion of its ſubject, and by an accurate comparative eſtimate of the extraordinary military ſervices of former reigns, and of the preſent. On this ground he ſtated a number of curious and intereſting facts. He ſhewed that the extras of King William's reign, when a war was carried on in Flanders, Ireland, and the Weſt Indies, did not exceed, in the higheſt year of the revolution war, 100,000l. That in the next, the ſucceſſion war, which we maintained in Germany, on the banks of the Danube, in Flanders, Spain, the Mediterranean, North America, and the Weſt Indies, the extras never exceeded 200,000l. And, that in the firſt war of the late king, waged with France and Spain jointly, they did not, in any one year, exceed 400,000l. 15th.

That during the late war, the moſt extenſive, and alſo the moſt expenſive, in which this country had

had ever been engaged, the extraordinaries of the year 1757 were only 800,000l. while thoſe of 1777 amounted to 1,200,000l. beſides a million granted for the tranſport ſervice; thus, upon the whole, exceeding two millions. That the higheſt year of the late war, that of 1762, when our arms were triumphant in every quarter of the globe; when we ſupported 80,000 men in Germany, beſides victorious armies in North America, the Britiſh and French Weſt Indies, the Eaſt Indies, in Portugal, on the coaſt of France, and at the reduction of the Havannah, the whole of the extras did not exceed two millions; whereas the two laſt defenſive campaigns would be found, when the accounts of the latter of the two were made up, to amount to the enormous ſum of upwards of three millions each. And that the extra military charges in the laſt four years, during the greater part of which the conteſt was confined to the Americans only, would be found to amount to a ſum very nearly equal to the whole expenditure of the firſt four years of King William's, and fully equal to the two firſt years of the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns.

He then proceeded to ſtate and explain the cauſes, to which he attributed the monſtrous diſproportion between the preſent military extraordinaries, and thoſe of any former period. In this curious and particular detail he ſtated, that only one contractor had been employed in the laſt war for the ſupply of the forces in America; but that the miniſter had ſplit the preſent contract into twelve parts, in order to make a return to ſo many of his friends for the ſervices which he received from them at home. That in the former inſtance, the ſole contractor, Sir William Baker, was bound to furniſh proviſions on the ſpot, in America, at ſixpence a ration; whereas the preſent contractors were only to deliver rations at the ſame price in Corke; ſo that the whole freight, inſurance, riſque, and all other poſſible expences, were taken out of the pockets of the public, and put into the pockets of the miniſter's contracting friends. From which, and from a variety of other ſpecified inſtances of miſmanagement, he pledged himſelf to the proof, that every ration now delivered in America ſtood the public in two ſhillings, inſtead of ſixpence, which they coſt in the laſt war.

He went the whole round of contracts in this courſe; and while he treated the conduct of the miniſter without mercy, he was nothing more ſparing of the contractors. He paid particular attention to the ſuppoſed favourite of the miniſter in that line. That man, he ſaid, notwithſtanding his reprobation in parliament, and his detection in the moſt glaring impoſition on the public, had contracts given him, in the years 1777 and 1778, to the amount of 1,300,000l.; and probably, his contracts in the preceding year, (the accounts of which were not yet deliverd in) far exceeded thoſe in either of the two former. He was exceedingly ſevere on the conduct of the miniſter with this ſuppoſed favourite contractor. Nor did he paſs over the gold, or bullion contractor, through whoſe hands,

hands, he ſaid, no leſs than three millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds in ſpecie had been tranſmitted to America, and for which a ſingle voucher had not been produced. That immenſe ſum, he ſaid, had been written off in thirty or forty lines, without any account, or ſpecification whatever, forty thouſand pounds in one line, twenty in another, and thirty in a third. When it was remembered that the tranſport ſervice, ordnance, proviſions, ſtores, pay, new appointments, and, in a word, every item of expence that could be thought of, were all ſeparately provided for, and each brought to account under its proper head, it muſt ſurely puzzle the moſt quick and fertile genius, even to gueſs, in what manner, or to what uſe, this enormous ſum, of nearly four millions, could have been applied.

After going over a vaſt quantity and great variety of matter relative to the ſubject, he opened his views more particularly with reſpect to his intended motions. He ſaid that an unconſtitutional, miniſterial influence, had uſurped the regal prerogative, which it was now become abſolutely neceſſary to cruſh for the ſalvation of this country. That this miſchief aroſe principally from the opportunity, now afforded in a greater degree than ever to the firſt lord of the treaſury, of expending millions of the public money without account, and conſequently without œconomy. And, that as the army extraordinaries afforded the moſt unlimited means to the miniſter, for the propagation and ſupport of that fatal ſyſtem of influence and corruption, he would make that laviſh head of expenditure the firſt and great object of his enquiry and cenſure.

He accordingly moved his firſt reſolution to the following purport,—That the alarming addition annually making to the preſent enormous national debt, under the head of extraordinaries, incurred in the different ſervices, requires immediate check and controul.—The increaſing the public expence beyond the grants of parliament, being at all times an invaſion of the fundamental rights of parliament; and the utmoſt œconomy being indiſpenſably neceſſary, in the preſent reduced and deplorable ſtate of the landed and mercantile intereſt of Great Britain and Ireland.

The defence on the part of the miniſtry was extremely ſhort and dry. It is not clear, whether this aroſe from ſome diſagreement between the miniſters, which did not permit them to be much diſpleaſed with the arraignment of a conduct, in which none in that Houſe was officially concerned; or whether at the time, they were not ſufficiently inſtructed in the ſtate of the queſtion to anſwer to it fully. Whatever was the cauſe, the chancellor ſeeing no likelihood of a debate, after waiting a conſiderable time, proceeded at length to put the queſtion. This called up a noble duke in the oppoſition, who expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and indignation, that miniſters ſhould venture to ſit ſtill under ſuch charges, without an attempt at anſwer or defence. A noble earl likewiſe, who had lately ſucceeded to his ſeat in that Houſe, declared, that during fifteen years he had ſat in the other

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he had never seen a question of such importance treated with indifference or silence, or what was full as bad, with some feeble attempt which meant nothing, and seemed intended to mean nothing.

This at length drew out some vindication of the character of the noble minister in the other House; who was said to be clean handed in the most eminent degree; and who would go out of office in a state of poverty, if it were to happen on the following day. They chiefly relied on the defect of proof to support the facts or charges; that the motion reversed the order of things; it proceeded to punishment before it convicted, and was therefore preposterous; that every part of the public expenditure was already subject to check and controul at the exchequer. That such enquiries, and so conducted, would be in fact to establish a new committee of safety, and, under pretences of correcting the abuses of administration, would tend to the subversion of the constitution; that we were besides engaged in a great war, and must not starve it; if a proper confidence was not placed in our commanders, it could not at all be carried on; and, that the principal precedent brought to shew the former interference of paliament on similar occasions, was drawn from the scandalous administration of the year 1711, which should alone be a sufficient motive for reprobating the present motion.

It was accordingly rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 81, including 21 proxies, to 41, including four proxies; being as nearly two to one, as it was possible without being quite so.

The noble earl, after the division, having informed the House of the purport of his second intended proposition, which went to the appointment of a committee for enquiring into the several parts of the public expenditure, and considering what reductions or savings could with consistency be made, then moved, that it should be taken into consideration on the 8th of the following February, which was agreed to.

The rejection, however, of his first motion, together with that of the Duke of Richmond's, on the 7th instant, served much to increase the public dissatisfaction, which, whether with or without reason, did now, much more than at any former period, certainly prevail without doors, and to give strength and confirmation to that opinion which was also very generally prevalent, that no hope of obtaining redress now remained, until such measures were pursued by the people at large, as would, by dissolving that unnatural combination which was charged to subsist between ministers and the representative body, restore the antient dignity, and the former energy of parliament. Thanks from the city of London were voted to the noble duke and earl for their past motions, accompanied with the fullest approbation of that announced for the 8th of February, and an assurance of every constitutional support in their power to those necessary plans of reformation proposed by them. The business was likewise soon adopted in the counties; and from this time that spirit of reformation be-

gan to appear, which we have ſince ſeen produce ſo many meetings, aſſociations, and projects, in almoſt all parts of the kingdom, though with different degrees of warmth, and different extent of objects, for correcting the ſuppoſed vices of government, and for reſtoring the independency of parliament. The city of London likewiſe ſent ſeparate letters of thanks and acknowledgment to all the lords who had voted in ſupport of the two paſt motions, including his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, whoſe name appeared at the head of the minority on the laſt diviſion; theſe letters, with their reſpective anſwers, were publiſhed in moſt of the papers at that time.

It was on the very day of Lord Shelburne's motion, that Mr. Burke opened in the Houſe of Commons ſuch parts as it was yet thought fitting and neceſſary to expoſe, of that celebrated plan of public œconomy, and attempt towards a reform or leſſening of corrupt influence, which afterwards afforded ſo many ſubjects of parliamentary diſcuſſion, and was, for a long time, an object of ſo much general admiration. He likewiſe gave notice, that he would bring on the buſineſs as ſoon after the holidays as poſſible; and amidſt a variety of obſervations and arguments, to enforce the propriety, expediency, and neceſſity of the propoſed meaſure, particularly alluded to the buſineſs then carrying on in the other Houſe.

He ſaid, that the deſire of reformation operated every where, but where it ought to operate moſt ſtrongly, in that Houſe. That the propoſitions which had been lately made, and were that day making, in the other Houſe, although highly laudable in themſelves, were no leſs than a reproach to that in which he ſate. To them, who claimed the excluſive management of the public purſe, all interference of the lords, in their peculiar province, was, at leaſt, a reproach. It might be ſomething worſe; for, if the lords ſhould aſſume or uſurp the performance of a duty of theirs, which they neglected, they would be ſupported in an uſurpation which was become neceſſary to the public. Privileges were loſt by neglect, as well as by abuſe. That old parliamentary forms and privileges were no trifles, he would freely grant; but the nation called for ſomething more ſubſtantial than the very beſt of them; and if form and duty muſt be ſeparated, they would prefer the duty without the form, to the form without the duty. If both lords and commons ſhould conſpire in a neglect of duty, other means, ſtill more irregular than the inteference of the lords might be now conſidered, would be undoubtedly reſorted to; for, he conceived the nation would, ſome way or other, have its buſineſs done; or otherwiſe, that it could not much longer continue to be a nation.

Other arguments, on different grounds, but tending to the ſame object, will appear in their proper place. A noble lord, of a family highly conſidered for its conſtitutional principles, and who always draws great attention in the Houſe of Commons, where he is looked on as a leader of the Whigs, declared,

clared, that Mr. Burke had communicated his plan to him, ſo far as it was yet perfected; and that it not only met with his warmeſt approbation, but that he was convinced (from reaſonings and facts which he ſtated, tending to ſhew the public diſtreſſes and expectations) that it was become abſolutely neceſſary that ſomething of the kind ſhould be done, in order to remove the preſent diſſatisfactions, by meeting the wiſhes of the people. He had, however, told his honourable friend at the time, that although he highly approved of his plan, wiſhed it all poſſible ſucceſs, and was fully ſenſible that ſome remedy of the ſort was earneſtly expected by the public from that houſe, and more particularly from his ſide of it, yet he much doubted, whether parliament had virtue enough at that time to bring ſo right a meaſure to perfection.

A gentleman, from the northern part of the united kingdom, diſtinguiſhed for his candour, temper, and moderation in oppoſition, declared on his conſcience he was firmly perſuaded, that the undue influence of the crown was the true cauſe of the miſchievous origin, the deſtructive progreſs, the abſurd conduct, and the obſtinate proſecution, without view or hope, of the accurſed American war; which was now univerſally felt, and generally acknowledged, as being in itſelf the cauſe of all the other misfortunes of Great Britain, and particularly of the preſent naval greatneſs of the houſe of Bourbon. He ſaid, that from the cordial affection he bore to his ſovereign, he felt himſelf bound, ſo far as he was able, to remove that evil. He thought himſelf bound to it by his faith, by his allegiance, and by the ſacred oath he had taken to his majeſty. By that ſacred bond and indiſſoluble obligation, he was compelled to do every thing in his power to ſecure the ſtability of the throne. "This influence ſhakes "it; it may ſubvert it; and no"thing can be undertaken more "worthy of a good ſubject, than "to remove, in time, this means "of miſchief and danger to the "king."

Upon this diſcourſe, Mr. Fox, who was juſt come in from the Houſe of Lords, ſaid, that the firſt men in the kingdom, the firſt in abilities, the firſt in eſtimation, were then libelling that houſe. Every inſtance they gave, (and the inſtances he ſaid were many and ſtrong) of uncorrected abuſe, with regard to public money, was a direct libel on that houſe. Every argument they uſed for the reduction of prodigal expence, and their arguments were various and unanſwerable, was a libel on that houſe. Every thing they ſtated on the luxuriant growth of corrupt influence, (and it was never, he ſaid, half ſo flouriſhing) was a moſt ſevere and direct libel on that houſe.

But that houſe, he ſaid, would be brought, by proper means, to wipe off all thoſe imputations. The people had for a long time been ſlow and torpid. They had, however, at length, been quickened by their feelings to a ſenſe of their ſituation and ſufferings. He accorded with the opinion of a noble lord, that there was not virtue enough within thoſe walls, to go through with the plan of reformation which his honourable friend had to propoſe. But the virtue of neceſſity would at laſt ani-

mate the people; and, through them, it would likewiſe animate and correct that houſe. The virtue of neceſſity, ſure in its principle, and irreſiſtible in its operation, was an effectual reformer. It awakens late; but it calls up many other virtues to its aid; and their joint exertion will infallibly bear down the greateſt force, and will infallibly diſſipate the ſtrongeſt combination, that corrupt men have ever formed, or can ever form againſt them.

He applauded the ſentiment of the gentleman who ſpoke juſt before him, that his duty and allegiance to the king were ſtrong motives with him for wiſhing ſucceſs to the preſent propoſition. Theſe motives, he ſaid, muſt undoubtedly operate in the ſame manner with every good ſubject. Could the king, he ſaid, poſſibly enjoy the affection and confidence of his people, when his intereſt was wholly diſſociated from theirs, and put upon a bottom perfectly ſeparate? It is but one and the ſame principle, which cements friendſhip between man and man in ſociety, and which promotes affection between king and ſubject: namely, that they ſhare but one fortune; that they flouriſh by the ſame proſperity, and are equal ſufferers by the ſame diſtreſs; that the calamity of the people is the depreſſion of the prince. On any other terms, there can be no ſympathy between men in any relation of life.

He concluded by hoping, that his honourable friend would add perſeverance, to the diligence and ability which he had already employed, in his plan for leſſening the public expences, and for reducing the ruinous influence of the crown; and that all men who had an intereſt in their country, who profeſſed a zeal for her welfare, a regard for the honour of parliament, and an affection for the conſtitution, would now have but one mind, and heartily unite, in promoting a meaſure ſo highly uſeful, and at this time ſo abſolutely neceſſary.

While the ſcheme of reformation was thus warmly patronized and commended by the oppoſition, and drew out no ſmall ſhare of praiſe and applauſe to its author from all ſides of the houſe, the miniſter was totally ſilent; an appearance of indifference, which did not paſs without ſome ſevere comments from his adverſaries.

The eſtimates of the army, and the augmentation of the land force, had (as uſual of late) drawn out much debate, cenſure, and ſome attempts at particular enquiry, in the Houſe of Commons. The eſtimates of the ordnance likewiſe, which amounted to the ſum of 1,049,000 l. and exceeded the expence of the preceding year by 132,000 l. afforded room for animadverſion and conteſt. On theſe occaſions, much extraneous matter, relative to the conduct of the commander in chief of the army, the alledged neglected and dangerous ſtate of Plymouth, and the general means of national defence adopted through the ſummer, was repeatedly brought up. In other reſpects, the matter of argument, of charge and defence, as well as the iſſue in all caſes, were ſuch as we have had already more occaſions than one of ſtating.

Such were the grounds of debate, and ſuch the ſtate of the warfare

fare between the contending parties, previous to the Chriſtmas receſs. Every thing ſeemed directly to lead to the extraordinary events which diſtinguiſhed the remainder of the ſeſſion.

CHAP. V.

County meetings, petitions, and aſſociations. York leads the way. Great meeting at that city. Committee appointed. Some account of the petition from that county, which becomes a model to others. Sir George Saville preſents the petition from the county of York. Debates on that ſubject. Jamaica petition preſented. Mr. Burke's plan of œconomical reform. Bills brought in upon that ſyſtem. Earl of Shelburne's motion (purſuant to the notice given before the receſs) for a committee of both houſes, to enquire into the public expenditure. Motion ſeconded by the Earl of Coventry. Oppoſed. Debates. Strictures with reſpect to the county meetings and petitions. Marquis of Carmarthen explains the cauſes of his reſignation. Strictures on the conduct of a noble lord at the head of a great department. Motion rejected upon a diviſion. Unuſual ſtrength ſhewn by the oppoſition on this diviſion.

THE buſineſs of public meetings, of petitions to parliament, and of aſſociations for the redreſs of grievances, was commenced during the receſs; and the adoption of theſe means for procuring a reform in the executive departments of the ſtate, not only became ſoon very general, but the minds of the public being agitated and warmed by theſe meetings, the views of many, and thoſe perſons of no mean weight and conſequence, were extended ſtill farther; and they gradually began to conſider, that nothing leſs than a reform in the conſtitution of parliament itſelf, by ſhortening its duration, and obtaining a more equal repreſentation of the people, could reach to a perfect cure of the preſent, and afford an effectual preſervative againſt the return of ſimilar evils.

The great, populous, and opulent county of York led the way, and ſet the example to the reſt of the kingdom. A very numerous and reſpectable meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, including perſons of the firſt conſideration and property in the county, and in the kingdom, ſuch as perhaps never was aſſembled in the ſame manner in this nation, was held at York on the laſt day but one of the year. There a petition to the Houſe of Commons was unanimouſly agreed upon, and accompanied with a reſolution, that a committee of ſixty-one gentlemen be appointed, to carry on the neceſſary correſpondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition; and likewiſe to prepare a plan of an aſſociation, on legal and conſtitutional grounds, to ſupport the laudable reform, and ſuch other meaſures as might conduce to reſtore the freedom of parliament; to be preſented by the chairman of the committee at their

next meeting, which was to be held by adjournment in the enſuing Eaſter week.

As this petition ſerved in a great meaſure as the groundwork for thoſe that ſucceeded from other counties and towns, we ſhall enter the more particularly into its detail.—They begin by ſtating the following matters as facts—That the nation had for ſeveral years been engaged in a moſt expenſive and unfortunate war; that many of our valuable colonies, having declared themſelves independent, had formed a ſtrict confederacy with our moſt dangerous and inveterate enemies; and that the conſequence of thoſe combined misfortunes had been, a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, with a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom.—They then declare, that, alarmed at the diminiſhed reſources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced, that rigid frugality is now indiſpenſably neceſſary in every department of the ſtate, they obſerved with grief, that notwithſtanding the calamities, and impoveriſhed condition of the nation, much public money had been improvidently ſquandered; that many individuals enjoy ſinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and penſions, unmerited by public ſervice, to a large and ſtill increaſing amount; whence the crown has acquired a great, unconſtitutional influence, which, if not timely checked, may ſoon prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

They further declare, that conceiving the true end of every legitimate government to be, not the emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community; and conſidering, that by the conſtitution, the cuſtody of the national purſe is entruſted in a peculiar manner to that houſe; they beg leave to repreſent, that until effectual meaſures be taken to redreſs thoſe oppreſſive grievances, the grant of any additional ſum of money, beyond the produce of the preſent taxes, would be injurious to the rights and property of the people, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of parliament.—They, therefore, appealing to the juſtice of the Commons, moſt earneſtly requeſt, that before any new burthens are laid upon this country, effectual meaſures might be taken by that houſe, to enquire into and correct the groſs abuſes in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to reſcind and aboliſh all ſinecure places, and unmerited penſions; and to appropriate the produce to the neceſſities of the ſtate.

The clergy upon this occaſion diſproved a charge, which had been often laid, and, perhaps, not always without ſome foundation, againſt them; as if they were more peculiarly diſpoſed to be obſequious to power, and to ſupport all meaſures, of whatever government, and whatever nature, which did not immediately affect their own particular rights or privileges, than any other order of the community. Although the meeting was in the ſeat of the metropolitan ſee, and immediately under the eye of provincial authority and government, not only a conſiderable number of that body attended, and zealouſly promoted the reſolutions and petition;

tition; but no leſs than fourteen clergymen, including two dignitaries of the church, were appointed of the committee, which was intended to give efficacy to the whole meaſure and deſign.

Jan. 7th, 1780. The county of Middleſex ſtood forth as the ſecond of the county of York. In about a week, a very numerous meeting was held at Hackney, where a petition, ſimilar to that of York, with ſeveral reſolutions, were unanimouſly agreed to; and a committee of correſpondence and aſſociation, conſiſting of fifty-three gentlemen, who were diſtinguiſhed by rank, fortune, ability, or popularity, appointed to conduct the buſineſs. At this meeting, as well as at ſome of thoſe which ſucceeded in other counties, although the conduct of miniſters was treated with little mercy indeed; yet it was ſcarcely more reprobated than that of the majorities in both houſes. The late rejection in the Houſe of Lords, of the two motions of œconomical reform, which had been made on the 7th and 15th of December, was an object of much general and particular cenſure. It became likewiſe cuſtomary at thoſe meetings, to return a public tribute of thanks and applauſe to thoſe lords and gentlemen in both houſes, who had attempted to ſtem the reſiſtleſs torrent of the American war, or who had ſince as unſucceſsfully endeavoured to check or reſtrain the ſuppoſed waſte in the public expenditure.

The example of York and Middleſex was ſoon followed by the county palatine of Cheſter. And in a pretty cloſe ſucceſſion of time, by the counties of Herts, Suſſex, Huntingdon, Surry, Cumberland, Bedford, Eſſex, Somerſet, Glouceſter, Wilts, Dorſet, Devon, Norfolk, Berks, Bucks, Nottingham, Kent, Northumberland, Suffolk, Hereford, Cambridge, and Derby, nearly, if not entirely, in the order in which they are placed. Hants had agreed upon a petition, on the ſame day with Middleſex. The Welſh counties of Denbigh, Flint, and Brecknock, likewiſe petitioned, as did the cities of London, Weſtminſter, York, Briſtol, Glouceſter, and Hereford, with the towns of Nottingham, Reading, Cambridge, Bridgewater, and Newcaſtle upon Tyne. The county of Northampton declined petitioning, but voted reſolutions, and inſtructions to their repreſentatives, upon the ſame ground, and including the purport of the petitions, as a previous meaſure.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed, that in all theſe counties and towns, the ſpirit was alike, or that the ſame unanimity prevailed. In many, the weight of property appeared clearly and ſtrongly for the petitions. In others it was more doubtful. But there were few, in which any direct or ſucceſsful oppoſition was made to the meaſure. So that, explicitly or tacitly, it might be conſidered as agreeing tolerably well with the ſenſe of thoſe places.

The meaſure of forming committees, and entering into aſſociations, was a great ſtumbling-block in ſome of the counties. Many who were heartily diſpoſed to concur in reſtraining the ſuppoſed dangerous influence of the crown, in procuring a reform of the public expenditure, and in reſtoring the independency of parliament, by cutting off the means of corruption, were, however, apprehenſive

of evil, and even of danger from theſe meaſures. Aſſociations and committees had produced ſuch recent effects in America, and even in Ireland, that the very terms were become ſuſpicious. The friends of government dexterouſly applied the odium or terror attending theſe words to all the purpoſes of which they were capable; and many, who would not venture directly to encounter the popular rage for reformation, or openly to avow that they were the friends of public extravagance or corruption, covered their oppoſition by quarrelling with theſe obnoxious incorporations. The counties of Suffolk, Northumberland, Hereford, and Derby, where the oppoſite parties were pretty equally balanced, accordingly appointed no committees. In Kent, where the popular ſide was prevalent, a moderating ſcheme was propoſed. To this the friends of government, along with thoſe who wiſhed for redreſs, but who were enemies to committees, and did not approve of ſtrong language, jointly adhered, and ſo far acted as one party. By this means, two petitions for redreſs were preſented from that county; and while a committee was formed, and the ſcheme of aſſociation was fully adopted by the majority, a very numerous and conſiderable party, either condemned or oppoſed both meaſures.

The members of adminiſtration, and men in office, were not wholly deficient in their endeavours to prevent the county meetings. But they were generally overborne by the torrent. Nothing could more clearly demonſtrate the impetuoſity of the ſpirit which then prevailed, than that the noble lord at the head of the admiralty, and at the head likewiſe, perſonally, of a great body of his numerous friends, could not prevent the meaſures of a petition and a committee, from being carried in his own native and favourite county; in which he had exerted himſelf with his known ability in this ſort of affairs, and with all the influence of the many great offices he had held for ſo many years, to form a ſecure and ſettled intereſt. All direct oppoſition being fruitleſs, endeavours were uſed to obtain proteſts; but though one or two perſons of great property and conſequence took the lead in this meaſure, it was not attended with a ſucceſs at all equal to expectation. Some proteſts were ſigned in the counties of Herts, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suſſex, and Surry. Theſe proteſts did not oppoſe (that indeed could ſcarcely be done) the prayer of the petitions; but the proteſtors were of opinion, that the whole ought to be left to the diſcretion of parliament, in whoſe public ſpirit and integrity they thought it improper to expreſs, particularly at that time, any ſort of diſtruſt.

Feb. 8th. The petition from the county of York was the firſt preſented, and was introduced in the Houſe of Commons by Sir George Saville; who, notwithſtanding the preſſure of a heavy cold and hoarſeneſs, accompanied it with a ſpeech of conſiderable length. Under theſe diſadvantages, the novelty and importance of the ſubject, and perhaps ſtill more, the character of that eminent and revered patriot, produced ſo profound an attention, ſilence, and ſtillneſs in every part of the houſe, as ſerved in a great meaſure

measure to remedy the occasional defect.

He observed, that he had the honour to represent a very extensive, a very populous, a very mercantile, manufacturing, and a very rich county. That, in such a county, it could not be imagined, but that many private interests might be made objects of parliamentary bounty or support, if either the represented, or representatives, like some others, were more attentive to such matters, than to the great concerns of the nation. He had, however, no private petition to present, or bill to bring in; although in such a country as Yorkshire there could be no lack of proper objects of improvement, of new bridges, roads, and havens, which might well deserve the consideration of the legislature. He brought a petition, which had swallowed up the consideration of all private objects, and superceded all private petitions. A petition subscribed by eight thousand freeholders and upwards. The people had heard, that a regard to private interest, in that house, was a great enemy to the discharge of public duty. They feel severely the pressure of heavy taxes, and are at the same time told, that the money, which they can so ill spare, is wasted profusely, not only without its producing any good, but that it is applied to the production of many bad effects.

These things, he said, were represented calmly, and with moderation. Nothing was said of the conduct of ministers; it might have been good, or it might have been bad, for ought that appeared in the petition. Never surely were petitioners to parliament, upon any great public grievance, more cool and dispassionate. They confine themselves, said he, to one object, the expenditure of the public money. But though they made no strictures on the past management of ministers, he could not in candour but acknowledge, that it was pretty plainly hinted or implied, that those who had hitherto managed our public affairs so badly, as to afford ground for the present complaint, were not fitting to be longer entrusted with the management of such important concerns.

He called upon the minister to speak out like a man, and to declare, whether he meant to countenance and support the petition or not. Such an open and manly declaration of his intentions would save them much time and trouble, and would better become a man of his quality and power, than any mean arts of ministerial juggling and craft. He made no threats; that petition was not presented by men with swords and muskets. It was a legal, a constitutional petition. The requeſt of the petitioners was so just and reasonable, that they could not but expect it would be granted; but should it be refused—there he would leave a blank; that blank, let the consciences, let the feelings, let the reason of ministers supply. Partial expedients — mock enquiries, would not satisfy. The universality of the sentiments on this subject, he said, was no contemptible proof of their justness. He wished that house to consider from whom that petition comes. It was first moved in a meeting of six hundred gentlemen, and upwards; in the hall where that petition was conceived, there was more property

perty than within the walls of that houſe.—He then threw down, with ſome vehemence, upon the table, a liſt of the gentlemen's names, and continued — But they are not to abandon their petition, whatever may be its fate in this houſe; there is a committee appointed to correſpond on the ſubject of the petition with the committees of other counties.—He concluded by likewiſe throwing on the table a liſt of the names of the committee.

The miniſter ſeemed to ſhew ſome degree of vexation and reſentment in his anſwer. He ſaid, that the honourable gentleman needed not to have taken ſo much pains to convince the houſe, that the petition ought to be received; nor to have expatiated on ſo obvious a truth, as that no man, or ſet of men, would dare to reject it. No man in his ſenſes, who ſat in that houſe, could be ignorant, that the right of petitioning belonged to all Britiſh ſubjects.—He had been called upon to declare, whether he would oppoſe or forward the object of the petition. The petition was now before the houſe; it had been read; and it ſhould have his conſent to lie on the table for ſome time, as was uſual in ſuch caſes, for the peruſal of the members. The houſe, he doubted not, would take it into their ſerious conſideration; and after enquiring into the facts alledged, after examining the merits of the cauſe, they would freely and impartially decide, according to the beſt of their judgment; and in ſuch a manner, as to conſult the good of the petitioners, without loſing ſight of that of the country in general. A petition properly introduced, would always, he hoped, in that houſe, meet with a fair and candid attention.

With reſpect to the threats, which, he ſaid, had been broadly hinted by the honourable gentleman, he hoped they could have no influence in that houſe, nor at all affect the minds of the judges, whether on one way or the other. He had been threatened with unknown but ſevere conſequences, if he ſhould ſo much as delay granting the expected redreſs, until an enquiry ſhould be made into the exiſtence, nature, and extent, of the alledged grievances. Upon that, he muſt obſerve, that the petition muſt ſuffer no ſmall diminution of its ſuppoſed value, juſtneſs, and importance, from its being accompanied by a prohibition of all enquiry into the validity of the facts on which it was pretended to be founded. At leaſt ſuſpicions were thrown out, that any enquiry which might be undertaken, would be with ſiniſter and partial views. How far that was fair and candid, how far ſuch ſuppoſitions, in a caſe of that kind, were parliamentary, he ſubmitted to the judgment of the houſe.—He concluded by informing the houſe, that they muſt not conſider his proceeding in raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies as any diſreſpect to the petition. The petition was neither formally nor virtually negatived, although the conſideration of it was not preferred to all other buſineſs. The ſupplies had been voted, and it would be neceſſary, without much longer delay, to enter on the ſubject of *ways and means*.

Mr. Fox took up the miniſter's ſpeech, with that fervour, animation, energy, and ſeverity, with which

which he always aſtoniſhes and overpowers his hearers. He compared his preſent language, that the conſideration of the petition might very fitly be poſtponed to that of ways and means for raiſing the ſupplies, with, what he called the generous and magnanimous admiration of miniſtry, when they could not find words ſufficiently to applaud the ſpirited conduct of the armed aſſociations in Ireland, who refuſed to grant ſupplies for more than one half year, until their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and the prayer of their petition for a free trade ſhould be granted. He aſked if there was one law for the aſſociations in Ireland, and another for thoſe of England? No! there could not. The noble lord was a man of accuracy and conſiſtency. He muſt therefore mean, whatever may have fallen from him in the heat and hurry of debate, that the aſſociations in England, in imitation of thoſe in Ireland, ought to grant no ſupplies, until their petition find a proper reſpect; until its prayer be fully granted.

After indulging this vein of irony, he ſaid, that he was at a loſs to conjecture the threats, which the noble lord ſaid had been hinted by the honourable gentleman; thereby intending to fix a ſtigma on the preſent and on other petitions. The people are not in arms, they do not menace civil war. The nature of our conſtitution, (and it is undoubtly one of its higheſt perfections) has happily endued them with other powers of redreſs beſides arms. They have legal, conſtitutional, and peaceable means of enforcing their petitions. It was to theſe means the honourable gentleman alluded, when the noble lord would ſuppoſe that he threw out threats of another kind. But let not, ſaid he, the mild, though firm voice of liberty, be miſtaken for the diſmal and diſcordant accents of blood and ſlaughter. The evil which the honourable gentleman preſages, if this or other petitions are ſpurned with contempt and inſolence, is of another, though not of a leſs formidable nature. The people will loſe all confidence in their repreſentatives, all reverence for parliament. The conſequences of ſuch a ſituation need not be pointed out: but let not the contemplation of neceſſary effects be conſidered as a denunciation of vengance.

He could not imagine, he ſaid, that any objection could poſſibly be made to the petition. But ſome perhaps might ſay, "are we ſinners above all that went before us, like thoſe on whom the Tower of Siloam fell?" Are we more corrupt than other parliaments, who were never peſtered with petitions of this kind? No, ſaid he, I don't ſuppoſe you are; but though former parliaments were as bad as you, and you know the ſeverity of that compariſon, yet the people did not know it. Now they feel it; they feel the preſſure of taxes; and they beg you would not lay your hand ſo heavily upon them, but be as œconomical as poſſible in the expenditure of their money. Let the miniſters grant the requeſts of the people, and the whole glory of ſo popular a compliance will be entirely theirs. Like charity, it

it will cover the multitude of their paſt ſins. Ireland has given them a foretaſte of what they may expect. Their praiſes have been ſounded in loud ſtrains there, for granting, what that people had made good for themſelves by their own muſkets.—He would put the controverſy, he ſaid, between the miniſtry and his ſide of the houſe to the ſame iſſue, on which the wiſeſt of kings and of men reſted the determination of the diſpute between the two women, each of whom claimed the living, and diſavowed the dead child. We ſay to miniſtry, you miſapply the public money; nay, you do worſe, you apply it to bad purpoſes: — Miniſtry, ſay to us, you want our places; and thus the charge of corruption is given and retorted. But the time is now come to put the ſincerity of both to the teſt, and to know, whoſe child corruption really is: we challenge miniſters to the trial; we call upon them publickly, and ſtrenuouſly urge them, to ſacrifice that diſclaimed, but evidently dear and favoured child. If they refuſe to abide by this teſt, no doubt can remain as to the parentage.

There was little debate at the times of preſenting the other petitions, which followed this leading petition very faſt.

In two days after a petition from the principal merchants, planters, and others, intereſted in the iſland of Jamacia, was preſented to the houſe. In a ſtrong and unuſually vehement ſtyle of complaint, they ſtate the neglect of protection to that iſland, and the imminent dangers therefrom ariſing. At the ſame time that they repreſent, that the temporary ſafety which it had hitherto enjoyed, proceeded merely from the direction of the enemy's force to other objects, and not to any intrinſic means of defence provided by his majeſty's miniſters, they freely declare their opinion, that the ſafety of ſuch a poſſeſſion ought not to have been committed to chance. They farther repreſent, that the iſland of Jamaica is not inferior in value to any of the dependencies of Great Britain; that a great part even of what appears to be the interior wealth of Great Britain itſelf, is, in reality, the wealth of Jamaica, which is ſo intimately interwoven with the internal intereſt of this kingdom, that it is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh them; that a great part of the trade and navigation, a large proportion of the revenue, and very much of the mercantile and the national credit, and of the value of the landed intereſt, depend immediately on its preſervation; that its defence is therefore an object as important to Great Britain, as any part of Great Britain itſelf; and that it is an object to be provided for with ſtill greater care and foreſight, becauſe its natural means of home defence are infinitely leſs conſiderable.

The petitioners declare, that, conſcious of their invariable loyalty to the crown, and their unbounded attachment to the proſperity of the whole empire, they are not able to conjecture for what offence, real or pretended, they have ſo long been put under this proſcription; if they had been active by factious clamours, or deluſive repreſentations, by concealing

ſealing true, or ſuggeſting falſe information, in betraying their ſovereign and their country into war, they might have the leſs reaſon to complain of the neglect by which they have ſuffered ſo many diſtreſſes, and have been expoſed to ſo many dangers; but it was in the recollection, they ſaid, of the houſe, that, at an early period of the preſent unhappy troubles, the body of the Weſt India planters and merchants did humbly ſtate their apprehenſions to parliament, and deprecated the unhappy meaſures which were then taken; it was the misfortune of the public, as well as theirs, that no attention was then paid to their humble prayers, and that their moſt dutiful repreſentations were totally neglected.

They proceed to ſtate a number of facts and arguments to ſhew, that they did not deſerve to be thus abandoned, through any failure on their ſide, in not having purchaſed for a valuable conſideration the protection of the ſtate. On that ground they obſerve, that beſides their trade being almoſt wholly confined to the mother country, and the general reſidence of both planters and merchants there, and the produce of their eſtates being as largely taxed in Great Britain to the common ſupport as that of any others, they endured other great and heavy burthens, peculiar only to themſelves. The aſſembly of Jamaica had, beyond any former example of liberality, and far beyond their abilities, laid deſtructive impoſitions on their eſtates and property within the iſland; vaſt, burthenſome, and even ruinous perſonal ſervices, were chearfully given; and thus, under the double weight of taxes and impoſitions in England and in Jamacia; under heavy perſonal ſervice in the latter; and under all the fatal, though not unforeſeen conſequences, of the ſeparation from North America; they had been farther induced, on ſuggeſtions from friends of government, to reſort in their individual characters to their almoſt exhauſted purſes, and had actually made a large private ſubſcription for their own defence. They appeal to a number of facts and dates, to ſhew their repeated applications and ineffectual remonſtrances, down from the year 1773, to government; and aggravate the neglect or refuſal of defence, by the declaration of the ſecretary at war, that his majeſty then commanded more numerous forces by ſea and land, than the moſt formidable monarch of the world had under his orders, when his power alarmed all Europe; they feel, that they are amongſt thoſe who are taxed for the maintenance of an army of upwards of 70,000 men in North America; and they preſume, that the ſuppreſſion of no rebellion whatever can be a more near and urgent concern of any government, than the protection of its loyal and uſeful ſubjects. They conclude, by claiming protection as their undoubted right; and declare, that they look back with horror at thoſe dangers, from which, by the ſole diſpenſation of the divine providence, they have eſcaped, whilſt ſundry of their fellow-ſubjects are now obliged to proſtrate themſelves at the

the foot of the throne of the French king, and to implore the mercy of that monarch, inſtead of the protection of their natural ſovereign.

This long petition, which ſtated facts with ſo little management, was ſubſcribed by 75 of the principal planters, merchants, or others, who were immediately intereſted in the iſland of Jamaica. It was preſented by Mr. Pennant, who in his introductory ſpeech, among a number of pointed charges, of neglect, ſupineneſs, or indifference, on the ſide of the miniſtry, directly charged the noble lord at the head of affairs with paying ſo little attention to the repreſentations of its danger made by the governor and council of that invaluable iſland, that he had openly confeſſed in that houſe that he had never read them. A declaration, he ſaid, for which the noble lord deſerved to be impeached.

Both the miniſter, and the noble lord at the head of the American department, took ſome part in the ſubſequent debate; but as the matter was more fully entered into, on Lord Rockingham's motion, upon the ſame ſubject, in the Houſe of Lords, we ſhall defer our recital to that occaſion. A ſort of a proteſt, againſt the petition, ſigned by about 40 names, afforded room for ſome ſarcaſm, and even ridicule, in both houſes. It was obſerved on that ſubject, that the favourite contractor, and the keeper of the convicts, on board the hulks at Woolwich, were the principals in that production; and that the generality of the other ſubſcribers, inſtead of coming under the deſcription of planters or merchants, were either men of no name any where, or were poſſeſſed of no property of any conſequence in the iſland of Jamaica. After a ſtrange ſort of a looſe ſtraggling debate, interrupted by ſome unuſual noiſe and clamour, it was at length agreed, that the petition ſhould lie upon the table.

It was on the ſame day, that Mr. Burke, purſuant to the notice which he had given before the receſs, preſented his plan "For the better ſecurity of the independence of parliament, and the œconomical reformation of the civil and other eſtabliſhments." As the celebrated ſpeech with which he introduced and ſupported his plan has been publiſhed by authority, has gone through ſeveral editions, and muſt have been ſeen by moſt of our readers, we ſhall only touch upon thoſe leading features, or outlines of the ſubject, from which ſome general but comprehenſive ideas of its deſign and objects may be formed. Feb. 11th.

He laid down the following general principles, as containing thoſe fundamental rules, by which he was determined to raiſe his ſuperſtructure of reform.

That all juriſdictions which furniſh more matter of expence, more temptation to oppreſſion, or more means and inſtruments of corrupt influence, than advantage to juſtice, or political adminiſtration, ought to be aboliſhed.

That all public eſtates which are more ſubſervient to the purpoſes of vexing, overawing, and influencing, thoſe who hold under them, and to the expence of

perception and management, than of benefit to the revenue, ought, upon every principle, both of revenue, and of freedom, to be disposed of.

That all offices which bring more charge than proportional advantage to the state; that all offices which may be ingrafted on others, uniting and simplifying their duties, ought, in the first case, to be taken away; and in the second to be consolidated.

That all such offices ought to be abolished, as obstruct the prospect of the general superintendant of finance; which destroy his superintendency; which disable him from foreseeing and providing for charges as they may occur; from preventing expence in its origin, checking it in its progress, or securing its application to its proper purposes. A minister under whom expences can be made without his knowledge, can never say what it is that he can spend, or what it is that he can save.

That it is proper to establish an invariable order in all payments; which will prevent partiality; which will give preference to services, not according to the importunity of the demandant, but the rank and order of their utility or their justice.

That it is right to reduce every establishment, and every part of an establishment (as nearly as possible) to certainty, the life of all order and good management.

And lastly, that all subordinate treasuries, as the nurseries of mismanagement, and, as naturally drawing to themselves as much money as they can, keeping it as long as they can, and accounting for it as late as they can, ought to be dissolved. They have a tendency to perplex and distract the public accounts, and to excite a suspicion of government, even beyond the extent of their abuse.

To these principles or rules of internal government and finance, we shall add, as a farther illustration of the subject, and for the better comprehending the nature of this scheme of reform, the statement of its end and object, and of the limits which the author assigned to himself, as drawn from Mr. Burke's introductory speech previous to the recess.

He intended, he said, a regulation, substantial as far as it went. It would give to the public service two hundred thousand pounds a year. It would cut off a quantity of influence equal to the places of fifty members of parliament. He relied more on a plan for removing the *means* of corruption, than upon any devices which might be used to prevent its *operation*, where these means were suffered to exist. Take away, said he, the means of influence, and you render disqualifications unnecessary. Leave them, and no disqualification can ever wholly prevent their operation on parliament.—His plan, he observed, stood in the way of no other reformation: but, on the contrary, it tended exceedingly to forward all rational attempts towards that great end. It certainly could not make a careless minister an œconomist. But the best minister would find the use of it; and it would be no small check on the worst. For its main purpose

poſe was to correct the preſent prodigal conſtitution of the civil executive government of this kingdom; and unleſs that was done, he was ſatisfied no miniſter whatever could poſſibly introduce the beſt œconomy into the adminiſtration of it.

With reſpect to his aſſigned limits; the firſt, he ſaid, we found in the rules of juſtice. And therefore, he did not propoſe to touch what any private man held by a legal tenure.—The ſecond limit was in the rules of equity and mercy. Where offices might be ſuppreſſed, which formed the whole maintenance of innocent people, it would be hard, ſaid he, "and hardſhip is a kind of "injuſtice, that they who were "decoyed into particular ſituations of life, by our fault, "ſhould be made the ſacrifice of "our penitence. I do not mean "to ſtarve ſuch people, becauſe "we have been prodigal in our "eſtabliſhments." The removals, he ſaid, would fall almoſt wholly on thoſe who held offices by a tenure, in which they were liable to be, and frequently were, removed merely for accommodating the arrangements of adminiſtration; and ſurely the accommodation of the public, in a great caſe like the preſent, was full as material a cauſe for their removal, as the convenience of any adminiſtration, or the diſpleaſure of any miniſter.

The third ſort of limits, he ſaid, were to be found in the ſervice of the ſtate. No one employment, really and ſubſtantially uſeful to the public, and which might not very well be otherwiſe ſupplied, was to be retrenched, or to be diminiſhed in its lawful and cuſtomary emoluments. To cut off ſuch ſervice, or ſuch reward, was what he conceived neither politic nor rational in any ſenſe. —The fourth of his limits was, that the fund for the reward of ſervice or merit was to be left of ſufficient ſolidity for its probable purpoſes. — And the laſt, that the crown ſhould be left an ample and liberal proviſion for perſonal ſatisfaction; and for as much of magnificence, as was ſuitable with the burthened ſtate of this country.

He had before obſerved, that the whole of our grievances were owing to the fatal and overgrown influence of the crown; and that influence itſelf to our enormous prodigality. That they moved in a circle; they became reciprocally cauſe and effect; and the aggregate product of both was ſwelled to ſuch a degree, that not only our power as a ſtate, but every vital energy, every active principal of our liberty, would be overlaid by it. He knew that influence was thought neceſſary for government. Poſſibly, in ſome degree it might. But he declared that it was for the ſake of government, for the ſake of reſtoring to it that reverence, which was its foundation, that he wiſhed to reſtrain the exorbitance of its influence. Is not every one ſenſible how much that influence is raiſed? Is not every one ſenſible how much authority is ſunk? The reaſon, he ſaid, was perfectly evident. Government ought to have ſufficient force for its functions; but it ought to have no more. It ought not to have force enough to ſupport itſelf in the neglect, or in the abuſe of them. If it has,

has, they must be, as they are, abused and neglected. Men will throw themselves on their power for a justification of their want of order, vigilance, foresight, and all the virtues, and all the qualifications of a statesman. The minister may exist, but the government is gone.

As the whole of this comprehensive scheme of reform, was included in the five bills which were proposed by its author, a recital of their titles will afford some general idea of the principal objects to which it was directed.—The first was entitled "A bill, "for the better regulation of "his majesty's civil establishments, and of certain public "offices; for the limitation of "pensions, and the suppression "of sundry useless, expensive, "and inconvenient places; and "for applying the monies saved "thereby to the public service."

The second, "A bill for the "sale of the forest and other "crown lands, rents, and here-"ditaments, with certain excep-"tions; and for applying the "produce thereof to the public "service; and for securing, as-"certaining, and satisfying, te-"nant-rights, and common and "other rights."

Third, "A bill for the more "perfectly uniting to the crown "the principality of Wales, and "the county palatine of Chester, "and for the more commodious "administration of justice within "the same; as also, for abo-"lishing certain offices now ap-"pertaining thereto; for quiet-"ing dormant claims, ascertain-"ing and securing tenant-rights, "and for the sale of forest lands, "and other lands, tenements, "and hereditaments, held by his "majesty in right of the said "principality, or county pala-"tine of Chester, and for ap-"plying the produce thereof to "the public service."

Fourth, "A bill for uniting to "the crown the duchy and coun-"ty palatine of Lancaster; for "the suppression of unnecessary "offices, now belonging thereto; "for the ascertainment and secu-"rity of tenant and other rights; "and for the sale of all rents, "lands, tenements, hereditа-"ments, and forests, within the "said duchy and county palatine, "or either of them; and for "applying the produce thereof "to the public service."

And fifthly, "A bill for unit-"ing the duchy of Cornwall to "the crown; for the suppression "of certain unnecessary offices "now belonging thereto; for "the ascertainment and security "of tenant and other rights; "and for the sale of certain "rents, lands, and tenements, "within or belonging to the said "duchy; and for applying the "produce thereof to the public "service."

On this subject, besides displaying the most intimate and comprehensive knowledge of the origin, history, nature, government, and state of those various jurisdictions, as well as of their respective establishments, and of the numerous interests which were affected by or connected with them, (for all of which he proposed to provide, either equitable and liberal compensations, or perfect indemnification and remedy,) his fertile genius drew such

materials from ground which ſeemed ſufficiently barren, as enabled him to combine the beauties of deſcriptive poetry, with the cleareſt ſtatement of facts, and with all the powers of argument.

He commenced his reform with the royal houſehold; an eſtabliſhment which he conſidered as exceedingly abuſive in its conſtitution. He ſhewed that it was formed upon manners and cuſtoms, which had long ſince expired; and in many reſpects upon feudal principles. He ſtated that manners and modes of living had totally changed; that royalty itſelf, as well as private men, was obliged to give way to the prevalence of that change; but with this very material difference, that private men had got rid of their antient eſtabliſhments along with the reaſons of them; whereas the royal houſehold has loſt all that was ſtately and venerable in the antique manners, without retrenching any thing of the cumbrous charge of a gothic eſtabliſhment. But when the reaſon of old eſtabliſhments was gone, it was abſurd to preſerve nothing but the burthen of them. He treated ſeveral parts of this ſubject with infinite humour; and by throwing them into various ſhades of ridicule, increaſed the diſplay of their abſurdity.

His ſcheme of reduction went in the whole to the following parts —To the treaſurer, the comptroller, and the cofferer of the houſehold; the treaſurer of the chamber, the maſter of the houſehold; the whole board of greencloth, and a vaſt number of ſubordinate offices in the department of the ſteward of the houſehold; to the whole eſtabliſhment of the great wardrobe, the removing wardrobe, the jewel office, the robes; the board of works; and took away almoſt the whole charge of the civil branch of the board of ordnance. All theſe arrangements taken together, he ſaid, would be found to relieve the nation from a vaſt weight of influence; and that ſo far from diſtreſſing, that it would rather forward every public ſervice.

His plan likewiſe extended to the deſtruction of ſubordinate treaſuries, and of courſe to the two treaſuries, or pay-offices, of the army and navy. He propoſed, that theſe offices ſhould be no longer *banks* or *treaſuries*; but mere *offices of adminiſtration*; and that all money which was formerly impreſted to them, ſhould in future be impreſted to the bank of England. He would likewiſe have the buſineſs of the mint, excepting what related to it as a manufactory, transferred to that great corporation. The plan went to the total removal of the ſubordinate treaſury, and office, of the paymaſter of the penſions; the payments being in future to be made by the exchequer; the great patent offices of the exchequer to be reduced to fixed ſalaries, as the preſent lives and reverſions ſhould ſucceſſively fall; the ſeveral places of keepers of the ſtag hounds, buck hounds, fox hounds, and harriers, to be totally aboliſhed. He alſo propoſed to reform the new office of third ſecretary of ſtate commonly called ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies; the fabrication of which, like that of all other late arrangements, he conſidered merely as a job,

job, the two antient ſecretaries being ſuppoſed now, as heretofore, fully competent to the whole of the public buſineſs. He concluded his plan of reduction by propoſing the total annihilation of the board of trade, as an office totally uſeleſs, anſwering none of its avowed or ſuppoſed purpoſes, and ſerving merely to provide eight members for parliament, and thereby to retain their ſervices. We ſhould alſo obſerve, that he propoſed a limitation of penſions to 60,000 l. a year; but he did not propoſe to take away any man's preſent penſion, and thought it more prudent in that reſpect not to adhere to the letter of the petitions.

To this plan of reduction he ſubjoined a plan of arrangement. This he profeſſed to be his favourite part of the ſcheme, as he conceived it would effectually prevent all prodigality in the civil liſt in future. He propoſed to eſtabliſh a fixed and invariable order in all payments, from which the firſt lord of the treaſury ſhould not be permitted upon any pretence whatever to deviate. For this purpoſe, he divided the civil liſt payments into nine claſſes, putting each claſs forward according to the importance or juſtice of the demand, or to the inability of the perſons intitled to enforce their pretenſions. In the firſt of theſe claſſes were placed the judges; the miniſters to foreign courts in the ſecond; tradeſmen, who ſupplied the crown, in the third; domeſtic ſervants of the king, and all perſons in efficient offices, whoſe ſalaries did not exceed 200 l. a year, in the fourth; the penſions and allowances of the royal family, comprehending of courſe the queen, together with the ſtated allowance of the privy purſe, compoſed the fifth claſs. The ſixth took in thoſe efficient offices of duty, whoſe ſalaries might exceed two hundred pounds a year; the whole penſion liſt was included in the ſeventh; the offices of honour about the king in the eighth; and in the ninth, the ſalaries and penſions of the firſt lord of the treaſury himſelf, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the other commiſſioners of that department. To theſe arrangements were added ſome regulations, which would for ever have prevented any civil liſt debt from again coming on the public.

No ſmall uſe was made in this ſpeech of the œconomical reform, which Mr. Necker had introduced in the French finances, and the great effects which it had already produced, both as an example and ground of argument, for adopting Mr. Burke's ſyſtem.

Such was the nature and deſign of this celebrated plan of reform, which took up the largeſt part of this very long ſeſſion. During a long ſpeech of more than three hours, every ſide of the Houſe ſhewed equal marks of the moſt profound attention. Men of all parties, however many of them might afterwards oppoſe, or diſapprove of Mr. Burke's ſyſtem, could not for the preſent refrain from beſtowing their applauſe. Nor were his opponents in parliament by any means backward in declaring their admiration, of that amazing fund of knowledge, with reſpect to every ſubject of conſtitutional right, of foreign policy, of domeſtic or colonial government, and of relative or ge-

general commercial intereſts, of which that gentleman had upon the preſent as well as former occaſions, given ſuch eminent proofs.

The miniſter felt that the Houſe was much ſtruck and affected with what they had heard. He knew that the public loudly called for ſome plan of reform; and one now appeared, which it would be highly dangerous to try the experiment of rejecting on the firſt propoſal. He therefore agreed to admit the queſtion on the firſt motion. He, who is uſually candid and liberal in his manner of treating his adverſaries; and being a man of great abilities and eloquence, ſeems pleaſed with talents, even when they preſs hard upon himſelf; now paſſed the higheſt encomiums on the author of the plan. He likewiſe aſſured the Houſe, that no member in it was more zealous for the eſtabliſhment of a permanent ſyſtem of œconomy than he was himſelf. But, that beſides the ſubjects of the preſent being ſo numerous and various as to require ſome time for comprehenſion, ſome of them likewiſe affected the king's patrimonial income, on which account, he thought the permiſſion of the crown ſhould be firſt obtained before they proceeded on them. On this ground he propoſed to poſtpone the three bills which related to the crown lands, and to the uniting the principality of Wales, the county palatine of Cheſter, with the duchy and county palatine of Lancaſter, to the crown. Although this diſtinction was ſtrongly controverted; yet, when it was inſiſted on as a point of decorum only, it was agreed to poſtpone the bills to a future day. In three days after, they were, however, brought in without oppoſition. The laſt bill, for uniting the duchy of Cornwall to the crown, was objected to by the ſurveyor general of the duchy, on account of the minority of the Prince of Wales, whoſe rights were concerned. Although the miniſter was totally ſilent on the ſubject, and that Mr. Burke ſtrongly contended againſt the principle of the objection, he, however, at length, conſented to withdraw that motion for the preſent. Thus the queſtion for bringing in the bills, paſſed for that time without any difficulty.

We have ſeen before the receſs, that on the loſs of the Earl of Shelburne's firſt motion, he deferred his ſecond, (which he, however, left during the intermediate time for conſideration) to the 8th of February, for which day the lords were then ſummoned. There was accordingly an exceeding full Houſe on the appointed day, and the noble earl opened the buſineſs with a motion to the following purport.

That a committee be appointed, conſiſting of members of both Houſes, poſſeſſing neither employment nor penſion, to examine without delay into the public expenditure and the mode of accounting for the ſame; more particularly into the manner of making all contracts; and at the ſame time to take into conſideration, what ſaving can be made, conſiſtent with public dignity, juſtice and gratitude, by an abolition of old and new created offices, the duties of which have either ceaſed, or ſhall on enquiry prove inade-

inadequate to the fees, or other emoluments arising therefrom; or by the reduction of such salaries, or other allowances and profits as may appear to be unreasonable; that the same may be applied to lessen the present ruinous expenditure, and to enable us to carry on the present war against the House of Bourbon, with that decision and vigour, which can alone result from national zeal, confidence, and unanimity.

The noble earl took a wide scope both as to argument and matter, in the support of his motion; displaying much and various information, and giving proofs of the industry as well as ability for which he is distinguished. The great point, he said, to which all his wishes tended, and to effect which his motion was chiefly framed, was to annihilate the undue influence, operating upon both houses of parliament, and to establish a constitutional power, instead of an unconstitutional influence. The latter was the curse and bane, and would, if not timely eradicated, prove the destruction of this country; the former, whether described under the name of prerogative, or patronage, or the natural influence of the crown, grew out of the nature of the constitution, and was accordingly congenial to it. That solid, natural, constitutional power, which, in this limited government, formed an essential part of the inherent rights and appendages of royalty, afforded a necessary poize in the ballance of the constitution, which secured the independency of the crown, from being weighed down by the two other branches of the legislature. The sovereign was indeed endowed with great and high prerogatives, and an extensive natural interest; but these were very properly placed in his hands, not only to afford due weight to government, but to enable him to reward and to fix the attachment, fidelity, zeal, and to call out the active services, of those persons, who were appointed to discharge the several functions of the state. The proper application of these powers, afforded the highest incentives to fidelity, to the utmost exertion of every faculty for the advancement of the public interests, and to the most gallant and noble military services.

But a fatal system, he said, of undue influence, no less pernicious to the crown, than ruinous to the nation, had most unhappily, in this reign, been adopted, and substituted in the place of that wholesome and constitutional power. On this head he expatiated long and with great severity. He said that in consequence of that system, every thing which could excite a generous emulation in public virtue and service, was sunk and lost in the gulph of influence. The gallant veteran, the man of high honour and inflexible integrity, was not only sure of being laid by and neglected, but thought himself happy, if he did not experience repeated mortifications and insults, and could even preserve his character and honour inviolate, from those atrocious attempts to which both were liable. On the other hand, the unworthy, the servile, the base, and the incapable, were those only who rejoiced and triumphed; it was their summer

and ſeaſon of joy; the means which led to their preferment and favour, being perfectly congenial to the baſeneſs of their own nature, redoubled their enjoyment; whilſt the internal conviction, that they could not have arrived at theſe diſtinctions under any other poſſible ſyſtem of government, afforded a new zeſt to the reliſh of their ſituation.

To annihilate this influence, and to reſtore to the crown its conſtitutional power, he declared, were the objects he had in view, and whoſe attainment formed his moſt earneſt wiſh. But as long as a heedleſs prodigal miniſter, was allowed to diſpoſe annually, without check, control, account, or reſtraint, of twenty millions of the public money, (which was about the rate of our preſent expenditure) every hope, every attempt of that ſort, would be futile and ridiculous.

He took a wide circuit through the meaſures and motives that led to the conduct and the conſequences of the American war, in order thereby to trace and develope, in all its ſtages, that influence, and its unhappy effects, which he ſo ſtrongly charged and condemned. In this courſe, he ſtated a number of deceptions and impoſitions, by which, he ſaid, miniſters had led parliament and the nation, ſtep by ſtep, into that ruinous conteſt, until they were ſo far involved that there was not a poſſibility of retreating. He likewiſe entered into a long, and ably-conducted detail, relative to the ſtate, amount, and mode of contracting of our public debts, the high rate of intereſt at which we were compelled to borrow, and the ſhameful waſte of money which, he endeavoured to ſhew, prevailed in every part of the expenditure.

He ſupported his motion on the ground of precedent by ſhewing, that commiſſions of accounts had almoſt been regularly paſſed, from the ſecond year after the revolution, through the reign of King William and Queen Anne, and the firſt year of George the Firſt, from which time they were diſcontinued. And, that although all theſe acts did not anſwer every thing which might have been expected from them, they were, however, the cauſe of detecting and reforming many flagrant abuſes, which had crept into the expenditure of the public money; the recalling of improper grants made by the crown; the diſcovering of ſeveral notorious frauds; and of bringing home corruption, particularly in the reign of King William, to ſeveral members of the other houſe.

The Earl of Coventry ſeconded the motion, and gave ſeveral ſtriking inſtances from his own knowledge of the diſtreſſes of the people, the fall of rents, the extraordinary decreaſe in the value of land, and the failure of farmers, even upon old tenures. He concluded, that one ray of hope broke in to chear us, in the midſt of our public calamities, which was, that a great majority of the nation, and of men of every party and deſcription, ſeemed to be of opinion, that nothing leſs than a general reform could ſave this country; a change of miniſtry, and an œconomical expenditure of the public money, was the general cry; and he truſted, that if the

the people were ſincere, firm, and true to themſelves, the ſalvation of this country might yet be effected.

The lords in adminiſtration, or office, oppoſed the motion more particularly upon the two following grounds, which afforded objections to it, they contended, that were totally inſurmountable. The firſt was the impropriety, and even the incompetency, of one houſe of parliament to come to any reſolution, which went eventually to bind and conclude the proceedings of the other. That houſe had no more power or authority over the other, than the other had over that. It would therefore be in the higheſt degree abſurd and nugatory, to reſolve or vote a matter, which when reſolved or voted, could carry no efficacy whatever without their own walls.—The other ſtrong ground of objection was, the impropriety of the interference of that houſe, and indeed its total incompetency, with reſpect to the inſtituting in the firſt inſtance of any enquiry, or the attempting to exerciſe any power of control or reform, in relation to the public expenditure. That was a buſineſs ſolely appertaining to the other houſe. It was an excluſive inherent privilege, which they never would part with upon any account, directly or indirectly; neither by compoſition, compromiſe, or compact. The care and management of the public purſe, and the conſequent controul of the public expenditure, had for a long ſeries of years, and even of ages, been in the excluſive poſſeſſion of the commons. Both houſes had their peculiar rights and privileges. Time, uſage, and acquieſcence, had given the lords an excluſive power in matters of judicature; the claim of originating money bills, by the other houſe, had the ſame authority to ſupport it. If the lords controverted their rights in public matters, the commons would, probably, diſpute in turn the power of judicature in the laſt reſort exerciſed by the peers.

They obſerved, that conteſts between both houſes ought, at all times and on all occaſions, to be carefully provided againſt and prevented; but much more ſo in ſeaſons of great difficulty, ſuch as the preſent confeſſedly was, when harmony and mutual confidence were become indiſpenſibly neceſſary to the carrying on of public buſineſs, and to the ſafety of the ſtate. That ſuch diſputes had ariſen in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, which produced great heats and diſagreements within doors, and much diſſatisfaction and diſcontent without; inſomuch that the queen found herſelf under a neceſſity of diſſolving her parliament, in order to prevent matters from being carried to extremity.

They repreſented the accountant bills which had been paſſed in the reigns of William and Anne, as originating merely in, and being ſupported only by faction. Inſiſted, that they were found to anſwer no good purpoſe whatever; and to have proved nugatory as to the attainment of any ſubſtantial or deſirable object. And that accordingly, ſoon after the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, when that illuſtrious family came to be firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne;

when faction, tumult and ſedition were cruſhed; and the continual fluctuation of councils which perplexed and diſtracted the two preceding reigns, had given way to ſteadineſs and ſtability; an end was then deſervedly and wiſely put, to the continuance or renewal of that, at leaſt, ineffective law, which it had for ſome time been the faſhion to paſs annually, for examining, controlling, and ſtating the public accounts of the kingdom.

A great law lord, highly eminent for his acuteneſs, learning, and ability, ſtrongly contended, that the propoſed or intended reformation implied in the motion, ſo far as it related to contracts, and the improper expenditure of the public money, was wholly unneceſſary, as the powers already in being, were fully competent to the attainment of redreſs, without any new ones being created for that purpoſe. In ſupport of this aſſertion he cited a caſe within his own knowledge, which happened many years ſince, when he was attorney-general, at which time he proſecuted a governor to conviction, who had been guilty of ſome fraud with reſpect to the cloathing of a regiment. Whatever bargain or contract, he ſaid, was made with government, the law ſuppoſed it to be a *bona fide* tranſaction, and that the crown had full value, and an equitable equivalent; and the law, in every ſuch tranſaction, gave a power of redreſs, either by puniſhing the perſon who ſhould be detected in defrauding the public, or by allowing the contractor only ſuch a ſum, as his ſervices or his commodity deſerved. — He farther ſtated, that the miniſter, and every other perſon acting under the crown, were already, in fact, as reſponſible for the expenditure of every part of the public money which paſſed through their hands, as it was poſſible for the law to render them. They were amenable both to the crown and parliament; to the firſt in his majeſty's courts of law, and to the latter, in their inquiſitorial capacity.

Nothing excited ſo much indignation on that ſide, as that paſſage in the motion, which rendered the lords in office, and all thoſe who enjoyed any emolument or penſion under the crown, incapable of being members of the propoſed committee. But it was more particularly reſented, and that with no common degree of warmth, by a noble earl lately come into adminiſtration. He declared it was a libel on the whole body of the peerage, as it ſuppoſed, that ſuch of their lordſhips as enjoyed places under government were, from that circumſtance, liable to be warped from their duty, and to give corrupt opinions on a queſtion, which it was maintained in argument was intended, and would effect, the ſalvation of their country. It was, he would maintain, a general and direct libel upon that houſe, and a particular libel upon every noble lord who ſtood in the deſcribed predicament. It was a libel on himſelf as an individual; and he affirmed, from his own knowledge, that it was falſe and unfounded.

Some other lords who were in the ſame predicament, and who likewiſe objected to that excluſion in the motion, did not go ſo far in

in their reſentment; and were ſatisfied to aſſert their own independence and integrity, notwithſtanding any favours they owed to the crown. A noble earl in particular, who had lately been at the head of a commiſſion abroad, of the higheſt truſt, and of, perhaps, the greateſt poſſible importance, and who was then at the head of an office of honour and dignity at home, ſpoke highly, in the beginning of the debate, in favour of the principle on which the preſent motion was founded. And while he gave his own fulleſt approbation to the principle, declared the attempt to be ſo truly meritorious, as highly to deſerve the attention of every noble lord preſent. He only lamented that the paſſage in queſtion, ſhould, at this moſt critical and perilous criſis, exclude any noble lord, from rendering every ſervice he was capable of to his country; and thought it extremely ill judged, at ſuch a ſeaſon, to cut off the committee from the aſſiſtance of ſome of the firſt characters and ableſt men in the kingdom. From this circumſtance, although he moſt cordially approved of the object which the motion pointed to, he found himſelf in the diſagreeable predicament of not being permitted to give a vote either way; but if this objection were removed, the propoſition ſhould meet with his moſt hearty aſſent.

The ſubject of the county meetings, petitions and aſſociations, was the means of introducing much warmth of language and ſentiment, ſeverity of ſtricture, and bitterneſs of obſervation and reply, in the courſe of the debate. A noble lord newly come into adminiſtration, having charged the motion with the ſeveral defects of informality, abſurdity, and inefficacy with reſpect to its avowed object, paſſed ſeveral ſevere ſtrictures on the ſuppoſed motives and intentions, which led to its being brought forward at the preſent time. He affirmed, that it was meant to combine the motion with the petitions now before, and daily preſenting to the other houſe; that as the petitions themſelves had been promoted by the moſt unjuſtifiable and improper means, ſo the motion was certainly intended to bear a relation to them, in order to embarraſs government, and throw an odium on his majeſty's confidential adviſers. That, if the motion operated at all, it could be only in that way. The petitions and their contents were in general created; and when they ſeemed to ariſe ſpontaneouſly, and from ſentiment, which he believed to be the caſe in very few inſtances, they were founded in no better than abſurd, impracticable notions of public reformation, and ſpecious theories, calculated to miſlead the nation, as being directed to objects, either unattainable, or which, if attained, muſt undermine the conſtitution, and finally lead to public confuſion. That the motion would produce effects ſimilar to the county petitions if agreed to; it would embroil both houſes, impede public buſineſs, and tend to anarchy and confuſion.

A noble earl, who had likewiſe lately come into office, having endeavoured to ſhew the informality, impracticability, and libellous tendency of the motion, proceeded to reprobate, in highly indig-

indignant and paſſionate terms, the county meetings and petitions. He ſaid they originated merely in factious motives, and in factious motives too of the very worſt complexion. They tended to uſurp the powers of government, and to compel parliament to conceſſions of the moſt dangerous and unconſtitutional nature; they were ſet up as another eſtate, unknown to the conſtitution. They would, if not timely ſuppreſſed, lead to anarchy and public confuſion. As yet, they had been cautiouſly and artfully kept within the verge of the law, though, in fact, they reached to the very brink of rebellion. He denied that they were the ſenſe of the nation at large; and he hoped, whatever malignant ſpirit gave them birth, that it would be inſtantly cruſhed. There was nothing but reſolution and firmneſs, which he was perſuaded their lordſhips would never want, when their rights were attempted to be invaded, neceſſary to ſubdue them; and if he had no other reaſon for oppoſing the preſent motion in all its parts, he could find in his own mind a ſufficient motive for giving it a negative, from its being ſo nearly allied in principle and in object, to that factious, dangerous, innovating, and unconſtitutional ſpirit, which had given exiſtence to the county meetings.—He concluded, by declaring he was ſatisfied, that the preſent motion was framed in ſuch a manner as muſt enſure it a negative, in order thereby to throw an odium upon adminiſtration, and give an opportunity to its friends and ſupporters to enter a flaming proteſt, which, being ſoon publiſhed, and making its way into the country, would ſerve to foment and increaſe that ſpirit of ſedition and diſaffection, which both the authors and friends of this motion wiſhed to diſſeminate through every part of the kingdom.

Such language and charges could not paſs without reprehenſion; but we ſhall firſt attend to the means uſed for removing the objections which were made to the motion upon its own bottom. The lords in oppoſition expreſſed their ſurprize, to hear the point of informality ſo much laboured, and ſo long dwelt upon, without the propoſal of a remedy where it might be ſo eaſily applied, and without a ſingle argument of any weight being brought againſt the main object of the motion. The noble framer, they ſaid, had avowedly left it open, in order to afford room for its being rendered palateable to all parties. The principle of the motion, public reformation and national œconomy, formed the only objects of conſideration; and it mattered nothing how it might be new framed, altered and modified, ſo theſe were promoted. One ſimple remedy was obvious and at hand, which would effectually remove that informality upon which ſo much ſtreſs was laid, and that was a matter of no greater difficulty than merely omitting the words "both houſes;" and the motion would then run—"That a committee be appointed." It was a mere matter of form; and upon a queſtion of ſo great importance, and a buſineſs of ſuch evident neceſſity, ſuch paltry cavils were inexcuſable, and even ſhameful.

With regard to the objection of inter-

interfering with the other houſe in money matters, they ſaid, that without entering at all into the queſtion as an abſtract propoſition, and without any occaſion for at all meaſuring the peculiar rights and privileges of either houſe of parliament, this objection would be as eaſily done away as the former. The ſimple meaſure of a conference would equally remove every difficulty with reſpect to both. All queſtions with reſpect to points of order, or excluſive privilege, would inſtantly vaniſh, when both houſes agreed in principle, and united in opinion, upon the neceſſity of a reform. But abſtracted from that remedy, no noble lord preſent would deny, but that houſe had a right of enquiry in ſuch matters, ſo far as the diſpoſal of public monies came under their cognizance as a deliberative body; it ſignified very little which houſe took up the buſineſs, ſo that the object was obtained; the matter could not be finally ſettled without the aid of an act of parliament; and in that caſe, either houſe had its power of aſſenting or diſſenting to whatever came from the other.

A noble duke on the ſame ſide, went ſtill farther on that ground. He inſiſted, and with great ſtrength of argument and knowledge of the ſubject endeavoured to demonſtrate, that the Houſe of Lords was fully competent to enquire into the expenditure of public money; to examine and controul both its receipt and iſſue; and to puniſh delinquents, if any ſuch could be found. He cited examples to ſhew that they had often exerciſed thoſe powers; and declared, he never would ſuffer the petty purpoſes of a faction to lead to a ſurrender of their inherent rights.

The noble duke likewiſe ſtrongly controverted the poſition held out on the other ſide, that the article of excluſion propoſed in the motion, was a libel upon the whole body of the peerage, and particularly ſo upon the ſervants of the crown. He argued, that the intended excluſion was formed upon the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution, and upon the whole plan of Engliſh juriſprudence. The law, at leaſt the common law of England, always excluded perſons from acting in any ſituation which concerned others where they might be ſuppoſed to act under partiality, influence, or prejudice, or to have any local or native bias on their minds. Such was the caſe in the conſtituting of juries, both in civil and criminal matters; ſuch was the caſe of a judge going the circuit into a country in which he was born or poſſeſſed property; and ſuch in a great variety of other inſtances. Such general legal proviſions, and prudential cautions, which went to guard againſt the weakneſs, infirmities, the paſſions, and the vices of mankind at large, to preſerve individuals from being expoſed to the dangerous trials of needleſs and improper temptation, and even to fence in private character from undue ſuſpicion, could never be ſuppoſed to convey reflection or imputation againſt any man, or body of men.

In reſpect to the declarations of the court lords, relative to the manner of obtaining the petitions, many other lords aroſe to give the moſt unqualified contradiction in point of fact, as to ſeveral matters which were ſtated on the other

ſide. The Marquis of Rockingham, in particular, ably vindicated the Yorkſhire meeting. He affirmed, that it was neither propoſed or promoted, by any party, or faction, or by any particular deſcription of men. It originated in the ſpontaneous propoſitions and communications of the independent and honeſt part of the people of all deſcriptions, parties, and intereſts. The meeting at York was too numerous and too independent, to be biaſſed or led, by any influence or power whatever. The freeholders comprized, upon that occaſion, within the compaſs of a ſingle room, poſſeſſed landed property to the amount of eight hundred thouſand pounds a year; and ſince that meeting, no leſs than nine thouſand gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, ſigned the petition then agreed upon. As a farther proof of the general ſentiments of the people of that country, he ſtated, that the petition from the city of York had been ſigned by no leſs than nine hundred and twenty perſons; although, at a late warmly conteſted election for the ſame city, only nine hundred and ſeventy-two perſons were polled on all ſides. Other noblemen vindicated other meetings, which came within their reſpective knowledge.

With reſpect to the heavy charges laid againſt the principle of the petitions, and the motives and deſigns of the petitioners, particularly by a noble earl in adminiſtration, it was replied, that America had reſiſted, in order to redreſs her grievances; ſo had Ireland; ſo had Scotland; did the noble lord undertake to ſay, that the Engliſh aſſociators were the only part of his majeſty's ſubjects whoſe petitions, in the firſt inſtance, were to be branded with the odious epithets of treaſonable and rebellious? Was every other part of the Britiſh dominions to be liſtened to? And was the ſeat of empire alone to be treated with contempt and foul language? — Were fifty thouſand armed Iriſh aſſociators, to have their grievances redreſſed, as dutiful, loyal, and obedient ſubjects? And was the county meetings of the people of England, unarmed, unaſſociated, unembodied, without either ſtaves, or any other weapon, offenſive or defenſive, to be charged with being on the brink of treaſon and rebellion?—Had not the lord lieutenant of Ireland, in a public act, in which he repreſented the perſon of the ſovereign, publicly thanked the Iriſh aſſociators, though armed againſt law? And what judgment can the world paſs on a man, who as * governor, or lord lieutenant of an Iriſh county, conveyed the thanks of that parliament, to the aſſociators, thus illegally armed, of that county over which he preſided, and who now, as an Engliſhman, ſhould ſtand up, and charge the Engliſh county meetings with every ſpecies of public criminality ſhort of actual rebellion?

It was obſerved, by another noble duke on the ſame ſide, that the noble lord in adminiſtration, was ever ready to conſtrue every thing into rebellion, which carried the leaſt appearance of oppoſition to the unconſtitutional influence of

* Earl of Hillſborough.

the

the crown; and had been peculiarly fortunate in predicting those very rebellions, or acts of resistance, which, in respect of America, he had been so instrumental in exciting.

A noble viscount on the same side, justified the principle of the petitions, and said, that parliament having, through the enormous influence of the crown, abandoned the care and protection of the people, it was at length become necessary that the people themselves should look to their own preservation. And he congratulated his country, on the approaching appearance of being emancipated, through the virtue and firmness of the people, from a system of government, and a mal-administration of public affairs, hitherto unprecedented in the annals of England.

Some occasional, but very interesting matter, was introduced in this day's debate. A noble marquis, who had once, for some short time, been at the head of affairs, having, in the course of a long and exceedingly pointed speech, gone over, besides a variety of new ground, some part of that which he had opened on the first day of the session, directly charged the general amount, of our past and present discontents, disorders, misfortunes, and dangers, to a new, unconstitutional, and despotic system, adopted at the commencement of the present reign, and which consisted in governing this country, under the forms of law, through the influence of the crown. —He had no sooner, he said, perceived this system, than he set his face against it, and had now, for upwards of seventeen years, both during the short time he was in office, and out, constantly endeavoured to defeat its intended effects.—Every thing within and without, he said, whether in cabinet, parliament, or elsewhere, carried about it the most evident and unequivocal marks of this system; the whole œconomy of executive government, in all its branches, whether professional, deliberative, or official, proclaimed it. Its numerous supporters have appeared publicly in print, and by a variety of means, through books, pamphlets, and news-papers, have openly avowed, and defended it without reserve. This was the origin of all our national misfortunes. He was ready, he said, to avow, in his place, that as the measures contained the fullest testimony of the principle which called them into being, so they bore every internal and external evidence of their dangerous tendency.

He said the principle of despotism had so long appeared, and seemed so uniformly to pervade all our public acts, that he believed it unnecessary to point out particular instances; he should therefore content himself with alluding only to such parts of the system, as applied more directly to the measures pursued respecting America, and the East India company. There it was, he said, that the plan of extending the influence of the crown, already become enormous and truly alarming, blazed forth in all its odious colours; and there it was that that influence, under the impositious pretence of asserting the rights of parliament, was employed to vest the patronage or unlimited sovereignty of all America

rica in the crown. The ſame uſe was made of this influence over the Eaſt India company; and after the firſt attempt had brought bankruptcy on that company, the ſecond finally veſted the patronage of it in the crown for ever.

The plan, he ſaid, was deeply laid; the independent part of the people were led into the ſnare by the ſpecious pretences of deſigning and artful men.—The company were deſcribed to be wallowing in riches; the directors, and their ſervants abroad, were ſaid to be infinitely venal, unprincipled, corrupt, and oppreſſive. It was urged, that in the poſſeſſion of ſuch immenſe revenues and profits, territorial and commercial, that the company ought to be compelled to contribute to the exigencies of the ſtate, and to bear part of the burthens, in common with their fellow-ſubjects. The idea was ſpecious, flattering, carried the appearance of juſtice, and immediately intereſted the parties in its favour, on whom the impoſition was intended to be paſſed. But the whole, he ſaid, was a miniſterial trick, a ſtate juggle, to throw duſt in the eyes of the people. It was patronage, a further extenſion of court influence, which was at the bottom of all this, however varniſhed over with ſpecious appearances of public reformation, general juſtice, and an equitable diſtribution of taxes and burthens to be borne by the ſeveral reſpective parts of the empire. It was not the ſum of 400,000l. a year that was the great object; it was the aggrandizement of the crown that ſet this political machine in motion. The ſequel proved it, he ſaid, beyond the poſſibility of doubt or uncertainty. The company in a few years became bankrupt; and it was reſerved for the preſent adminiſtration to complete, what they had ſo happily begun, and ſo ſteadily purſued. They relinquiſhed the revenue with chearfulneſs, but they took care to get the patronage in exchange. If any proof, he ſaid, were wanting to ſhew, that neither revenue, nor a deſire to alleviate the public burthens, formed the true cauſe; it was now fully ſufficient to obſerve, that no one effectual meaſure had been taken to promote reformation in India; for it was impoſſible for oppreſſion, public peculation, or any other evil, ſaid to have prevailed in India, at the time that government firſt broke in upon the affairs of that company, to have riſen higher, or to have proved more operative and extenſive, than they have done ſince that period. A very ſtriking inſtance of which, he ſaid, was then depending in the courts below, in the caſe of the late Lord Pigot who had been ſacrificed to the private cabals of thoſe, who, if not encouraged by government, were moſt certainly protected and countenanced by it. This was the conſequence of the interference of the crown; and as to the pretence of a revenue, it was, he ſaid, needleſs to obſerve, that no one part of the conduct of the preſent adminiſtration, or of the ſyſtem they acted under, furniſhed even the colour of an argument, that they, who had upon all occaſions ſo ſhamefully waſted and miſ-ſpent the public treaſure, entertained a ſingle idea of relieving the people,

ple, whom, in every other inſtance, they had ſo heavily burthened and oppreſſed.

The noble marquis applied a ſimilar train of reaſoning to the ſupport of this doctrine with reſpect to the American meaſures. He declared without reſerve, that it was, what he called, the ſame traitorous principle, that produced the American war, and the long train of evils which have flowed from it; and he was purſuaded, beſides that great object, that in the courſe of ſome of the events which fell out in America, one great ſpur which induced miniſters to ruſh blindly on, was in expectation of being gratified, and of gratifying their friends and ſupporters, with expected confiſcations of the lands and properties of thoſe who took up arms againſt government; and ſhould they now perſiſt in turning a deaf ear to the voice of the people of this country, and thereby force them into meaſures of reſiſtance, he ſhould likewiſe be convinced, that one motive among others would be, a proſpect of confiſcations nearer home, and the proſcription of the lives and fortunes of thoſe who ſhould ſtand forth the friends of their country, and of, as yet, its unrivalled conſtitution.

How far, and whether at all, theſe political opinions may be tinged with the colour of party, are queſtions on which we are not to form any public opinion; but the authority from which they proceed, and ſtill more, the magnitude of the objects to which they relate, beſtow on them an appearance of ſo much importance, that we deemed it fitting, if not neceſſary, to preſerve them to the public; referring their validity to the explanations of time, and to the deciſion of a more temperate ſeaſon.

The buſineſs of this day was likewiſe particularly diſtinguiſhed, from the part taken, and the circumſtances attending it, by the Marquis of Carmarthen. This young nobleman had poſſeſſed a place of high honour and emolument, at the head of the queen's houſehold, and was alſo lord lieutenant of the north riding of the county of York. Private buſineſs had prevented his attending the great meeting at York; but he ſent a letter a few days after to the committee, approving in general of their proceedings, but making ſome objection to the ſcheme of aſſociation, and to the propoſed committees of correſpondence. Although this conduct could not but excite obſervation, and perhaps ſurprize, nothing conſequent to it appeared, until a few days preceding the motion now before us, when he voluntarily reſigned his office at court.

In the preſent debate, the noble marquis thought proper to explain, and to aſſign the motives of his conduct in both inſtances. He ſaid, he gave his full aſſent to the motion, as he thought it the only means of preſerving this country from inevitable ruin, by promoting union among all ranks and deſcriptions of men, and of courſe reſtoring energy and confidence to government.—He declared, that he liked and applauded the principle of the petitions; they breathed the ſame ſpirit with the preſent motion. And he ſtated the particulars of his conduct with reſpect to the York meeting.

He

He then said, that he had a few days since resigned a place, the holding of which he should ever esteem one of the greatest honours of his life. Why had he resigned it? Because his duty to his sovereign and his country, and a regard for his own honour, would not permit him longer to retain it. He could no longer give his support to a ministry, which had, after a series of repeated trials, proved themselves pusillanimous, incapable, and corrupt; who had brought the nation to the brink of destruction, and still persisted to plunge it deeper into misery, calamity, and danger. They were the curse of this country, and, he feared, they would prove its ruin. One of them from his deserved ignominy, and the other from his criminal indolence, incapability, and neglect. The first, in a season, when talents and abilities were most wanted, having driven almost every man under those descriptions from the service, by insult and bad treatment.

He said, that while he remained in place, he did not think it decent to oppose government. He could not in conscience absent himself from his duty in parliament at so momentous a crisis; the only method therefore which presented itself to him, in order to get rid of the embarrassment, was to resign. But what had been the consequence of this moderate conduct? That of dismissing him, on that very morning, from an office he held under the crown, the lord lieutenancy of the north riding of the county of York. He did not pretend to say who it was that advised that measure: but let it come from whom it may, he despised the mean resentment which gave it birth; he laughed at the folly, but he felt the injustice and intended insult as he ought.

As some passages in this speech were supposed to allude, if not to point directly, to the first lord of the admiralty then present, the matter was zealously taken up by a young earl, who entered into a warm and cordial vindication of his friend; which, from the nature of the subject, could not however go any farther, than assertion, denial, or opinion. But, although the matter was a good deal agitated, and the noble earl immediately concerned, thought it necessary to enter personally into the discussion, no satisfaction whatever could be obtained from the noble marquis. And though he was called up several times, instead of retracting any part of what he had advanced, or even softening it by explanation, he rather strengthened and enforced it, by entering more fully into particulars. He still said, that the best men, men of the highest professional merit, were either driven totally from the service by the noble minister, or were deterred from accepting any command under his direction. Every man who accepted of a command, he said, accepted it under the conditions of a double peril; that of being employed and deceived; and that of being certain, that those who deceived him, would be the first, as they were the most powerful, in effecting his disgrace. He should not, he said, enter into detail, or quote names, as he believed it totally unnecessary to descend to particulars; for every person who had been employed

ployed ſtood almoſt in the ſame predicament;—he believed other commanders declined the ſervice, from their not deeming either their characters or perſons ſafe in certain hands;—and that from what had already happened, he was entitled to ſay, that no man of ability, or who regarded his honour, could prudently ſerve in the navy under its preſent adminiſtration.

After long, various, important, and very intereſting debates, the queſtion was at length put, upon a motion modified from the original to the following purport, To appoint a committee, conſiſting of lords poſſeſſing neither place nor penſion, to examine, without delay, into the public expenditure, and the mode of accounting for the ſame.—This motion was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 101 lords, including 20 proxies, to 55 lords, including only five proxies.

Great as this majority was, the oppoſition ſhewed ſuch a ſtrength upon this diviſion, as they had not done for ſeveral years before; which, along with ſome other concurrent circumſtances, would have been conſidered, in a ſeaſon of leſs permanency than the preſent, as holding out alarming, if not ominous ſymptoms.

The rejection of this motion, brought out (as had been predicted during the debate by a noble lord in adminiſtration) a proteſt of no ſmall length; and abundantly fraught with argumentative mattter, relative to the public expenditure, which did not by any means ſeem calculated to afford much ſatisfaction to thoſe people, who felt themſelves heavily preſſed by the burthens of the ſtate. In this piece, the noble proteſtors ſeem to pay ſome particular attention to an objection made to the motion, as if it meant to abridge the rights of monarchy, and to make the crown dependant upon the parliament.—To this they reply as follows—"If "the objection means to inſinuate, that corruption is neceſſary to government, we ſhall "leave that principle to confute "itſelf by its own apparent iniquity. That this motion is "intended to diminiſh the conſtitutional power of the crown, "we deny. The conſtitutional "power of the crown we are no "leſs ſolicitous to preſerve, than "we are to annihilate its unconſtitutional influence. The prerogative rightly underſtood, "not touched, or intended to be "touched by this motion, will "ſupport the crown in all the "ſplendour which the king's "perſonal dignity requires, and "with all the authority and vigour neceſſary to give due "effect to the executive powers "of government."

The proteſt was ſigned by 33 lords. The Marquis of Carmarthen ſubſcribed to the whole, excepting one article; and the Earl of Radnor proteſted without aſſigning reaſons. The Earl of Pembroke's name now appeared for the firſt time on the ſide of oppoſition.

CHAP. VI.

Colonel Barre gives notice of his intended propoſitions relative to a committee of accounts. Scheme approved of by the miniſter. Sir George Saville's motion, for an account of patent places and ſalaries, agreed to. Second motion, for an account of penſions, during pleaſure or otherwiſe, oppoſed. Debate broken off by the illneſs of the ſpeaker. Reſumed in the following week. Amendment, moved by the miniſter. Long debates. Miniſter's amendment carried, on an exceedingly cloſe diviſion. Jamaica petition preſented in the Houſe of Lords, and the ſubject ſtrongly enforced, by the Marquis of Rockingham. Thanks of the lords and commons to Admiral Sir George Rodney, for his late eminent ſervices. Attempt by the oppoſition, in both houſes, to obtain ſome mark of royal favour for that commander. Scheme, for a commiſſion of accounts, announced by the miniſter, in the Houſe of Commons. Strictures on that buſineſs. Mr. Burke's eſtabliſhment bill read a firſt and ſecond time without oppoſition; debate and diviſion, relative only to time, on its committal. Motion by the Earl of Shelburne, relative to the removal of the Marquis of Carmarthen, and the Earl of Pembroke, from the lieutenancy of their reſpective counties. Queſtion, much agitated. Motion rejected on a diviſion.

IN a few days after the diſcloſure of Mr. Burke's ſcheme of reform, Colonel Barre gave notice of his intention to move for a committee of accounts, as ſupplemental to, and an uſeful enlargement of that plan. He conſidered the appointment of ſuch a committee as affording the neareſt and the moſt eaſy, if not the moſt effectual means, for correcting the evils ariſing from the preſent mode of voting great ſums of the public money without eſtimate, and for, in ſome degree, remedying the procraſtinating forms, and the dilatory courſe of conducting buſineſs, which prevailed in the exchequer; and by which it was at preſent rendered totally inadequate to its purpoſes. He hoped great advantages, he ſaid, from a committee conſiſting only of a few men; for though he knew that the miniſter's ſtrength in the houſe would virtually reſt their nomination with him; yet he depended much, that the ſmallneſs of their number, and a conſciouſneſs that the eyes of the public were fully fixed upon them, would operate powerfully upon their conduct.

Feb. 14th.

As the views of the miniſter could not yet be penetrated, the full and open approbation which he gave to this propoſal, could not but excite ſome ſurprize on all ſides. He ſaw the temper of the nation was ſuch, that ſomething muſt be done to gratify the people, and he quickly perceived, that as the adoption of the preſent meaſure would carry a fair appearance of intended examination and enquiry into the preſent great objects of complaint and grievance, and hold out a proſpect,

pect, however remote, of redreſs, ſo it might be happily ſubſtituted for ſome other propoſed meaſures of reform, which would be exceedingly troubleſome in their progreſs, and could not be finally diſpoſed of without much difficulty; nor probably without ſome loſs to government, whether by abſolute conceſſion, or by admitting ſome new reſtrictions and powers of controul, with reſpect to the adminiſtration of the public finance and expenditure. At any rate, the firſt operation of the propoſed meaſure would be to gain time, which, in the preſent circumſtances, was every thing; the fervor of the people would thereby be allayed; and their views being drawn off to a diſtant object, might be entirely worn away, and even the ſubject forgotten, before the reſult of the enquiry could be known. In the mean time, it could require no extraordinary ſagacity, to modify the buſineſs in ſuch a manner, as would effectually prevent its extending any farther than was wiſhed and intended.

The miniſter accordingly applauded the propoſal highly; and only wondered, that a meaſure of ſuch obvious utility had not been thought of ſooner; he conſidered this as the moſt eſſential ground of reform that could be propoſed, and expected that it would have been taken up before. For himſelf, he wiſhed to hear the propoſitions of gentlemen from every ſide of the houſe; and he aſſured them, that no man in it would be more ready to adopt any plan that appeared calculated for the promotion of œconomy, and for reducing the public expence to order and limit. He acknowledged, that the expenditure of the public money ſhould be brought as much as poſſible under check and controul; and that the preſent courſe of exchequer was inimical to a ſpeedy and effectual controul; that ſyſtem was unequal to the preſent extent of buſineſs, and created delays and inconveniencies, which tended to obſtruct, inſtead of expediting the national ſervice. The people, he ſaid, ought to be ſatisfied with reſpect to the expenditure; it was their right; they expected it; and, for his own part, there was nothing he wiſhed more, than that the utmoſt clearneſs and preciſion ſhould be found in the public accounts. — He concluded by declaring, that he thought a commiſſion of accounts would afford the moſt eligible means of checking the public expence; that a committee, compoſed of a ſmall number of gentlemen, rendered permanent, and ſitting through the year, would be capable of rendering ſolid ſervice to the country; and that he wiſhed to ſee ſo ſalutary, and indeed ſo neceſſary a meaſure adopted.

The oppoſition, on their ſide, congratulated and applauded the miniſter; but although they acknowledged the candour and fairneſs which he had ſhewn in adopting the propoſed idea, one gentleman of great diſcernment obſerved, that he could by no means go along with him in the opinion, that a better, or a more ready mode of accounting to that houſe for the expenditure of public monies, might not be deviſed, and reduced to practice, than that of appointing commiſſioners of ac-

counts. They were however much pleaſed, at the point now unexpectedly gained; and the gentleman who had introduced the buſineſs gave notice, that he would prepare and bring in propoſitions for the purpoſe.

On the following day, Sir George Saville moved, That an account of all places held by patent from the crown, with the amount of the ſalaries annexed to them, and a liſt of the perſons at preſent holding them, ſhould be laid before the houſe. By this account, he ſaid, the houſe, and of courſe his conſtituents, would be enabled to judge, of the ſervices done to the ſtate in return for the ſalaries paid by it; and then it would be in the judgment of the houſe to decide, what offices were efficient and neceſſary, and the number that were merely ſinecures, and their emoluments a burthen to the people, without any return of ſervice.

The motion being agreed to, he moved, That an account of all ſubſiſting penſions, granted by the crown, during pleaſure or otherwiſe, ſpecifying the amount of ſuch penſions reſpectively, and the times when, and the perſons to whom, ſuch penſions were granted, ſhould be laid before the houſe. He obſerved, that his honourable friend, Mr. Burke, with that liberality peculiar to his nature, had foregone, in his plan, an enquiry into ſubjects of that ſort; but however laudable the motives of tenderneſs upon which he acted certainly were, the people being rouzed by their feelings and neceſſities to a cloſe examination of the ſtate of their own affairs, and into the cauſes of thoſe evils which they experienced, demanded a more ſtrict and rigid mode of conduct. That the enquiry propoſed by his motion formed a principal object, not only with his conſtituents, but with the county meetings in general; and was neceſſarily become a part of the plan for affording ſatisfaction to the people which he thought himſelf bound to adopt. Whether it anſwered their expectation, in the whole, in part, or not at all, was not the queſtion; the enquiry, and conſequent knowledge of the fact, would afford the ſatisfaction which he deſired.

A ſtrong and determined oppoſition to this motion was immediately apparent; but the debate was broken off by the ſudden illneſs of the ſpeaker, and the buſineſs lay over to the following week. On its revival, the miniſter moved an amendment, reſtricting the account to thoſe penſions only which were paid at the exchequer; but this he afterwards enlarged, to the giving the general amount of all penſions, but without any ſpecification of names, or particularity of ſums, excepting in the firſt inſtance. 21ſt.

The propoſed amendments brought out very long, and exceedingly warm debates; in the courſe of which the miniſter had the mortification of diſcovering much matter of apprehenſion and alarm; and of meeting ſuch an oppoſition as he had never before encountered. He grounded his oppoſition to the motion, in the firſt inſtance, on a principle of delicacy. To expoſe the neceſſities of antient and noble families, whoſe fortunes were too narrow for the ſupport

ſupport of their rank, to the prying eye of malignant curioſity, he ſaid, would be not only wanton, but cruel. To expoſe the man who had a penſion, to the envy and detraction of him who had none, and by whom he was therefore hated; to hold him up as an object for the gratification of private malice and the malevolence of party, merely as a price for the favour conferred on him by the crown, would ſurely be a proceeding, in its nature, equally odious and contemptible. Yet theſe were the certain effects which muſt proceed from an indiſcriminate diſcloſure of the penſion liſt; along with, he ſaid, the furniſhing out matter for a feaſt to newſpaper and party writers, to be by them dreſt up in their own manner for the entertainment of the public, at the expence of the nobleſt, perhaps the worthieſt and moſt deſerving members of the ſtate. Such were the ill effects; and the noble lord declared himſelf incapable of diſcovering any good which the motion, if carried, would inevitably produce.

The miniſter farther ſaid, that he had very ſufficient reaſons for believing, that the true ſtate of the penſion liſt was very little known and underſtood. That all was not, properly ſpeaking, penſion, that appeared on that liſt. Several large ſalaries were, in exchequer language, claſſed under that denomination; and accordingly ſwelled the payments in that liſt, to which they did not properly belong. And if theſe were deducted, along with the four ſhillings in the pound tax on places and penſions, the remaining penſion liſt would be found not to exceed 50,000 l. a year; which would be 10,000 l. a year leſs than Mr. Burke, in his plan of reform, thought reaſonable to be allotted to that article of public expence. He therefore thought, that the county meetings muſt be very ill informed, when they made the ſuppoſed exceſs in that department a leading article in their liſt of grievances. And he was certain, that if the people of England only knew that all that could be gotten by expoſing the names of ſeveral honourable perſons on the penſion liſt, would amount to no more, under the moſt rigid œconomy, than the ſaving of a few thouſand pounds a year, their hearts would revolt at the idea of ſuch a motion.

He concluded by drawing a diſtinction, between the money granted expreſsly to government for the other public ſervices of the ſtate, and that allotted to the ſupport of the civil liſt eſtabliſhment. The firſt was to be ſpecifically applied; and the proper officers were anſwerable for the diſpoſal, as well as accountable for the amount. But the money granted to the king for his civil liſt, was granted freely and without controul; it was then his perſonal property; was liable to no reſtriction whatever; and was as fully under his direction, and as entirely at his diſpoſal, as the rents of a private eſtate could be to the owner.

The miniſter's principle of delicacy was laughed at on the other ſide. Penſions granted for honourable ſervice, they ſaid, were marks of honour, and not of diſgrace. Nor did thoſe granted for ſupporting the rank of antient and noble families, whoſe poverty proceeded

from the fault of their anceſtors, and not their own, convey the ſmalleſt degree of reproach. Poverty was no diſgrace, where it was not brought on by perſonal vice or folly. As little did the people wiſh to ſuppreſs ſuch liberality, or to retrench the means of it, when properly and honourably applied, in the crown. Ireland afforded a living proof within their knowledge, that ſuch notions of ſuppoſed delicacy were entirely ideal and unfounded. The holders of penſions in that country were to the full as proud and as delicate, as thoſe under the ſame circumſtances in this. Yet the penſion liſt in that kingdom was every ſecond year laid before parliament, and publiſhed in all their news-papers, without its producing any degree of that diſgrace and uneaſineſs to individuals, and without opening any of thoſe ſources of detraction and malevolence, of which the miniſter now pretends to be ſo apprehenſive. Not a ſingle lord or lady, however antient their families, or however proud of their rank, whether Engliſh or Iriſh, was ever yet known to throw up or to refuſe a penſion, upon the account of that publication.

The noble lord, they ſaid, had endeavoured, with his uſual art, but with uncommon induſtry, to render, by the miniſterial juggle of his calculations, and by ſhewing it through the wrong end of the perſpective, the object of the motion ſo apparently diminutive, as to be unworthy the attention of the people, and the conſideration of parliament, But even taking it, they ſaid, upon his own word, and ſuppoſing for a moment his repreſentation to be as fair, as it was directly calculated to impoſe and miſlead, although it would be acknowledged, that forty or fifty thouſand pounds a year was not ſimply, and immediately in itſelf, an object of great national attention, yet, as every thing great muſt be done by detail to become ſo, it was ridiculous to contend, that ſuch, and leſſer ſums, were not fit objects to be attended to, and included, in any ſcheme which took in a reform of the national expenditure.

But money, they ſaid, was only a ſecondary conſideration, whether with the petitioners, or with themſelves. The firſt and great object of both, was the deſtruction of that undue and corrupt influence, which was the fatal ſource of all our evils, calamities, dangers, and of the greater part of that ruinous expence, under which the nation was ſinking. If by cutting off forty or fifty thouſand pounds a year from the means of that corruption, forty or fifty voters could be cut off from that impenetrable parliamentary phalanx, on whom no reaſon, argument, or affection for their country, was ever capable of making an impreſſion, nor of deterring from an adherence to the miniſter of the day, whoever he may be, and in whatever predicament he might ſtand, it would be gaining an object of no ſmall importance; and prove, in its effect, the ſaving of infinitely greater ſums. Had ſuch ſavings taken place in time, America would ſtill have been a part of our ſtrength and glory.

They treated ſarcaſtically the liberality and candour, with which, they ſaid, the noble miniſter had ſo generouſly offered to gratify parliament

parliament with an account of thoſe penſions, which were regularly paid at the public offices of the exchequer; a degree of information which every man in the kingdom, whether native or foreigner, might, by a proper application, obtain to as full an extent, as it was poſſeſſed by the noble lord himſelf. But it happened unluckily that this liberality was thrown away, as the offer did not at all reach to the objects intended by the people, or propoſed by the mover of the preſent motion. Their enquiries were directed to penſions of another nature than thoſe that were paid at public offices. They were directed to temporary penſions; to penſions during pleaſure; to penſions for the purpoſe of parliamentary corruption. So unqualified were the charges upon this ground, that a gentleman declared as a fact, founded upon authority, he ſaid, which he could not doubt, that the miniſter, at the cloſe of every ſeſſion, had a ſettlement of ſuch penſions to make; that a private liſt of names, with the ſeveral ſums apportioned to their reſpective ſervices or merits, was then produced; and that as ſoon as the money was paid, the paper was immediately burnt, and no memorial of the tranſaction preſerved.

This occaſioned a call on the oppoſition from one of the law officers, to come forward with their proofs, to name and point out the delinquents; but not to throw about charges of ſuch a nature at random, if they were not able to ſupport and eſtabliſh them. To this it was replied, that the learned gentleman well knew, that they could not poſſibly poſſeſs the ſpecies of evidence, which the rules of that houſe rendered neceſſary, in order to fix ſuch ſpecific charges. The great object of the motion was to obtain that very evidence which is now demanded. This the miniſter abſolutely refuſes to grant; and at the very inſtant that they ſee he withholds the means, his advocates boldly challenge us to bring forward our proofs.

The compariſon drawn by the miniſter between the civil liſt revenues, and the rents of a private eſtate, was not at all allowed to hold. Various parts of that vaſt eſtabliſhment, the oppoſition ſaid, were applied to great national purpoſes; to thoſe of public dignity and utility, as well as to the ſupport and ſplendor of the crown. Parliament had a right, and was in the practice, of enquiring and ſeeing into the appropriation of that money. If it were otherwiſe, and that great revenue to be conſidered merely as perſonal property, the whole of it might be drawn off from its original purpoſes, and applied to thoſe of the moſt dangerous nature. The poſition was therefore to be totally exploded, as equally fallacious and dangerous.

It was not a little remarkable, that almoſt the whole weight of this very long debate lay upon the miniſter; who, excepting the aſſiſtance of ſome of the crown lawyers, was left alone to endure the heat and brunt of the day. He was of courſe ſo exceedingly hard puſhed, that he was frequently forced to ſhift or abandon his ground; whilſt every change of poſition afforded ſome new opening for the ſeverities of his antagoniſts. In theſe circumſtances, which were aggravated by the nature of the conteſt, and the apparent doubtfulneſs of the iſſue, it

is not to be wondered at, if he could not perfectly preſerve his equanimity of temper; and if he could not even entirely refrain from ſhewing ſome appearances of vexation and peeviſhneſs.

The queſtion being at length put, at half an hour after one o'clock in the morning, the miniſter's amendments were carried, and but juſt carried, upon a diviſion, by a majority of two only; the numbers being 188 to 186.

Sir George Saville then declared, that as the motion, in its preſent ſtate, was totally changed from that which he had propoſed, and was rendered utterly incapable of obtaining that information for the people, which it was both his wiſh and his duty to lay before them, he ſhould therefore give the matter entirely up, and ſhould no longer give himſelf or his friends any trouble, by fruitleſsly oppoſing miniſters in any point which they were determined to carry.

This was, however, an extraordinary diviſion. But the loſs of the queſtion was the more vexatious to the oppoſition, as they conceived they had ſtrength in town fully ſufficient to have carried it; and even attributed the diſappointment to the accidental abſence of ſome particular friends. On former occaſions this would have been matter of triumph; but they were grown more difficult ſince their late increaſe of ſtrength; and complained bitterly, that volunteer troops can never be brought to pay that ſtrict attention to duty, which is practiſed by trained and diſciplined bands, who have been long habituated to the punctual obſervance of a regular command.

The popular prints, however, triumphed, not only in the cloſeneſs of the diviſion, but in an aſſertion which they repeatedly echoed, that not a ſingle Engliſh gentleman, however he might afterwards vote, had opened his lips on the ſide of the miniſter, in the courſe of ſo long a debate. It was made no leſs a matter of exultation, that of the knights of the ſhire, or repreſentatives of Engliſh and Welſh counties, who were then preſent, only eleven ſupported the miniſter by their votes; while no leſs then fifty-ſeven voted for Sir George Saville's original motion. Such, and ſo powerful, was the effect of that ſpirit which was now prevalent.

It was on the ſame day of Sir George Saville's motion, that the Marquis of Rockingham brought the Jamaica buſineſs forward in the Houſe of Lords; where he preſented a petition ſimilar to that, and ſubſcribed by the ſame names, which we have already ſeen a ſubject of animadverſion in the Houſe of Commons. He went over the whole ground of complaint, and, in a ſpeech of a conſiderable length, ſupported and enforced the ſeveral matters of charge, in a manner which ſhewed a very full knowledge of his ſubject; in doing which, he endeavoured particularly to eſtabliſh the following points: — The great importance and ineſtimable value of the iſland —The fatal conſequences, with reſpect to all our remaining American and Weſt Indian poſſeſſions, which muſt be the immediate and inevitable reſult, of its becoming the property of the enemy, but more eſpecially of France—The criminal conduct of miniſters in neglecting all proper and rational proviſion,

proviſion, for the ſecurity and protection of ſo ineſtimable a poſſeſſion — And, the actual and imminent internal and external dangers, to which the iſland has at ſeveral different times been ſubjected, through that neglect.

On the laſt ground, he particularly inſiſted, and endeavoured to demonſtrate, as well by a letter from Governor Dalling, as by other authorities, that ſcarcely a hope could have been formed of ſaving the iſland, if D'Eſtaing had bent his force thither, at the time that, ſo fortunately to this country, he directed his courſe to Georgia. So that the preſervation of one of the moſt valuable appendages to the crown of Great Britain, reſted upon the error, blindneſs, or folly of the enemy. He farther urged, that this conduct could not even be ſo far palliated, as to attribute it to mere negligence or forgetfulneſs; ſuppoſing that either could be admitted as any palliation. For that ſo early as the year 1773, and repeatedly ſince, miniſters had been warned, by petitions and applications from the iſland, of the dangers, both within and from without, to which it was expoſed; and of which no other notice was taken in the firſt inſtance, than the drawing away, for the unhappy purpoſes of the American war, one half of the very weak military force, (amounting to 300 men) which had been before aſſigned for its defence. Nor had any thing effectual been ſince done.

On the other ſide, the proteſt (of which we have before taken notice) was brought forward, and read by Lord Onſlow as part of his ſpeech, in order to ſhew, that the petition ſhould not be conſidered as the ſenſe of the iſland, but merely as containing the ſentiments of thoſe perſons by whom it was ſubſcribed. He contended, that the proteſtors, though not ſo numerous, poſſeſſed property equal, if not ſuperior, to the petitioners; from whence he argued that their opinions were of equal weight and importance.

This aſſertion drew up the Marquis of Rockingham, who having moved that the names of the petitioners ſhould be read, obſerved, that he believed moſt of them were known to their lordſhips; it was now in the noble lord's power who had read the proteſt, to bring the matter to an immediate iſſue; he had only to paſs the names of the proteſtors in counterview before them, and the buſineſs would be ſettled; it would be at once ſeen on which ſide the queſtions of property and reſpectability lay.

The noble lord, however, declined to read the names of the proteſtors; but inſiſted on his general poſitions, that the petitioners, although many of them were reſpectable, did not poſſeſs half the property of the iſland; that one-third of the merchants and planters had not ſigned either the petition or proteſt; and it was fairly to be concluded, that thoſe who had not ſigned the former, did not approve of its contents.

The Marquis rejoined, that the motives for declining to read the names of the proteſtors were eaſily underſtood. The noble lord was tender of ſome names; and did not wiſh to bring certain characters forward, which had figured in that tranſaction. After ſome obſervations on theſe, and drawing a ſtrong contraſt between the ſtate of character,

character, property, and reſpectability on both ſides, he commented, upon what he called rather a ludicrous paſſage in the proteſt; by which it is held out as a motive for their objecting to a petition for protection to parliament, that it was the intereſt of the merchants and planters to ſtand well with government.

The firſt lord of the admiralty acknowledged, that the merchants and planters who ſigned the petition were, in every inſtance, as worthy and as reſpectable a body of men, as any in this, or in any other kingdom; but that there was not a ſingle fact ſtated in the petition, nor alledged in its ſupport, which he would not be ready and prepared, one by one, at a proper time, to diſprove. This brought out ſome altercation between him and the noble marquis; in which, beſides a difference of opinion with reſpect to circumſtances of danger and protection, ſeveral aſſertions and contradictions took place as to facts and dates. The petition was ordered to lie on the table for the peruſal and conſideration of the lords; under the avowed intention of the Marquis of Rockingham, to make it the foundation of a future motion, for the protection and ſecurity of the iſland of Jamaica; an intention which the meaſures adopted by government, about this time, rendered unneceſſary.

On the laſt day of February, the miniſter in the Houſe of Commons moved that the thanks of that houſe ſhould be given to Admiral Sir George Rodney, for the late ſignal and important ſervices he had rendered his king and country. The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Thomas Townſhend, warmly ſupported by the oppoſition, and unanimouſly agreed to by the houſe. A ſimilar motion was made on the following day in the Houſe of Lords by the Earl of Sandwich, ſeconded by the Marquis of Rockingham, and agreed to in the ſame manner.

But the oppoſition wiſhed for ſome more ſubſtantial return, than a mere vote of thanks, for the eſſential ſervices performed by that brave commander; and accordingly warmly contended in both houſes, that while the impreſſion of ſervice was recent and warm, they ſhould proceed a ſtep further; and apply for ſome mark of royal favour, which, in caſe of any ſiniſter accident, or future misfortune, might afford to him ſome ſecurity, againſt his being again neglected, and his ſervices forgotten.

This, they ſaid, was the more neceſſary, as that admiral had in the laſt war received the thanks of both houſes for the important ſervices which he then performed; and yet he was afterwards moſt ſhamefully laid by and neglected, without any proviſion being made for him ſuitable to his rank and high character; ſo that honour was almoſt the only harveſt which he reaped. It was likewiſe, they ſaid, the more neceſſary, as it was underſtood that he was deſtined with an inferior force to the protection of our Weſt India iſlands; and that nobody was ignorant, in caſe of misfortune or loſs, with what dexterity the preſent miniſters could ſhift the blame from themſelves, however culpable, upon the ſhoulders of their commander. In ſuch a caſe Sir George Rodney

ney must expect the same fate, which, they said, every other officer, who ventured to act under their direction, had already experienced.

The post of Lieutenant General of the Marines, which had been instituted as a reward for extraordinary merit and service, and which had unusually continued vacant ever since the resignation of Sir Hugh Palliser, was the immediate object which the opposition had in view, in favour of Sir George Rodney; but this was mentioned only as matter of conversation, or proposal to the ministers, as they would not seem to prescribe to the crown by any specification. Nor did they wish to push the business to an address in the House of Commons, (where only, consistently with forms, it could be done) if they could obtain a satisfactory promise from the minister on the subject. This, however, not appearing to them to be immediately done, Mr. Marsham framed a motion for an address, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to bestow some high post of honour on Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, for his late signal services.

The minister declared the greatest personal regard for the absent commander, as well as the fullest sense of his great merits, services, and high naval character; nor was any gentleman in the house more willing that he should be most amply rewarded. But he observed, that it would not only be unprecedented to follow a vote of thanks with an immediate address for a reward; but that so coupling the two matters would in future subject the house to very great difficulty, and establish a precedent which they would hereafter have cause to repent. He therefore wished the motion was withdrawn, as it would be exceedingly irksome to him to oppose it; which yet he must otherwise be under a necessity of doing, merely for the sake of parliamentary precedent.

As the minister likewise assured the house, that he was far from thinking the place of lieutenant-general of the marines, by any means more than equal to the admiral's high deserts, the justness of his reasoning, and the clearness of his declarations, afforded such conviction and satisfaction on the other side, that the motion was withdrawn; but under the declared presumption, that something was intended, and would be effectually done, in favour of the admiral. It may be difficult to determine, whether the two great naval commanders in the House of Commons, (Admiral Keppel, and Lord Howe) did greater honour to themselves, or to Sir George Rodney, by the liberal, clear, and unreserved approbation and applause, which they bestowed upon his conduct and services.

The ground taken by the Marquis of Rockingham, and other lords on that side, was, an endeavour to obtain from the marine minister, by stating the propriety and expediency of the measure, some assurance, that either the vacant place, or some equivalent mark of royal favour and reward, was intended to be bestowed on the absent admiral; the disarranged state of whose private affairs, afforded motives which were strongly urged in both houses, for its not being merely honorary.

But

But this, the noble lord at the head of the admiralty abſolutely refuſed. He ſaid, it was the peculiar province of the crown to diſtinguiſh and reward thoſe who had ſerved it ably and faithfully; that it would be preſumption in him to undertake or ſay, what his majeſty might or might not, or ought to do; that it would be a direct invaſion of his prerogative to preſcribe to him on ſuch an occaſion; that graces and favours, ſuch as thoſe deſcribed, were the proper gift of the ſovereign, that he never wiſhed that houſe to intrench on this excluſive right; and it was well known to be one of the leading characteriſtics of his majeſty's reign, to reward ſuch of his ſubjects as ſeemed worthy of his favour and protection.

March 2d. On the following day, the miniſter ſurprized, at leaſt, one ſide of the houſe, by opening his ſcheme for the appointment of a *Commiſſion of Accounts*. He obſerved, that the amount, the increaſe, and the manner of conducting the public expenditure, had of late afforded continual topics of debate, converſation, and complaint; and that it had even been propoſed to withhold the ſupplies for thoſe parts of the public ſervice, for which eſtimates were not previouſly produced. With reſpect to that matter, he muſt repeat what he had often ſaid before, that while we were engaged in a widely extended and expenſive war, it would be impoſſible in many inſtances, from the very nature of the ſervices, to lay previous eſtimates before the houſe. The extent, peculiar nature, and circumſtances of the war, were likewiſe to account for the enormity of the expence.

He wiſhed, however, as heartily as any one gentleman in that houſe, to give the public the fulleſt ſatisfaction, that the money was duly applied to their ſervice; and he equally wiſhed, that ſome method could be deviſed for ſtating and ſettling the public accounts in ſuch a manner, that the numerous balances upon each head of expence might be brought forward more ſpeedily, and in conſequence be the ſooner applied to the public ſervice. Various methods had been hinted at for effecting this purpoſe; the method he ſhould propoſe, would be to bring in a bill for appointing a commiſſion of accounts. He thought a commiſſion would have many advantages over a committee of accounts; as it might be ſtrengthened with powers, with which the houſe was not capable of inveſting the latter; particularly the calling for papers of all ſorts, and the examining witneſſes upon oath. That former commiſſions of this nature had proved nugatory, he ſaid, was eaſily to be accounted for, and as eaſily to be remedied. The fault lay partly in the cauſe, and partly in the form and extent of their juriſdiction. They had merely been authorized with a retroſpective view; he meant to carry the preſent idea much farther. He intended that the bill ſhould expreſsly authorize the commiſſioners, not only to enquire into the accounts of the paſt expenditure, but into the current accounts; and farther direct them to conſult, prepare, and report to the houſe, what ſhould, upon due examination and conſultation, appear to them to be a more eaſy and ſpeedy mode of keeping

keeping the public accounts, and ſettling them ſo, that their true ſtate might from time to time, as near as poſſible, be laid before the Houſe when called for, and the various balances in hand be immediately brought forward, and applied to the ſervice of the enſuing year.

The miniſter obſerved, that when he had readily promiſed his aſſiſtance upon this ſubject ſome time before, to an honourable member on the other ſide, who had called upon him for it; notwithſtanding ſome ironical compliments, he could eaſily perceive that his ſincerity was called in queſtion, and that his promiſe or concurrence was only conſidered as a parliamentary trick. The only return he then determined to make, was to ſeize the earlieſt opportunity of affording indiſputable proof to the houſe, that his offer of aſſiſtance included his real ſentiments, and that no man wiſhed more than he did himſelf, for ſome effectual means of expediting the public accounts. An honourable gentleman had likewiſe at that time thrown out, that it would appear from the ſort of committee that was appointed, whether he was ſincere, or whether the whole enquiry was to be a farce and a mockery. He ſhould not conſider how far this inſinuation affected the honour of that houſe, which was to appoint the committee; but he would now convince them of his own ſincerity. To put the matter therefore totally out of doubt, and to obviate the various objections which would be made, whatever ſide of the houſe the members of the committee were drawn from, he ſhould make it a proviſion in his intended bill, that the commiſſioners be reſpectable, intelligent, and independent gentlemen, who were not members of either houſe of parliament.

Colonel Barre, who had firſt introduced or propoſed the buſineſs, complained of this unexpected, and, as he underſtood it, extraordinary procedure. The hiſtory of parliament, he ſaid, could not afford an inſtance of a ſimilar tranſaction. His ſcheme was founded on a wiſh to ſerve the public; on a wiſh to check the profuſion of thoſe who managed the public expenditure; the ſtrong arm of the miniſter had wreſted it out of his hands, and had put an end to his labours. He had called upon the noble lord to know whether he would aſſiſt him or not, for two reaſons; the one, that he knew nothing effectual could be done in oppoſition to his power; the other, that he knew it would be impoſſible, without the aid of his authority, to penetrate into the arcana of many matters which loudly demanded inveſtigation. This was the aſſiſtance, which he required from the miniſter; and he was not without hope, that he would have intereſted him in the enquiry, by making him a party in the buſineſs. But the noble lord, inſtead of giving aſſiſtance, makes himſelf at once the principal; and without once, he ſaid, conſulting or adviſing with him; without any compariſon of ſcheme, or communication of deſign, comes out now with a plan of his own, at the very inſtant that he had brought his to the point aimed at.

His complaint, he ſaid, was not the effect of diſappointment.

If

If the object he purſued was obtained, he was indifferent to what hand the benefit was owing. But he contended, that the plans were eſſentially different; and the one made not to ſupply, but to counteract the other.

The oppoſition in general cried ſhame on this manœuvre. They ſaid it was unfair and indecent; and that if it was not an abſolute violation of eſtabliſhed parliamentary rules, according to the dead letter of recorded precedents, it, however, militated entirely againſt their ſpirit; and that it was totally ſubverſive of that liberality of conduct, and propriety of behaviour, which it was ſo neceſſary and becoming for gentlemen to obſerve, both in that houſe and without, in their commerce with each other. The various ſtrictures paſſed upon the plan, will appear in their place.

Mr. Burke's eſtabliſhment bill, having been read the firſt time on the 23d of February, the author propoſed the following Tueſday for the ſecond reading. On this much altercation aroſe; the miniſter charging the minority with precipitating a meaſure not ſufficiently conſidered; they on the other hand accuſing him of an intention of delaying all reformation until the ſupplies were granted, and then precipitately proroguing parliament, without any redreſs to ſo many grievances. The miniſter was called on to declare, whether he would oppoſe it on the ſecond reading, or let it go to a committee. After great apparent irreſolution, he declared that he did not intend to oppoſe the bill in that ſtage.

The bill being read the ſecond time without oppoſition, juſt after the miniſter had announced the plan for his commiſſion of accounts, Mr. Burke moved that it might be committed for the following day. This was oppoſed, on the ground, that as it was neceſſary all bills, and more eſpecially thoſe of great moment, ſhould be proceeded through with caution and circumſpection, ſo the uſage of parliament was, on that account, againſt the ſending of bills directly from the ſecond reading to a committee. If this was the rule in other caſes, how much more neceſſary was it with reſpect to a bill of ſuch magnitude, which took in ſuch a variety of objects, and in the event of which ſo great a number of individuals were intereſted, as the preſent, to proceed with the greateſt caution; and to afford time for fully examining its parts, and duly conſidering and weighing its general and particular conſequences, before it was referred to a committee. An amendment was accordingly moved, by which the following Wedneſday was to be ſubſtituted, in the place of the enſuing day. 2d.

This was directly charged on the other ſide to the procraſtinating views of the miniſter. It was not to be ſuppoſed, they ſaid, that the whole of the bill was to be immediately conſidered; its parts were to be taken and treated ſeparately; and their number rendered it neceſſary (if any thing ſerious was intended to be done) to loſe no time in their proceeding. The firſt part to be inveſtigated in the committee was the ſimple

ſimple queſtion, whether the office of third ſecretary of ſtate, otherwiſe ſecretary of ſtate for the American colonies, was not an office altogether uſeleſs, and as ſuch ought to be aboliſhed? Surely this was not a queſtion that required ſuch depth of thinking, as that there had not been already full time for its conſideration.

The language which the miniſter now held with reſpect to the bill of reform, did not ſeem much to correſpond with that he had uſed at the firſt motion for the bill. He probably thought he had gone too far. He coldly obſerved, that as the bill conſiſted of a variety of allegations, and was in fact a farrago of incidents, he ſuppoſed it would not be thought unreaſonable, when it came before the committee, if he ſhould then call for evidence in ſupport of thoſe facts, on which the propoſitions were founded, as well as a clear account of the value of the ſavings to be made.

Mr. Burke treated with ridicule the idea of the noble lord, in requiring a kind of proof, which from its nature he, at the ſame time, knew was impoſſible to be given. I aſſert, ſaid he, that the third ſecretary of ſtate is uſeleſs, and how am I to prove it but by the notoriety of the fact? Will the deputy, the clerks, or even the fire-lighter, come to prove it? Did the noble lord mean, that he was to bring ſuch evidence as was neceſſary to determine queſtion of private property in a court of juſtice, in order to prove all thoſe places to be uſeleſs which he propoſed to aboliſh? And was he alſo to bring ſimilar evidence to prove, that the ſavings from thoſe reductions would amount preciſely, without even the uſual exception for errors, to the exact ſum which he had ſuppoſed or ſtated? The idea is too ridiculous. It will be more manly and becoming in the noble lord, at once to avow his antipathy to every ſpecies and degree of public reform.

The queſtion being put at 12 o' clock at night, in a very full houſe, Lord Beauchamp's amendment to the motion, for ſubſtituting the words "Wedneſday next," in the place of "to-morrow," was carried upon a diviſion by a majority of 35; the numbers being, for the amendment 230, to 195 who ſupported the original motion. The parties ſeemed willing to make a previous trial of their ſtrength in theſe queſtions, before they came to the main points; and the numbers in the minority, on a mere matter of time, was a thing very alarming to miniſtry.

We have already obſerved, that the Earl of Pembroke had, for the firſt time, voted in the oppoſition. This conduct was ſoon followed by the removal of that nobleman from his office of lord lieutenant of the county of Wilts. So remarkable a concurrence of incident, and coming ſo cloſe upon that which related to the Marquis of Caermarthen, could not but excite notice and obſervation both within doors and without; and the matter was taken up by the Earl of Shelburne as an object of parliamentary enquiry, who accordingly ſummoned the lords upon the occaſion.

That nobleman opened the buſineſs by ſtating, March 6th.

ſtating, that the trouble he had given them on that day, was for purpoſes that equally concerned the honour, dignity, and independency of parliament, and the preſervation and ſupport of the conſtitution. It was to enquire into the cauſe of two noble lords near him being diſmiſſed their employments, to whom no charge of delinquency could poſſibly be made, nor even was pretended; nor could any cauſe be aſſigned but this ſuggeſtion, that one noble lord had declared the ſide he ſhould take on a queſtion agitated in that houſe; and the other noble lord had abſolutely voted on it. Theſe were the only crimes they had committed; and for the exerciſe of this common freedom, inherent in the conſtitution, and belonging to every member of either houſe of parliament, they were diſgraced in the face of their country.

The noble earl pointed out and enforced, with his uſual ſharpneſs and energy, the ſuppoſed dangerous tendency of this mode of proceeding; more particularly at a time like the preſent, when, as he ſaid, every body felt and confeſſed that the influence of the crown was carried to ſuch an extreme, as affected every department, from the miniſter to the loweſt officer of exciſe. He then entered into a detail of the riſe and power of the lords lieutenants of counties; and endeavoured to ſhew, that the powers of that great office were, from its firſt inſtitution, in a very conſiderable degree independant of the crown; and that it was always conſidered as preſerving a ſort of balance, between the rights of the people and the power of the prerogative. He obſerved, that the conduct of the court with reſpect to theſe two noblemen was the more ſeriouſly alarming, as the ſeveral laws relative to the militia, which had been paſſed ſince the year 1752, had thrown that originally conſtitutional means of national defence, almoſt totally into the hands of the crown; ſo that being thus warped from the proper nature and deſign of the inſtitution, there was ſcarcely any thing left, but the public ſpirit and independency of the lords lieutenants of the counties, to prevent its becoming a mere ſtate engine of corruption; and its being even converted into a machine for the ſubverſion of that conſtitution which it had been created to preſerve.

From the militia, the noble earl paſſed by an eaſy tranſition to the ſtate and government of the army; a ground, on which his early military knowledge and ſervice afforded no ſmall advantage. He particularly reprobated, with a ſoldierly vehemence, a regulation lately adopted in that ſchool of war, called *occaſional rank*; this he repreſented, as being equally ſcandalous in the practice, ruinous to the ſervice in the effect, and humiliating and degrading to the army in its principle. Nothing, he ſaid, could operate ſo directly and effectually towards breaking the heart of a ſoldier, and damping all military ſpirit and ardour. Indeed the Duke of Richmond and he ſeemed to want words ſufficiently to expreſs their deteſtation of this novel, and, as they deſcribed it, abominable practice. The whole order of things was reverſed by it. All rank was trampled upon; all ſubordination

was

was at an end. The high ſpirit of honour which characterizes a ſoldier; the emulation of rank, and the eagerneſs for fame, which include his very exiſtence, muſt all periſh before it.

The noble earl ſaid, that although their frequency, within the knowledge he ſuppoſed of all the lords, ſeemed to render it unneceſſary to cite any inſtances of the abuſe, and that he would rather avoid deſcending to particulars, yet, that it might not be thought he dealt merely in declamation, he would aſk, what pretenſions a Mr. Fullarton had to be raiſed at once to the rank of a lieutenant-colonel, and to be appointed commandant of a regiment? That gentleman had never held any rank, nor ever been in the army before; he had been clerk to the noble lord now preſent in office, when on his late embaſſy in France; where perhaps he might have acquitted himſelf very well with his pen, but never was acquainted with the uſe of the ſword; yet this clerk in office, this *commis*, contrary to all military eſtabliſhments, contrary to all the ſpirit of the army, was now a lieutenant-colonel, and had the ſuperiority in command over Lord Harrington, a young nobleman of the moſt active and enterprizing ſpirit, who had fought his way, inch by inch, to command, and whoſe high rank and great family connections ſerved him in no other reſpect, than to render his ſervices to his country the more conſpicuous.

Such promotions, it was ſaid, ſo contrary to the military rules of every other country in Europe, as well as of this, was ſufficient to drive every man of honour and ſpirit from the ſervice, to diſſeminate dangerous diſcontents, jealouſy, and ill-will throughout the whole army, and to deter our young nobility and gentry of weight and fortune, from following the natural bent of their genius, in attempting to ſerve their country. For who would devote his time, his fortune, or his life to a ſervice, where he ſaw a clerk from behind his deſk, ſuddenly raiſed by miniſterial caprice, and put over the heads of more than a thouſand officers; many of whom were of long and tried ſervice, of eſtabliſhed merit in their profeſſion, and had been bred up to the art of war from their earlieſt youth?

The Earl of Shelburne cloſed a ſpeech of conſiderable length, full of matter and of energy, with a motion to the following purport:—Whereas the Marquis of Carmarthen was diſmiſſed from his employment of the lieutenancy of the Eaſt riding of the county of York, on the morning of that day when his opinion to ſupport with his vote a motion that was made in the houſe on the 8th of February laſt was well known; and whereas the Earl of Pembroke was likewiſe diſmiſſed from his lieutenancy of the county of Wilts, ſoon after he gave his vote on the ſame queſtion, which office of lieutenant has been at all times important, but moſt peculiarly ſo under the preſent conſtitution of the militia. And whereas no cauſe has been ſuggeſted or communicated to either of the ſaid noble lords for ſuch diſmiſſion, this houſe therefore hath every ground to believe, that the ſame had reference to their conduct in parliament.

And it was therefore moved,

that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to deſire he will be graciouſly pleaſed to acquaint this houſe, whether he has been adviſed, and by whom, to diſmiſs the ſaid two noble lords, or either of them, from their ſaid employments, for their conduct in parliament.

The Marquis of Carmarthen obſerved, that the motion was of ſuch a nature, that he could not in delicacy ſupport it with his vote; but that he nevertheleſs heartily approved of it, as he hoped it would afford the means of enabling him to ſatisfy his enquiring county, as to the cauſe of his being diſplaced from acting as their lord lieutenant; for he truſted he ſhould now hear from the mouth of ſome of the king's confidential ſervants, the reaſon of his being diſmiſſed from that office. He flattered himſelf, that his removal was not occaſioned by any abuſe of the power annexed to his office; and he was happy in finding that he had not given any offence to the people of the county of York, either as lieutenant, or by the vote he had given; for he had received ſeveral letters from many of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen in that county, containing a full approbation of his conduct in parliament.

The Earl of Pembroke explained the nature of his diſmiſſion, which he attributed entirely to advice; as at that audience, at which he reſigned the office of lord of the bed-chamber, he had experienced the ſame gracious reception from his ſovereign which he had ever been wont to do. He obſerved, that his family had been lord lieutenants of the county of Wilts, ever ſince the office had been firſt known in England; and he was happy to find that his conduct had been ſuch upon all occaſions, as to meet the full approbation of his county.

That nobleman, who had ſerved early; long; and with credit in the laſt war, joined in reprobating, in terms of exceeding ſeverity, the late promotions, as well as the innovations in general which were introduced in the government of the army. He ſaid, that he deteſted from his heart the means made uſe of to obtain rank, contrary to the eſtabliſhed rules of ſervice; and he affirmed, that the army in which ſuch things were permitted, muſt either moulder away ſo as to be worth nothing, or elſe become a dangerous engine in the hands of government.

The diſcretion of the crown in the appointment and removal of its officers, was the principal ground of argument taken on the other ſide in oppoſition to the motion. That the crown was fully endued with this power would not be denied; and any attempt to circumſcribe it, muſt be conſidered as a direct and violent entrenchment on the royal prerogative. The propoſed addreſs would therefore, not militate leſs with the principles of right, than with all the rules of propriety, and of reſpect to his majeſty; nor indeed could the meaſure be ſupported upon any better ground of precedent, than what was drawn from the conduct of the long parliament. A conduct which no lord on any ſide of the houſe could wiſh to purſue.

That the power of the crown might in ſome inſtances be imprudently exerciſed, was allowed. Every power, however modified,

or to whoever intrusted, was liable to abuse. But they denied that to be the case in the present instance. There was nothing that distinguished the removals in question, from a successive stream of precedents, flowing down, from the revolution to the present day, through times which were deemed the most favourable to liberty. The two noble lords, they said, held their offices merely through the favour of the crown, and could therefore have no right to complain when it was withdrawn; they suffered no injury, for they lost nothing which they could call their own. Was this then sufficient ground for a motion, which went to annihilate one of the first and the most necessary prerogatives of the crown, that of chusing its own servants?

A great law lord endeavoured with his usual ability to shew, the various inconveniences and mischiefs which must arise, from its being once established as a principle of acting, that the royal will was subject to parliamentary controul and examination, upon every exercise, which prudence and reason might dictate, of those powers which the constitution had vested in the crown, of promoting or removing its own officers. He contended, that it would not only be subversive of the royal prerogative, destructive of all public service, order, and subordination, and personally degrading to the sovereign, but that it would involve parliament itself in continual and inextricable difficulties. If such a precedent was once established, the whole time of the house would be taken up with complaints, appeals, and addresses; and they would at length become so numerous and perplexed, that they never could be able to see their way through them. He seemed, however, not much better satisfied with respect to the right, than to the expedience and propriety, of parliament at all interfering in such matters as touched upon the royal prerogative.

The learned lord likewise called for the evidence to support the charge. No manner of proof, he said, had been laid before their lordships, nor had any attempt even been made to prove, that the dismission of the noble marquis, or of the noble earl, proceeded from any vote they had given in that house; consequently, till some fact was stated, or proof made, it could not be decent to approach the throne on the subject; but would on the contrary, in his opinion, be highly improper, and even disrespectful.

The lords in opposition acknowledged in the clearest terms, that the unlimited, unrestrained discretion of the crown, in a choice of persons to fill the offices of the state, was an inherent, indisputable prerogative, vested in it for the best and wisest purposes; but it was a prerogative or right, the exercise of which, as well as of every other power or right the crown enjoyed, was subject to the controul and animadversion of parliament. It was, like them, exercised by counsel and advice; and if improperly exercised, as in other instances, subjected the advisers to enquiry; and if it appeared upon that enquiry, that the cause was not such as to justify the advice, sub-

jected them to cenſure, to removal, or to puniſhment.—This was what was meant by a diſcretionary power being veſted in the crown; it was neither more nor leſs. There was an unſound diſcretion, as well as a ſound diſcretion; in its proper ſenſe, it meant no more than a power or ability to act, which was after ſubject to the controul and diſcuſſion of parliament. But whenever that power was ſtretched beyond its due limits, when it was wantonly and intentionally abuſed, it immediately changed its nature; it was then no longer diſcretionary, it became arbitrary and tyrannical.

The Duke of Richmond, in contradiction to ſome of the aſſertions made, and doctrines now laid down, quoted the debates of that houſe in the year 1733, and the ſpirited proteſt then entered, upon the crown's diſmiſſing Lord Cobham and the Duke of Bolton from their places. This he hoped would ſtrike the lords as a precedent fully ſatisfactory, for the right of parliament to regulate the abuſe of diſcretion in the crown; and he hoped the circumſtance of the late Earl of Bathurſt, being at the head of the peers who ſigned that proteſt, would have its due effect on the Lord Preſident of the council, (then preſent) in inducing him to ſupport the ſentiments of his noble father. The duke appealed, with reſpect to the late promotions in the army, to the law lords, and to the bench of biſhops; aſking the learned lord on the wool-ſack, and the right reverend prelate, at the head of that bench, how they would approve of having ſilk gowns, and the dignities of the church, conferred upon men every way unfitted, by habit, education, or learning, for ſuch ſtations; men totally ignorant both of law and of goſpel?

On this occaſion, the Marquis of Rockingham entered as deeply into the abuſes relative to the militia, as the military lords did into thoſe of the army. He endeavoured to ſhew, that the tendency and effect of all the laws which had for ſeveral years been paſſed relative to that body, went directly to draw it daily nearer and nearer, to the model and condition of a ſtanding army. He ſtated its original nature, with the motives and deſign of its inſtitution; and then endeavoured to ſhew how it had been warped to purpoſes entirely different. And, after ſeveral maſterly obſervations on the ſubject, declared, that under ſuch circumſtances, if the lieutenants of counties were to be diſmiſſed for their conduct in parliament, and for differing in political opinions with the miniſters for the time being, the only difference he could make between a ſtanding army, and a militia ſo conſtituted and governed, was, that (for ſeveral reaſons which he ſpecified) he would give a preference to the former.

It was remarked, that the ſmalleſt anſwer was not made by the court lords, to the numerous charges which were made on the other ſide, with reſpect to the government both of the army and the militia. Excepting it ſhould be conſidered as ſuch, that a noble lord in office, who had been lately ambaſſador in Paris, ſpoke a few

a few words in vindication of the promotion of his late ſecretary, Colonel Fullarton; who he ſaid was a gentleman of ſuch known and tried character, that he could venture to anſwer for his ſupporting the character of a ſoldier with ſpirit and propriety; that he had liberally offered to raiſe a regiment; and that the ſtate of public affairs rendered it neceſſary to encourage ſuch zeal for his majeſty's ſervice.

The attention of the houſe was much drawn by the Duke of Devonſhire's ſpeaking for the firſt time, in public, upon this queſtion. This he did with a firmneſs and facility, which ſeldom accompanies a firſt eſſay in parliament; and with a moderation, and an air of ſincerity, which ſeemed to gain the hearts of thoſe without the bar, while an univerſal ſilence reigned within. He ſaid he had hitherto been ſilent on all the political queſtions on which he had voted, becauſe ſpeaking in public was not agreeable to his temper. But he obſerved, that ſuch was now the deplorable ſituation of his country, that he ſhould think himſelf baſe, degenerate, and unworthy the name and character of a man who had its intereſt at heart, if he remained any longer without an expreſs and unequivocal declaration of his ſentiments. He ſupported the motion, approved the county meetings and aſſociations, and ſtrongly condemned the conduct of adminiſtration.

He concluded by renouncing all party motives, and party views. He had nothing to hope for but the peace, proſperity and welfare of his native country. He could have no temptation to encourage domeſtic broils or civil confuſion. He had a conſiderable ſtake to loſe, and he was intereſted as an Engliſhman, for the preſervation of the conſtitution, and the invaluable rights, liberties, and privileges derived from it.

The queſtion being put at 11 o'clock, the motion was rejected on a diviſion, by a majority of 92, including 26 proxies, to 39, including 8 proxies. The Duke of Richmond, who held the Duke of Leinſter's proxy, refuſed to give it; as a mark, undoubtedly, of his diſapprobation of that mode of voting.

CHAP. VII.

Order of the day for going into a committee on Mr. Burke's eſtabliſhment bill. Queſtion of competency ſtarted. Debated. Oppoſition inſiſt, that the deciſion of that queſtion ſhould take place of the order of the day. Queſtion for the order of the day, carried, upon a very cloſe diviſion. Debates in the committee on the firſt clauſe of the eſtabliſhment bill, for aboliſhing the office of third ſecretary of ſtate. Clauſe rejected, after very long debates, upon a diviſion, by a very ſmall majority. Long debates in the committee, on a ſubſequent day, upon that clauſe of the eſtabliſhment bill, for aboliſhing the board of trade. Queſtion for aboliſhing that board, carried upon a diviſion. Difference between the ſpeaker and the miniſter. Mr. Fullarton's complaint of the Earl of Shelburne. Iſſue of that affair in Hyde Park. Notice given by Sir James Lowther, of an intended motion, for preſerving the freedom of debate in parliament. Subject conſiderably agitated. Warmly reſented without doors. Addreſſes of congratulation to the Earl of Shelburne on his recovery. Danger to which Mr. Fox and he had been expoſed, attributed to their zeal in the ſervice of their country. Contractors bill brought in by Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, and carried through the Houſe of Commons without a diviſion. Great debates on the clauſe in Mr. Burke's eſtabliſhment bill, for aboliſhing the offices of treaſurer of the chamber, and others. Queſtion, on the firſt member of the clauſe, loſt upon a diviſion. Succeeding queſtions rejected. Debates on the miniſter's motion for giving notice to the Eaſt India company, of the paying off their capital ſtock at the end of three years. Previous queſtion moved, and loſt on a diviſion. Motion againſt receiving the report of the new taxes, until the petitions of the people were conſidered, rejected upon a diviſion by a great majority. Earl of Effingham's motion in the Houſe of Lords, for a liſt of places, penſions, &c. held by members of that houſe, rejected upon a diviſion.

IN two days after the diſpoſal of the queſtion relative to the Marquis of Carmarthen and the Earl of Pembroke, the order of the day for going into a committee on Mr. Burke's eſtabliſhment bill, being called for in the Houſe of Commons, a gentleman who has long poſſeſſed an office, which, eſpecially during the preſent war, has been generally conſidered as being by much the moſt lucrative of the ſtate, ſtarted an unexpected queſtion, upon the incompetence of the houſe to enter into any diſcuſſion whatever, relative to the king's civil liſt revenue or eſtabliſhment,

March 8th.

This gentleman, who had hitherto ſpoken rather ambiguouſly with regard to that plan of reform, after expreſſing now his higheſt approbation of ſome parts of it, condemned, in terms equally explicit, thoſe which reached in any degree to the civil liſt; as well as the interference of parliament at all in that expenditure. He ſaid, that for his own part, he had ever conſidered, and ever ſhould, that the

the civil list revenue was as much and as fully his majesty's, as any determinable estate, enjoyed by any person present, was his immediate property. That revenue had been settled on his majesty, at his accession, for life; which was an interest no power on earth could deprive him of without manifest injustice; consequently, that part of the honourable gentleman's bill, which went to the controul of the civil list, and to an appropriation of the supposed savings to arise from the reform, was an attempt no less contrary to precedent than to justice. It would not only, in its consequences, degrade the sovereign, but it would reduce him to the state of a precarious pensioner; whose uncertain stipend, lessened at will, would be at all times liable to still further reduction. And to what purpose was this violence and injustice to be offered?—to lessen the supposed influence of the crown. He had heard a great deal of the influence of the crown; but he believed that influence was never less known or felt than during the present reign; and this he could speak from experience.

He declared, that he had neither consulted the noble minister, nor any other person within or without the house upon the subject. It was his own opinion, and he was determined to avow it, without any expectation or wish of support, further than what it might be entitled to on its own intrinsic merit. He was apprehensive that he was rather disorderly, as the order of the day for going into a committee, stood in the way; but it was a subject on which he wished to take the sense of the house; and he applied to the chair for direction, in what manner to bring it forward.

Although it was contended on the other side, that the principle of the bill was already fully admitted, as well by the message from the throne, which included the royal consent, in what related to its particular interests, as by its being referred, without opposition, from the second reading, to a committee; yet it was not thought fitting to spend much time on that ground; but to take much stronger, and directly to combat the doctrine itself, without regard to the mode of bringing it forward.

It was maintained, by a great variety of arguments, that the sovereign, in this country, did not possess any part of his revenue, as a private or distinct property. That the crown held no public right, or public property, but as a trust, for the benefit of the people. It could in truth gain or lose nothing; because it enjoyed all it possessed as a favour, and for the attainment of certain defined or implied purposes; which purposes were understood, to be good government, and the well-being of the state. The prerogatives of the crown, the highest and most transcendant parts of its power, were created by, and ought of course to be exercised for the benefit of, the people, who created and conferred them. It was therefore to the last degree absurd, to represent as the private rights or property of an individual, those which were granted and held for no other end than the general good of the community; and every right the crown enjoyed, being a delegated right, was consequently subject to examination,

nation, correction, and controul. It was particularly, of the very eſſence of that houſe, to enquire, to regulate, and to controul; and whenever it was called for properly by the occaſion, and that they ſuſpended, concealed, denied, or refuſed to exerciſe that right and duty, then, every object of their meeting and deliberation was at an end; and they were no longer the ſervants of the public, or the repreſentatives of the people who had ſent them there.

The miniſters were by no means diſpoſed to enter into any diſcuſſion of this ſubject; and notwithſtanding the connection between the gentleman who had moved the buſineſs and them, it was ſoon ſeen that he had acted totally independent of their opinion and liking, in thus bringing forward the queſtion of competence at ſo critical a ſeaſon. For although they highly approved of, and openly applauded the doctrine, yet they did not by any means chooſe to expoſe a queſtion of ſuch importance, and which might be ſo advantageouſly reſerved until a proper opportunity offered, to the riſque of an irrevocable deciſion, in the preſent ſtate of things without doors, and of temper, which that ſtate of things had produced, within. Nor would the alternative of its being carried in their favour, (a matter, however, of great doubt) be at all more deſirable. On the contrary, it would have ſeemed fraught with great danger. For as the eſtabliſhment by a vote of the incompetence of parliament, to ſuperintend, or interfere, in the civil liſt expenditure, would amount to a virtual, if not direct rejection of the general prayer of the petitions, the poſſible conſequences of ſuch a meaſure, ſeemed of too ſerious a nature, to be then thought of without a pauſe.

They accordingly endeavoured to get rid of the queſtion as eaſily as poſſible, without at all bringing it to any deciſion. With much applauſe therefore of the doctrine laid down in the propoſition, and many compliments to its framer, they, however, declared their averſeneſs to the meeting of abſtract queſtions, and muſt therefore oppoſe the diſcharging the order of the day, and the bringing forward of the preſent into diſcuſſion. They aſſerted that it could be conſidered in no other light than that of a mere abſtract queſtion, which no man was bound to reſolve. That they never could think of diſcuſſing ſuch a queſtion, unleſs it clearly aroſe from the immediate buſineſs before the houſe. That no perſon could ſay that was the caſe in the preſent inſtance. The principle contained in the propoſition militated clearly againſt the principle on which ſeveral clauſes of the bill were founded; the matter of both would come then fairly and naturally before them, when they went into the committee, and came to conſider the ſeveral clauſes. Gentlemen then, who diſapproved of any clauſe, would oppoſe it on ſuch grounds as appeared to them the moſt ſure and concluſive; ſome on the grounds, that the office propoſed to be aboliſhed was not an uſeleſs one; others, that proofs of the allegations contained in the bill were neceſſary; and a third deſcription perhaps, that parliament had no right to interfere in the civil liſt expenditure, on any other account, than that of notorious abuſe.

abuſe. The firſt law officer of the crown in that houſe, declared, that he was averſe to the diſcuſſion of the queſtion, for he could fairly aſſure them, that if it ſhould be put, he did not know whether he ſhould give it a negative, or an affirmative.

The oppoſition inſtantly perceived the dilemma, in which this propoſition had involved the miniſters, and at once determined that they ſhould not get eaſily out of it. Mr. Fox firſt ſeized the occaſion, and in a ſpeech full of ſatire and irony, as well as of ſtrong ſenſe, highly complimented the right honourable framer of the propoſition, for the open, direct, and manly language which he had held. He had delivered his ſentiments with that firmneſs and candour which ſo uniformly characterized his conduct in that houſe. He thanked him moſt cordially, for the opportunity which it afforded to both parties to come to an iſſue. It would ſpare much time, and ſave infinite trouble. It militated directly againſt the bill on the table; for certainly, if that houſe was not competent to inquire into, or controul the civil liſt expenditure, the bill was founded in the moſt glaring injuſtice. But while he gave credit for the direct open manner in which the honourable gentleman had declared and ſupported his opinion, he muſt alſo declare, that it involved doctrines of a moſt alarming nature; and which appeared to him to be ſubverſive of the firſt principles of the conſtitution. He therefore ſincerely hoped, that before the houſe proceeded further, they would conſent to let in this propoſition; and proceed to diſcuſs it; for it would be equally nugatory and ridiculous, to go into the committee on the bill, until the ſenſe of the houſe was taken upon that queſtion. It muſt be firſt got rid of, before any one clauſe in the bill could be taken into conſideration. He could not at the ſame time help declaring, that if it ſhould be reſolved and determined, that parliament had not a right to interfere, to reform, to arrange, and, if neceſſary, to reſume the grants they had made to the crown for public purpoſes; in ſhort, to ſee to the proper application of the monies they had granted; there was at once an end of the liberties of this country. Give princes and their miniſters, ſaid he, the excluſive right of diſpoſing of any conſiderable part of the public treaſures, and our liberties, from that inſtant, are gone for ever.

He denied that the queſtion was abſtract, as thoſe who had a mind to get rid of it were pleaſed to aſſert. The propoſition, as connected with the bill, was no abſtract queſtion, becauſe it amounted to a direct and ſpecific denial of its principle, which was a thorough reform in the whole of the civil liſt expenditure. There was no ground for the other apprehenſion, that the people might be miſled by the declaration. How miſled? Nothing could be a more clear rejection of the petitions, than the ſuppoſition of the principle in queſtion, fairly propoſed by one gentleman, and highly applauded by thoſe who would fain poſtpone it. The petitioners ſay, that uſeleſs and ſinecure places ought to be aboliſhed; that exorbitant ſalaries and perquiſites ought to be reduced. Where did thoſe evils originate? In the expenditure

ture of the civil list. Where was the reform recommended, to operate? Most clearly, where the evil existed. But the proposition holds that no reform can there operate. It was then evident, that if the proposition should appear to be the sense of a majority of that house, it would comprehend, one or other of these two answers to the petitions; that, your petitions are ill-founded, and no reform is necessary; or, that though they are well founded, our hands are so tied up, that we are incapable of affording you redress.—He declared, that if the proposition should be agreed to, by a majority of that house, he should consider his toils and labours as at an end; and that as his presence there could be of no farther use or consequence, he never again should enter it.

Mr. Burke, Mr. Townshend, General Conway, Mr. Dunning, and other distinguished members of opposition, took and supported nearly the same ground; diversified according to the character and genius of the several speakers.

Mr. Rigby, who introduced the business, was astonished at what he called the unaccountable misinterpretation of words, or perversion of sense, which prevailed on the other side, in the interpretation which was put upon his proposition. He declared with energy, that he would not readily resign the first place, to any man, who should profess to entertain a more warm and steady zeal for the liberties of his country, than himself; and that it was with no small degree of surprize and emotion, he heard sentiments imputed to him, tending to the overthrow of the constitution. He appealed to all who heard him, whether he had uttered a syllable, which the most fertile imagination could so interpret. No man revered the rights of the constitution more, or would go farther in maintaining the rights of the people, within that house, where only, in his opinion, so long as parliament existed, they could be constitutionally defended. He maintained the right of the people to petition every branch of the legislature; but it was in that house only, that their voice could be fairly known and acknowledged; and from thence only it could be surely and safely collected.—He still adhered firmly to his original opinion, and to the proposition founded upon it; and notwithstanding the difficulty in which the question involved administration, supported the opposition in their intention of bringing it to a decision; declaring, that as he would not be bullied out of his proposition by one side of the house, so he was resolved not to be flattered or cajoled out of it by the other.

The friends of administration endeavoured all they could to soften, and in some measure to explain away, the apparent sense and meaning, or at least that in which it had been first understood, of the proposition. Nor did they only attempt to rescue it from the sense put upon it by their adversaries; but likewise from some part of that, which had in the beginning drawn forth applause on their own side. They insisted, that it did not by any means involve in it a denial of the right to reform abuses; but that it only asserted, that it would be unjust to interfere in the civil list expenditure, without proper proof of abuse, previous

ous to the interference. And this maxim, they ſaid, was ſupported by the conſtitution; admitting the right to exiſt, in the ſtrongeſt manner in which it had been ſtated or ſuppoſed on the other ſide. But as the purport of the propoſition had already been miſconceived or miſrepreſented within doors, there could be no doubt, that it would be much more miſconceived, and miſrepreſented, out of doors. And they could not help ſaying and thinking, that the eagerneſs ſhewn to bring the right honourable gentleman's propoſition under diſcuſſion, could proceed from no other motive, than that if the houſe ſhould agree to it, it might furniſh grounds for ſpreading falſe rumours, and creating popular deluſion.

This change of ground, produced ſome awkward ſituations and circumſtances, which afforded room for laughter and ſarcaſm on the other ſide. As to limiting the right of controul, to the previous proof of abuſe, it was ſaid to be ridiculous. How was the abuſe to be diſcovered or proved, but by examination and enquiry? If parliament was competent to the correction of an abuſe, they muſt be competent to the means of its diſcovery. To talk of any power of controul, without that of enquiry, or of enquiry without that of controul, was too abſurd to deſerve an anſwer. The ſuppoſed injuſtice of enquiry, before the proof of abuſe, was, if poſſible, more ſo; and could be only equalled by the ſuppoſition, that although a man ought to be puniſhed for the commiſſion of a crime; yet it would be unjuſt to try him, until his guilt was proved.

The queſtion now before the houſe, and on which both parties were to bring forward their utmoſt force, was, whether, according to the order of the day, it ſhould be reſolved into a committee on Mr. Burke's bill, or whether they ſhould firſt enter into a diſcuſſion of, and decide upon, Mr. Rigby's propoſition. The queſtion being put about nine o'clock, the reſolution for the order of the day was carried, by a majority of ſix only, the numbers being 205, to 199. This diviſion was marked by the ſingular circumſtance, of Mr. Rigby's voting in the minority, and in oppoſition to all his friends in adminiſtration.

The firſt clauſe in the bill, and conſequently the firſt queſtion before the committee, was that for aboliſhing the office of third ſecretary of ſtate, otherwiſe ſecretary for the colonies; which was afterwards modified to the ſimple deſcription of one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Much of the ground, which we have formerly had occaſion pretty accurately to mark out, on the applications of the crown to parliament, for the diſcharge of the civil liſt debts, and for an addition of revenue to that eſtabliſhment, and which we have ſince likewiſe ſeen not unfreqently trodden upon other occaſions, was now again gone over by both parties; and its principal poſitions ſtrongly and warmly diſputed. The tenure by which the crown held the civil liſt revenue, was again agitated; the friends of adminiſtration conſidering it as a life eſtate; as excluſive and private property. The right of parliament to interfere at all, and in any caſe, in its diſpoſal or expenditure,

expenditure, was rather doubtfully ſpoken of by the moſt guarded and temperate, who paid ſome attention to the tenderneſs and difficulty of the ground; but others, particularly ſome in high office, abſolutely denied it, without qualification or reſerve. But if the right of interference were admitted, the miniſters contended, that it muſt be in caſes of groſs abuſe, previouſly and incontrovertibly proved. When that was once done, that houſe was undoubtedly competent to point out to the ſovereign, the proper mode of removing and correcting them; but that mode was not by paſſing a law of reſumption; an extremity, which if at all reſorted to, it ſhould only be in ſome caſe of the laſt neceſſity, when all other means had been tried, and had been found ineffectual.

But even ſuppoſing that it were right and fit for parliament to interfere upon motives of public œconomy, another queſtion would ariſe, whether the object to be attained, namely the ſaving propoſed, was of that magnitude to juſtify the houſe, not only in an innovation, but in the ſuppreſſion of an uſeful and neceſſary office. For in the contemplation of the committee, it muſt be deemed an uſeful and neceſſary office, until the contrary was clearly proved. They were not to eſtimate the office that was propoſed to be abolished, merely upon its own intrinſic value; but they were likewiſe to conſider what the meaſure of aboliſhment led to. The clauſe before them, formed but a part, and a very ſmall part indeed, of the multifarious bill to which it belonged. But if the propriety of this clauſe ſhould be eſtabliſhed, the ſame principle would reach to every other part of the bill; and its effects would be extended to all the branches of the royal houſhold, and even diſturb the domeſtic arrangements within the palace.

But conſidering the clauſe merely upon its own proper ground, and ſuppoſing the bill to be formed on the ſentiments contained in the petitions, would any gentleman venture to declare that the office was a ſinecure; that it was attended with exorbitant fees, perquiſites, or emoluments; that it was a heavy, expenſive eſtabliſhment; or, that it was a ſource of much influence in that houſe? It perhaps would be ſaid, that it was uſeleſs and unneceſſary. If that ground is taken, let the gentlemen on the other ſide bring forward their evidence; let them demonſtrate to the committee that it is ſo; but let not aſſertion paſs for proof, nor mere opinion for argument. It will then be incumbent upon them to eſtabliſh the right as well as the expediency of interfering, and of reſuming the grant made to the ſovereign on his acceſſion; a grant which he received as an equivalent for that ample revenue, to which he was entitled, from the inſtant of his being proclaimed king of this country; and they will ſtill be called upon to ſhew, that the reform is not only juſt and neceſſary, but that the mode propoſed, is the only one, or the beſt, which could poſſibly be carried into execution.

They expected, they ſaid, to hear it obſerved, that the aboliſhing of the office in queſtion would be no innovation, as it was only of modern date, and of a few years ſtanding; but to provide againſt this

this they ſtated, that there had been a third ſecretary of ſtate, ſo early as the reign of Edward the VIth. and that even in the late reign, (which it was now become ſo much the faſhion invidiouſly to hold out as the object of all praiſe, and as the pureſt model of all public and political virtue) that office had ſubſiſted for ſeveral years; ſo that, in fact, it was not a new office, but an old one, recently revived. But independent of that, whether the office was old or new, there was an objection of much greater weight to the propoſed clauſe; for if it was carried, it would give riſe to a moſt alarming and dangerous precedent; it would eſtabliſh it as a maxim, that the legiſlature were the only proper judges of the detailed exerciſe of the executive power. A principle which would affect every eſtabliſhment already made, or which might be hereafter made; and at the ſame time, that it diveſted the crown of one of its moſt valuable rights and prerogatives, would diſable it from diſcharging the duties veſted in it by the conſtitution, by taking away the right and exerciſe of judgment, with reſpect to the manner in which it could moſt faithfully and effectually diſcharge thoſe duties.

The mover of the bill, and thoſe who ſupported him, in anſwer to what had been advanced, of the impropriety and injuſtice of interference or puniſhment, without previous proof of the abuſe, drew a line of diſtinction between the judicial and legiſlative capacity of parliament. In the former, they were undoubtedly to proceed, in all caſes, upon legal evidence. In the latter, they were totally diſcharged from that attention. They were then in the exerciſe of judgment, upon the general view and ſtate of public affairs; and they not only had a right, but it was their duty, to frame ſuch regulations as they judged neceſſary, with reſpect to the better government of the country, whether with regard to the preſent ſecurity, or to the future preſervation of the conſtitution. It was even a jeſt to ſuppoſe that parliament had not a right of interference and controul, with reſpect to that moſt ſacred of all things, private property, when it concerned the public benefit, or even convenience. Was there a week during their ſitting in which this right was not exerciſed? Was there a turnpike bill, a ſtreet bill, an inland navigation, or a private road bill, in which this interference and controul were not predominant? or in which private right, pleaſure, or convenience, was not obliged to give way to public uſe?

But they reprobated, in terms of unuſual indignation, that doctrine held out, in this enlightened age, and in the face of a Britiſh parliament, that the civil liſt revenue, (in which all the purpoſes of the politics, law, order, and good œconomy, of the ſtate are involved) was to be conſidered as a perſonal eſtate, and as mere private property, whilſt parliament was wholly incompetent to the ſuperintendence and controul of the expenditure. This doctrine, ſaid Mr. Burke, is not even toryiſm. It is the abſtract principle of jacobitiſm itſelf. The tory ſcheme indeed holds monarchy high, not only as the perfection of government, but as the ſole mode of it which

which can poſſibly be good; and therefore it prefers the very deſpotiſm and tyranny of kings, to any plan, or any adminiſtration of a commonwealth. But this doctrine, groſly erroneous as it is, ſtill proceeds upon principles of government, and on grounds of public good. But jacobitiſm, ſuppoſes the adminiſtration of the ſtate a matter of private property, to be held and tranſmitted as an inheritance; and the unhappy adherents to that cauſe, always argued it as a deſcent of an eſtate, according to the rules and maxims of private juriſprudence. But if this principle of jacobitiſm be abſurd with regard to government itſelf, it muſt be equally abſurd with regard to any revenue poſſeſſed by government. Correctly ſpeaking, government as ſuch, can have no property. The whole is a truſt. But the property of the ſubject is no truſt. It is that, for the ſecurity of which, truſts were made; and this truſt of government, and all its revenue, among the reſt. Property was not made by government. but government by and for it. The one is primary and ſelf-exiſtent; the other is ſecondary and derivative. He contended therefore, that all ſuch eſtates being truſts, it makes very little difference, whether they are for years, or life, or hereditary. It alters their tenure, but not their nature. They are all objects of public cognizance, whenever they become abuſive or inconvenient enough to call for inſpection and reformation.

And ſhall the ſervant, the creature of the people, ſaid they, be repreſented by treaſonable ſubjects, by falſe and pretended friends, as claiming an inherent, ſelf-created original, and a divine right, in the voluntary grants of that people for whoſe good he received it, and for whoſe good it may be reſumed? This is the higheſt pinnacle of deſpotiſm; nor can it ever riſe higher. It is eſtabliſhing that odious and deteſtable principle, which experience has already ſhewn to be totally ſubverſive of all that is generous, liberal, great, noble, or excellent, in the human nature and character, namely, that the people are made for kings, inſtead of their being made for the people.

The oppoſition were exceedingly vehement, and ſeemed to bear every thing before them, on this ground. Indeed, almoſt all the eloquence, powers of argument, and force of language, on that ſide of the houſe, were particularly directed to it. The boldeſt of the miniſterial phalanx, they ſaid, had ſhrunk back, and were afraid to meet the queſtion, when every endeavour was uſed to bring it fairly and nakedly into diſcuſſion; and yet they now venture covertly to adopt and ſupport the principle. Mr. Fox exclaimed, with his uſual fervor and animation, Good God! had he been aſleep? how had he been loſt to himſelf? to what little purpoſe had his education, his knowledge, and his experience, been attained, if it was a doctrine eſtabliſhed in that houſe, that the king was to be uncontrouled in his civil liſt. Did men know what they were aſſerting, when they held ſuch language? Were they ſo blind as really to ſee no danger in it? Were they ſo ignorant, or ſo totally loſt to the will of others, as

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to maintain a doctrine which went to the diſſolution of the compact between the king and the people? Did not the very nature of the truſt delegated to the ſovereign, render his accounts ſubject to the inſpection of parliament? Had not ſuch inſpection been the uniform practice of parliament? How-fared it with James the Second? Was not that unhappy king, who preferred a wretched penſion from the crown of France, to the government of a great empire according to its laws and conſtitution, deprived of his whole revenue by parliament?

The oppoſition further urged, that the hiſtorical facts ſtated on the other ſide, to ſhew that an office ſimilar to that now in queſtion had formerly exiſted, was nothing more, they ſaid, to the purpoſe, than the bringing of proofs which were not intended, that the uſeleſſneſs of the office being diſcovered upon trial, it was therefore diſcontinued. It would be a matter of little conſequence now, that a dozen ſecretaries had been employed through the folly or caprice of any of our ancient princes; if that ſort of argument went to any thing, it would be to the revival of all the uſeleſs and dangerous offices, which the wiſdom of paſt kings, or the integrity of former parliaments, had been applied to aboliſh. The point before the committee, was merely the queſtion of utility, or inutility, with reſpect to that office. It would be ſufficient to obſerve on that ſubject, that this country had raiſed itſelf to the higheſt pitch of power and national glory, and that her colonies had riſen to a degree of wealth, power, and population, unknown in the hiſtory of any other mother country under the ſun, when we employed no more than two ſecretaries of ſtate; and that every feature in that picture of complete human felicity was inſtantly reverſed upon the appointment of a third. Through that appointment, we not only loſt thoſe very colonies, but they were converted into our bitter enemies; along with the loſs of our colonies and commerce, we had ſuffered ſuch degrees of diſgrace and degradation, in the eyes of all Europe, as this country never before experienced; and through the ſame cauſe, we were plunged in the preſent conteſt with our powerful and hereditary enemies, which tended to our inevitable ruin. Was any thing more neceſſary to ſhew, that this office was at leaſt totally uſeleſs; and that if not originally miſchievous in its nature, it had however proved fatally ruinous in its effect?

They concluded by obſerving, that it would appear to a ſtranger, from the arguments uſed by the friends of adminiſtration, that they were endeavouring to deprive the king of the money allotted for his privy purſe, or to curtail the means of his perſonal pleaſures, amuſements, or ſatisfaction. Could any perſon be ſo blind as not to ſee, or any member of that houſe ſo ignorant as not to know, that the objects were totally different? That the propoſed reform went to that great part of the civil liſt eſtabliſhment, which being dedicated to public purpoſes, was conſequently liable to public reform; and in which the ſovereign acting only as truſtee for the people, could

could have no other perſonal intereſt, than that which was ſo conſtantly denied, of ſupporting an undue and corrupt influence. But at any rate, that revenue, like all others, muſt be affected by the exigencies of the times, and proportioned to the ability of the public, by which it was granted and paid. It would be too ridiculous to ſuppoſe otherwiſe. At the acceſſion of his majeſty, when a large revenue was granted to him for life, the nation was great, flouriſhing, and glorious beyond example. The liberality of the grant, was ſuited to the felicity of the time. The ſmalleſt notice was not then given, of the fatal deſigns which were in embrio, or of the ruinous meaſures that were to be purſued. It was ſo impoſſible to have foreſeen the ſubſequent public loſſes and calamities of his reign, that they could not have been conceived even in thought. The loſs of America, and of our Weſt India iſlands, was never ſuggeſted, even in a dream, to the wildeſt viſionary. That great revenue muſt partake of the nature of all human eſtabliſhments. The ſuperſtructure can have no greater ſtability, than the foundation on which it was raiſed. Even ſuppoſing, what can never be admitted, that the granters had no power of revocation or recal, ſtill the revenue muſt depend upon their ability to pay it. To ſuppoſe that the eſtabliſhments of the ſovereign would not be affected by the public diſtreſſes and calamities, by the loſs of dominion, and the ſubtraction of wealth and power from the ſtate, was ſuch an abſurdity as not to deſerve anſwer or notice. It was ſcarcely leſs than treaſon to royalty, even to ſuppoſe that the ſovereign would not willingly participate in the evil, as well as in the good fortune of his people. Was it poſſible that thoſe ſycophants, thoſe falſe pretended friends, who held out that doctrine, and would repreſent the king as not wiſhing to lighten the burthens, or relieve the diſtreſſes of his ſubjects, were ignorant of the incurable wound which they would thereby inflict on the royal name and character?

At a quarter before three o'clock in the morning, the committee divided, when the office of third ſecretary of ſtate was preſerved by a majority of ſeven only; the numbers being 201, in ſupport of the clauſe of reform, to 208, by whom it was oppoſed. Such was the iſſue, of one of the longeſt and hardeſt fought days, that perhaps ever was known in an Engliſh Houſe of Commons; nor was the labour greater than the ability, or than the parliamentary ſkill and generalſhip diſplayed on both ſides. The miniſters finding the torrent ſtrong againſt them within and without doors, rather oppoſed their adverſaries indirectly, and with efforts to gain time, than with many arguments to the abſtract ſtate of the queſtion; and in this point they ſhewed great patience and dexterity. They even took advantage from their preſent weakneſs. The low ſtate of the miniſter's majorities, was brought as an argument to prove that the influence of the crown was not increaſed; and one gentleman in office threw out, that if the noble lord was not better ſupported, it would be in vain for him to attempt any longer to carry on the public buſineſs.

buſineſs. On the other ſide, the preſent ſtate of diviſions was attributed to the temper and ſenſe of the people without doors; and they univerſally and heartily ſubſcribed to the latter propoſition.

The abolition of the board of trade, was the next clauſe of Mr. Burke's bill which came under the conſideration of the committee. The great object of debate was, on one ſide to ſhew its utility, and on the other, to prove it totally inefficient, uſeleſs, and when at any time active, either miſchievous or ridiculous, but of late dwindled into a mere ſinecure office, which anſwered no other purpoſe whatever, than that of providing eight members for that houſe, and ſecuring their votes and ſervices to the miniſter, at an income or penſion of a thouſand pounds a year each. The firſt ground was taken up very much at large, with a very laborious detail, and great knowledge of the hiſtory of the office, by a gentleman who ſat at that board. The oppoſite ground was taken by the framer of the bill; who beſides ſupporting it with his uſual ſtrength of argument, threw out ſuch an infinity of wit, ſatire, and ridicule upon the ſubject, as to excite a very unuſual degree of pleaſantry in the houſe. The main line of his argument was to ſhew, that when the buſineſs of trade and plantations had been managed by a committee of council without ſalaries, it had been attended by perſons of greater rank, weight, and ability, and that buſineſs of far more difficulty and delicacy was better diſpatched, and with more expedition and ſatisfaction, than ſince the appointment of the board of trade; and this poſition he ſupported with compariſons of affairs, times, anecdotes of perſons, and with references to the council books, which gave great livelineſs and intereſt to this debate.

March 13th.

The queſtion was not called, until a quarter paſt two o'clock in the morning; when the clauſe for aboliſhing the board of trade was carried in the affirmative by a majority of eight; the numbers being, in ſupport of the queſtion 207, to 199 who voted for the ſupport and continuance of the eſtabliſhment.

Such was the firſt of the great defeats received by adminiſtration, and which ſo much diſtinguiſhed the preſent ſeſſion from all others of late years. A defeat of ſuch a nature, as would in any other period have proved fatal to any adminiſtration. Some members of the oppoſition, endeavoured to perſuade the lords of trade to withdraw before the diviſion; on the ground of indecency, in their voting on a queſtion in which they were ſo immediately and perſonally concerned. If this had been agreed to, it would have about doubled their majority. But the queſtion was too trying, and the ſeaſon too critical, to make ſuch a ſacrifice to delicacy or punctilio; and the conduct of the American ſecretary, on the late diviſion in his own caſe, was a ſufficient precedent for the preſent, to keep the refuſal in countenance.

It was in this debate firſt diſcovered, or at leaſt firſt publicly known, that the ſpeaker, and adminiſtration, were not upon good terms. Mr. Fox having called on the ſpeaker, for his private opinion as a

member, and his profeſſional as a great lawyer, on the queſtion of competency in parliament with reſpect to the controul of the civil liſt revenue, Sir Fletcher Norton, after ſtating ſeveral cauſes which rendered him extremely averſe to the giving of any opinion in that houſe, except in his official capacity, likewiſe obſerved, that a private opinion which he had formerly given on a great law queſtion in that houſe, and which he thought himſelf profeſſionally called upon to give, (ſuppoſed to allude to a clauſe in the royal marriage bill) as well as in compliance with the apparent deſire, and ſeeming wiſh of the houſe, not only ſubjected him to a miſinterpretation of his conduct, but he had alſo the misfortune to find, had given great offence in a quarter, where he certainly did not intend or wiſh to give any.

He afterwards obſerved, that the noble lord at the head of affairs, had long withdrawn all friendſhip and confidence from him. That from the time of his reporting the ſenſe of that houſe at the bar of the other, on occaſion of preſenting the money bills, for the diſcharge of the civil liſt debts, and the increaſe of its revenue, all appearances even of friendſhip, confidence, and good will, had ceaſed on the ſide of the noble lord. He was ſtill at a loſs even to gueſs, what juſt cauſe of offence he had then given. What he had done upon that occaſion was, to the beſt of his judgment, only in diſcharge of his duty. If he had acted wrong, it aroſe from error, not from deſign; and whatever others might think of his conduct, he had the ſatisfaction, of its having been unanimouſly approved of by that houſe.—He hinted at injury in a recent tranſaction, from which the miniſter and he muſt from thenceforward ſtand upon the moſt inequivocal terms. He declared that he was not a friend to the noble lord, and that he had repeated and convincing proofs, that the noble lord was not his friend. The time was not yet arrived, he ſaid, when it would be proper to make the circumſtances of the tranſaction public. But if the noble lord did not do him juſtice, he would ſtate the particulars to the houſe; and he would ſubmit to them, how far he was bound to remain in a ſituation, where a performance of the duties annexed to it, ſubjected him to groſs and flagrant injury.

The miniſter equally pleaded ignorance and innocence, accompanied with no ſmall degree of ſurprize at the charge. Enquiry, explanation, and talking the ſubject over, inſtead of mollifying matters, only ſerved to blow them up to a flame; and at length induced the ſpeaker to depart from his preceding avowed intention, of reſerving for future contingencies, his diſcloſure of the cauſe of complaint.

He accordingly ſtated, that upon the death of the late ſpeaker, he had been ſtrongly ſolicited by the then miniſter (Duke of Grafton) to accept of his preſent honourable ſituation, before he could bring himſelf to a compliance. That beſides his ſenſe of the great weight of the important duties which he was to diſcharge in his preſent office, there were other very cogent motives which operated to this reluctance. It could neither be deemed

ed arrogance or vanity in him to ſay, when his character at the bar, his ſtanding, and his general pretenſions were conſidered, that he was then at the head of his profeſſion as a common lawyer. The honours of his profeſſion were accordingly open to him; and he was determined not to relinquiſh his claim to theſe upon any account whatever. The nobleman then at the head of adminiſtration wiſhed to remove this objection; and prevailed on a gentleman, then preſent, and in high office, to negociate the buſineſs. The terms concluded upon were, that until he could be provided for in the way of his profeſſion, (that ſtipulation taking place of all others, and conſequently, that whenever an opportunity offered, the way ſhould be kept open for his return to Weſtminſter Hall) he ſhould hold the ſinecure office of lord chief juſtice in Eyre, which he now poſſeſſed, as an equivalent, and compenſation, for the advantages he had given up, and the duties which he was to undertake.

But notwithſtanding this compact, he had lately diſcovered, to his infinite ſurprize, that a negociation was in train, between the noble miniſter then preſent, and the chief judge of one of the courts, by which the latter was to retire on a penſion, for the purpoſe of appointing another perſon (a law officer then likewiſe preſent) to ſupply his place, and to the utter ſubverſion of his own claim. He ſcarcely complained leſs of the conduct and behaviour of the miniſter, upon his perſonal application to him on the ſubject, than he did of the ſuppoſed injury of the tranſaction. He aſſured the committee, that he never meant to challenge their attention, upon any ſubject merely perſonal to himſelf; but thinking at all times, that nothing ſhould be kept more pure and unpolluted, than the fountains of juſtice, he could not but feel when any meaſure was adopted, under whatever pretext, that might afford even colour for a ſuſpicion of their being corrupted; or that any improper means were reſorted to, for rendering the courts of juſtice ſubſervient to party, and to factious views; he therefore thought it a duty highly incumbent upon him, to take notice of the preſent tranſaction. He concluded by aſſerting, that money had been propoſed to be given and received, to bring about the arrangement he had mentioned; and pledged himſelf to the houſe, that at a proper time, he would undertake to prove it to their ſatisfaction.

The gentleman in office, who had been alluded to by the ſpeaker, with reſpect to the original tranſaction, acknowledged, that he had been prevailed upon by the noble duke, then at the head of public affairs, to deliver the meſſage in queſtion; and that the particulars appeared to him to have been now fairly ſtated; but as far as he could charge his memory at this diſtance of time, he had never underſtood, that any of thoſe particulars came regularly or properly to the knowledge of the noble lord now at the head of adminiſtration.

The miniſter declared, that he did not look upon himſelf reſponſible

ſible for any promiſe which might have been made by his predeceſſors in office. He did not queſtion the account given by the right honourable gentleman, of the conſiderations on which he had accepted of the chair in that houſe; but he could fairly anſwer, that he neither knew of the tranſaction at the time, nor looked upon himſelf as bound, when he did come into office, by any ſuch promiſe. With reſpect to the ſpeaker's aſſertion, of a negociation, ſuch as he had deſcribed, being on foot, and of money being propoſed to be given and received, he muſt diſſent totally from it as to the point of fact. He aſſured him, that he had been groſly miſinformed; and as he was himſelf accuſed of being one of the acting parties, he was entitled to ſay, that no ſuch negociation was on foot, as that which had been ſtated.

This brought out much warm altercation, which run into aſſertion and direct contradiction, between the ſpeaker and the miniſter; and which gave riſe to ſuch a ſcene, and with ſuch perſonages, as never had been exhibited there at any former time. The firſt law officer of the crown in that houſe, who had been alluded to as a principal party in the negociation, diſclaimed the imputation with great ſpirit; and in a ſpeech fraught with his uſual ſharp and pointed eloquence, threw out no ſmall ſhare of ſeverity, in a peculiar ſtrain of ſarcaſm, and ironical ſatire, upon the complaint and conduct of the ſpeaker.

Although this affair made a conſiderable noiſe at the time, yet it ſoon died away; and produced no other effect, than that of affording a new ground of argument to the oppoſition, that the alarming influence which they charged to the crown, had not only pervaded, but diſturbed the due order and œconomy, of every department, of whatever nature, in the ſtate. In the mean time, that law arrangement, which was now charged to a ſuppoſed negociation, not found, or admitted to exiſt, took place not long after in the ſame degree and effect, which the completion of ſuch a negociation could have been expected to produce.

We have lately ſeen the ſevere ſtrictures that were paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, on the appointment of Mr. Fullarton, to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army, and to the command of an intended new regiment. Some terms and expreſſions which were uſed on that occaſion, having given great offence to the gentleman in queſtion, he thought proper to call the ſubject up in his place, as a member of the Houſe of Commons, before he entered upon meaſures of a more ſummary and deciſive nature for the obtaining of ſatisfaction.

He accordingly took notice in that Houſe, that 20th. his character, and his conduct in offering to raiſe a regiment, had been reflected upon by a noble earl in the other; a matter which had given him the greater uneaſineſs, as he was puzzled how to act, in order to wipe away the imputation. He roſe therefore to explain the motives of his conduct, and beſpoke the patience of the houſe, as he felt his honour

5 wounded,

wounded, and had ardently wiſhed for an opportunity of removing the bad impreſſions of his conduct, to which the place where the reflections were thrown out, was likely to give occaſion. That the reflections, as he underſtood, were extremely groſs; the noble earl, terming him a clerk, and in the moſt contemptuous manner remarking, that a clerk ought not to be truſted with a regiment; at the ſame time adding to that remark, other inſinuations, as falſe as they were illiberal.

He then proceeded in a ſtile of perſonal invective againſt a noble earl by name, which called up Mr. Fox to order, who exclaimed againſt the unparliamentary conduct, of thus ſtating what was ſaid in the other houſe, and of thus mentioning peers by name, in that; a practice, not to be endured, and contrary to every rule of parliament. After ſtating the impoſſibility of their knowing, whether the words alluded to were really ſpoken, he proceeded to argue the impropriety, of conſidering what was ſaid in debate as a private and perſonal attack. On that ground, he muſt once for all declare, that if ſuch a cuſtom prevailed, the freedom of debate muſt ceaſe; and he contended, that the moſt eſſential of all the rights of parliament would be loſt, if it were once admitted as a principle, that a perſonal affront was intended to gentlemen, whenever their names and public conduct were mentioned in debate.

The miniſter, (who had himſelf ſmarted, particularly during the preſent ſeſſion, under the ſeverities of the noble earl, whoſe name was now in queſtion) admitted, that it was certainly wrong, in either houſe, to introduce the name of any member of the other. There were ſome occaſions, however, which would juſtify it, and he thought the preſent caſe one of them. After high compliments and praiſe to Mr. Fullarton, and inſinuating, that he had gained great honour by the ſpirit with which he had felt and reſented the injury, even ſuppoſing that he had erred in the means of juſtification; he, however, recommended to him, to treat all perſonal attacks with indifference and contempt. To give efficacy to this advice by example, he informed the gentleman in a friendly manner, of his own conduct in ſuch ſituations. Noble lords in another place, he ſaid, were very apt to be perſonal, and they very often made free with himſelf. Among other names, one of them had lately called him *a thing*. The appellation, however contemptuouſly meant, was certainly truly applied; for he undoubtedly was *a thing*. But the noble lord had put an addition to it; he ſaid he was *a thing called a miniſter*. A moment's conſideration convinced him that this ought not to be regarded as an affront, becauſe a moment's conſideration reminded him, that the noble lord who had dubbed him *a thing called a miniſter*, had not the ſmalleſt objection to become that very *thing* himſelf.

This advice and example, had not their effect. Much altercation continued; ſtrong words were ſtill uſed; and Mr. Fullarton defended himſelf by obſerving, that the noble earl had attacked him by name. He, however, vindicated

his warmth by informing the houſe, that the earl in queſtion had aſſerted, that he and his regiment, would be as ready to draw their ſwords againſt the liberties of their country as againſt its foes.

The matter did not end there. In conſequence of a meſſage from Colonel Fullarton, and delivered by the Earl of Balcarras, the Earl of Shelburne, accompanied by Lord Frederic Cavendiſh, as his ſecond, gave them a meeting in Hyde-Park. The earl being wounded by his antagoniſt's ſecond ſhot, with great generoſity of ſpirit, fired his own piſtol notwithſtanding in the air. But ſomething being afterwards hinted of a declaration that he had intended nothing perſonal, he replied, the affair had taken another train, and that was no place for explanation; at the ſame time telling his adverſary, that if he felt any reſentment, he found himſelf, notwithſtanding his wound, able to go on. But Mr. Fullarton diſdained the idea, and hoped that he could not be thought capable of harbouring ſuch a ſentiment.—We are not fond of dwelling on the circumſtances of theſe unhappy perſonal conteſts, which had ariſen from the violent and diſordered ſtate of the times; further, than their connection with parliamentary hiſtory, renders abſolutely neceſſary.

March 22d. This matter, which happened in Hyde-Park early in the morning, was brought forward in the Houſe of Commons, on the afternoon of the ſame day, by Sir James Lowther. He obſerved, that this manner of fighting duels, in conſequence of parliamentary buſineſs, or of expreſſions dropped in debate in either houſe, ſeemed growing into ſuch a cuſtom, that it behoved them to interpoſe their authority, before it acquired the force of a ſettled habit; otherwiſe, that there muſt be an end of all freedom of debate, and conſequently of all buſineſs in parliament. He therefore hoped, that the houſe would exert itſelf in ſuch a manner, as to render the two recent inſtances the laſt of the kind. If free debate was to be interpreted into perſonal attack, and queſtions of a public nature, which came before either houſe, were to be decided by the ſword, the Britiſh parliament would be at once reduced to the condition of a Poliſh diet. In ſuch circumſtances, he thought it would be better for the members totally to give up all ideas of parliamentary diſcuſſion, to abandon the ſenate, and reſort at once to the field; where, without farther trouble, they might have recourſe to arms, as the ſole arbiter of political difference of opinion.

Mr. Fullarton's friends, beſides paſſing the higheſt eulogiums on that gentleman's character, hinted the impropriety or indelicacy of entering at all into the matter in his abſence; Sir James Lowther replied, that as it was the laſt day of their ſitting before the Eaſter receſs, and he knew the houſe had ſtill much neceſſary buſineſs before it, he had no intention of proceeding any farther then upon the ſubject; but he conſidered the freedom of debate as ſo immediately involving the very exiſtence of parliament, that he ſhould move, immediately

immediately after the holidays, that the honourable gentleman might attend in his place, in order that the matter might then be taken into conſideration. This notice, or intention, not meeting with approbation, and it being objected, that ſuch an order would convey ſome mark of cenſure on Mr. Fullarton's conduct; Sir James Lowther concluded by declaring, that he was indifferent in what manner the buſineſs was brought on, but that he certainly would bring it forward, in ſome form or other, at the time he had mentioned; and he wiſhed that the gentleman's friends who were now preſent would inform him of his intention, as well as of the day which would be in future fixed, that he might have an opportunity of attending in his place.

Some other gentlemen in oppoſition, went farther and more particularly into the matter, than Sir James Lowther. They contended, that the words ſpoken by the noble earl, were in the ſtricteſt ſenſe parliamentary language. That the honourable gentleman ſeemed to have confounded public debate with private converſation. They drew the line of diſtinction between both. In the latter, the object was the happineſs and ſatisfaction of all preſent; it was there the duty of every one to be upon his guard, and to take care, that he let no expreſſion ſlip, which might either give offence to any individual, or diſturb the harmony of the whole. In public debate, the caſe was widely and eſſentially different. The very means and end of public debate, were free diſcuſſion, and an open unreſerved mode of agitating every ſubject, to which the queſtion under debate had reference. Without that free diſcuſſion, the queſtion could not be agitated at all.

A gentleman high in office, acknowledged the neceſſity of preſerving the freedom of debate; that public meaſures, and public men, were fit objects of diſcuſſion; and that if any check was put to the unreſerved agitation of ſuch topics, parliament would be of no uſe, and might as well be aboliſhed. But how far it was warrantable in the diſcuſſion of public matters, and in the alluſion to public men, to throw out reflections of an invidious nature, and to treat them contemptuouſly, was another queſtion; and reſpecting which, every gentleman muſt draw his own line, and would act accordingly. He wiſhed therefore, that the propoſed enquiry into an unfortunate affair, ſhould be entirely dropped. That, and every other matter like it, ſhould be ſuffered to reſt undiſturbed, and be buried in total oblivion. He was happy to hear, that both parties were ſafe, and that no affair of the ſort, could terminate more to the honour of thoſe concerned. Why then ſhould they interfere with, or revive it? No means, nor no authority, could prevent gentlemen, who felt, or who thought, their honour injured, from ſeeking and obtaining redreſs in the cuſtomary mode.—In talking of the two recent affairs, he ſaid, they were matters which every man muſt lament, but which no man, nor no ſet of men, were able to put a ſtop to. Out of this great evil, however, he thought ſome

little good would enſue; and that was, it would teach gentlemen, to confine themſelves within proper limits; and though it might not, and he hoped it would not, abridge the freedom of debate, he hoped it would make men ſpeak in parliament with better manners.

Although he immediately declared that he intended no perſonality, whether to the abſent or preſent, by the remark which he had now made, and acknowledged his own faultineſs in that very reſpect, yet it called up Mr. Fox, who thought himſelf glanced at. He obſerved, that as the right honourable gentleman was apt to ſpeak in a looſe and careleſs way, he might, perhaps, have had no particular meaning in what he had ſaid; but that as the words ſeemed to point to him, he was, however, under a neceſſity of taking notice of them. He had advanced, that, "he hoped what had happened that morning, and what had happened before of a ſimilar ſort, would keep gentlemen within proper limits, and at leaſt teach them better manners." He begged for one to ſay, that what had happened to himſelf had not taught him better manners; nor ſhould it ever reſtrain him within any other limits, than thoſe which he had chalked out for himſelf. With regard to the noble earl, who had been concerned in the affair of that morning, he did not believe it would teach him better manners, and for this reaſon, that he was ſure his noble friend had not gone beyond proper limits in what he had ſaid. As a proof of which, he was determined, that when the new levies came under conſideration, he would then object to that particular regiment, which his noble friend had objected to; and that on the very ſame ground which he had taken, viz. becauſe the perſon appointed to the command of it, did not appear to him to be a fit perſon to hold the command.

This affair happening ſo ſoon after that of Mr. Fox, and being attributed to the ſame cauſes and motives, occaſioned no ſmall degree of warmth, both in language and ſentiment, without doors. Both the noble earl, and that gentleman, were conſidered as martyrs in the cauſe of their country. And it was openly ſaid, without the ſmalleſt appearance of covert or diſguiſe, that when an abandoned and malignant adminiſtration were driven to the laſt and deſperate reſource, of employing that part of the united kingdom, which was generally inimical to the conſtitution, and to all the rights and liberties of the people, in order to curb the freedom of debate in parliament, and to ſingle and pick off thoſe tried ſupporters and aſſertors of both, who were neither to be bought or terrified, it was highly time, and abſolutely neceſſary, for Engliſhmen to unite and aſſociate, as well in defence of their common rights, as for affording effectual protection to thoſe lords and gentlemen, who hazarded all things in the ſervice of their country. The public addreſſes of congratulation from the cities of London and Weſtminſter, from ſome of the county meetings which happened near the time, and from the committees of aſſociation in others, to the

the Earl of Shelburne upon his recovery, all held out the idea, in language more or less forcible, that his life had been endangered, for the faithful and spirited discharge of his public duty as a peer of parliament. Some took in, his opposing the undue influence of the crown, and supporting the interests of his country; and one county, at least, past a vote of censure, declaring the late attacks upon Mr. Fox and that nobleman to be highly reprehensible.

The past failures which he had so repeatedly experienced, were not able to overcome the constancy of Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, or to prevent his bringing in another contractors bill, in the present session. The present state of things was too favourable to such a measure, and the minds of the ministers too much occupied, with matters still more immediately trying and critical, to admit of any essential opposition. To be beaten in the House of Commons a second time, and on another bill, might be ruinous; and the defence of the contractors would have been far more disagreeable to most of the court members, than that of the civil offices. The bill was accordingly read the third time and passed, (without a division in any part of its progress) on that day, on which Col. Fullarton had made his complaint in the House of Commons.

On the same day, (March 20th) the clause in Mr. Burke's bill, for abolishing the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer, and the number of subordinate places appertaining to them, was brought forward in the committee. This brought out long debates. The one side, seeming to regard with a kind of religious horror, every approach towards an interference with any part of the arrangements or management of the royal household; which they represented, not only as a most alarming and dangerous innovation in the constitution, but as a direct insult, and a kind of sacrilege with respect to the person and dignity of the monarch. Here at least, said they, a manifest destruction presents itself on the very principles of the references themselves. This is not matter of public arrangement. This is not the regulation of office. It is an intrusion into the king's own household. It is breaking the fences which are respected and held sacred even in private families. These officers are the king's domestic servants. The state has nothing to do with them. The king indeed is a public person; but he is a man too; and if his dignity only serves to expose him to insults that would be intolerable to a private person, the monarch and the monarchy are not only a pageant, but a downright mockery; and to make a person a king, is to make him, not the greatest, but the meanest and most miserable part of society. This bill, they said, they considered from the beginning, as a systematic attack on the constitution; and every part, as it was developed, proved more and more clearly the tendency of the scheme. The question was not therefore on the utility of the employments; (on that they did not much rely) it was on the power of taking them away—which if it may be done by parliament,

parliament, the king has nothing, hardly his perſon, that he can call his own. On this head, they entered largely on the ſchemes of ſupplying the houſhold by contract; which they reprobated, as mean, degrading, and vexatious; and compared rather to the mode of feeding of poor in workhouſes and hoſpitals, than to the ſplendour and magnificence of a great court, in the richeſt country in the world.

On the other hand, the mover of the bill, and the reſt of the oppoſition aſſerted, that the idea of ſuppoſed inſult and indignity to the ſovereign, was too abſurd to deſerve an anſwer. Nothing was to be touched, that could either affect the perſonal ſatisfaction and pleaſures of the ſovereign, or abridge the ſplendour and magnificence of the throne. They aſked, whether our enemy, the French monarch, had ſuffered any loſs of reputation, any degree of degradation, either in the eyes and opinion of his own ſubjects, or of the reſt of Europe, by the prodigious reform which he had ſo chearfully made in his own houſhold and expence. He adopted that ſcheme of œconomy, in order to wage a great and vigorous war, with vaſt objects of policy in view, againſt this country, without oppreſſing and burthening his people. Are we not to profit by ſo immediate and ſtriking an example?

In anſwer to the houſhold being the king's own; they ſaid, that parliament in all ages had conſidered it in a different light, of which they gave many examples, in the reigns of the Edwards, Henries, and in that of James the firſt, and others. That if the houſhold could not be reformed by law, no effectual part of the intended reform could take place; as it was full of offices, by which the influence propoſed to be reduced, was chiefly ſupported. The court, conſtituted as it is, ſaid they, is the very ſtrong-hold of that influence. The king is not degraded by being furniſhed by contract. He is ſo furniſhed already in many things, though in the worſt way; the late Prince of Wales, his majeſty's father, was ſo furniſhed. Even now, when the court intends any thing worthy of its ſtate, it is ſo ſupplied; nor is there any thing more mean, by being ſupplied at large, and on one great ſcale, than in ſmall and pitiful details; on the contrary, there is ſomething more princely in it. With regard to the king's living in a ſtate of dependance on the people, the mover ſaid, it was the very circumſtance of his dignity; that which conſtituted him a king: and, inſtead of a diſgrace, was the higheſt honour a man could arrive at.

Some, who wiſhed to be conſidered as moderate men, acknowledged the propoſed reform to be a matter of ſuch neceſſity, as muſt abſolutely be adopted; but they did not approve of the mode of procuring it. It was taken, they ſaid, at the wrong end. It ſhould come from the crown, and not originate in parliament. The only precedents, they ſaid, for ſuch an interference, were to be found in times too dangerous, to admit of the example being copied; they were only to be found in the unfortunate reigns of Edward the ſecond, and of Richard the ſecond. This ground was not, however, much occupied.

The bill had been ſo framed, that

that queſtions aroſe upon the ſeveral offices of the houſhold ſeverally. The treaſurer of the chamber ſtood firſt. The framer of the bill obſerved, that from the turn of the debate, he apprehended this would be the laſt procedure on any part of it. In the treaſurer of the chamber conſiſted the very pith and marrow of his plan, ſo far as it was endeavoured to be reduced out of theory into practice: it was the very firſt office of the houſhold which he had fixed upon; it led the way, and involved all the reſt; and as the remaining clauſes of his bill, for the moſt part, turned upon the abolition of the board of ordnance, the board of works, the mint, and other boards and offices, which were arranged under the denomination of houſhold; he was under a neceſſity of abandoning the whole, if the preſent doctrine was eſtabliſhed, that the houſhold was to be conſidered as ſacred, and not to be touched in any one part. That finding the objections of many gentlemen to the contract ſcheme (extremely weak, as he conceived them, in reaſon) ſtrongly adhered to, he would, contrary to his own cleareſt opinion, for practicability give up that point; though it impaired the unity and conſiſtence of his whole plan, and prevented the reform of upwards of an hundred offices, many of them conſiderable, as well as ſeveral other great advantages. But he repeated, that if the preſent queſtion was carried againſt him, he ſhould conſider his bill as gone; and concluded by declaring, that he would not continue to keep his weak and diſordered frame and conſtitution on the torture, by fighting his bill through the houſe, inch by inch, clauſe by clauſe, and line by line; he would leave it to the people to go on with it as they liked; and they would judge by the iſſue, how far their petitions were likely to procure redreſs for the grievances they complained of.

As the court ſide wiſhed to keep the ſubject-matter of the bill as long as poſſible in agitation, and thereby keep the public hope and expectation to the laſt in ſuſpenſe, they affected greatly to reſent this declaration; which they deſcribed as being highly dictatorial, and as conveying a kind of menace to the committee. They argued, that it could be no cauſe of ſurprize, that in a bill, which took in ſo great an extent and diverſity of matter as the preſent, ſome of the parts ſhould be highly exceptionable, and others equally laudable. That the ſame principle did not apply generally to the whole of the preſent bill; that on the contrary, it was compoſed of a number of different parts and clauſes, each of which turned upon ſome ſeparate and important point, and had each therefore a ſeparate principle. That it was not denied, but that many of the principles were highly laudable, and might probably be adopted with advantage; but it was not from thence to be inferred, that the improper, the abſurd, or the impracticable, were to be equally received and adopted. It was ſurely then, a ſtrange, and an unfair concluſion, that the refuſal of the preſent, or of any other exceptionable clauſe, was to be conſidered as a rejection of the whole bill.

The

The queſtion being put, after one o'clock in the morning, on the firſt member of the clauſe, for aboliſhing the office of treaſurer of the chamber, it was loſt upon a diviſion, by, the now, conſiderable majority, of 211, to 158. The minority upon this diviſion, were publicly thanked by ſeveral of the county meetings. This fall of numbers was accounted for by ſome late manœuvres of the court; by which ſome of the country gentlemen who had uſually adhered to it, but who had on the popularity of this bill gone from it, now returned; and a ſecond change became manifeſt in ſeveral others.

Mr. Burke then declared his total indifference as to what became of the reſt of the bill. He was, however, rouſed into his wonted activity by his friend Mr. Fox, who urged the expediency of going through with the bill to the very laſt; however little more they got for the people, than what they had already gained, it ſtill would be worth the ſtriving for. The mere abolition of the board of trade, even if nothing farther was done, he inſiſted, was worth the ſtruggle; for as he was determined, and he hoped his honourable friend would join with him, in renewing the bill from ſeſſion to ſeſſion, until its purpoſes were obtained, ſo they would have ſeven leſs of the enemy to fight againſt on the next encounter. The ſucceeding members of the clauſe were accordingly gone through, and each received a negative without a diviſion.

On the day following this debate, the miniſter informed the houſe, that the Eaſt India company not having made ſuch propoſals for the renewal of their charter, as he had deemed ſatisfactory, he ſhould accordingly move the houſe, for the ſpeaker to give them the three years notice ordained by act of parliament, previous to the diſſolution of their charter, that the capital ſtock or debt, of 4,200,000 l. which the public owed to the company, ſhould be fully paid, on the 5th of April 1783, agreeable to the power of redemption included in the ſaid act.

Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke, oppoſed the meaſure with wonderful fervour and animation. The firſt aſked the miniſter, whether he was not content with having loſt America? Or was he determined, before he quitted his preſent ſituation, to reduce the Britiſh empire to the confines of this iſland? Could he point out a ſingle good, which his motion was capable of producing? Was he blind and inſenſible to the evil and danger with which it was fraught? Why iſſue an impotent threat, which he neither intended, nor was capable of carrying into execution? It was ridiculous, it was dangerous to threaten, when men dared not to perform what they threatened. Did he wiſh to behold the ſcenes of anarchy, confuſion, diſtreſs, and ruin, which his idle threat might probably produce in the company's affairs and poſſeſſions in India? Did he think that houſe, would at this time of day, under the immediate preſſure and bitter experience of paſt raſhneſs and miſconduct, wantonly hazard the ample revenues, the reſources of power and wealth, which this country derived, from the trade and commerce of the Eaſt India company? Suppoſing even that

that the noble lord was capable of carrying his threat into execution, and really intended it, was he ignorant of the heavy loſs which the nation muſt ſuſtain, in the mere article of paying off the capital, in the preſent ſtate of the funds? Did he not know, that although the 4,200,000 l. carried only three per cent. yet that he muſt pay it at par? and that the three per cents being down at ſixty in the market, the public muſt neceſſarily loſe a clear forty per cent. on every hundred pound they paid off? If a new company was the object of his ſpeculation, did he not know that the trade muſt then be open? that he was diſabled by law from rendering it excluſive? and that the preſent company would ſtill retain their poſſeſſions, ſtrong-holds, and ſo many other of their preſent ſuperior powers and advantages in the country, as muſt ſpeedily ruin the new adventurers, if any could be found mad enough to become ſuch.

Mr. Burke ſeemed unable to find words, to fill up the reprobation which he wiſhed to beſtow on the propoſal. He ſaid it was more worthy of revellers intoxicated by liquor, than of ſtateſmen in a ſober ſenate. He rejected the narrow idea of bargaining with the Eaſt India company, as if we were treating with an enemy; and upon the wretched principle, that whatever was not ſqueezed out in the bargain, was to be conſidered as ſo much loſt. He threw the ſpeculation of a new company into every point of ridicule. He was ſure the miniſter never ſeriouſly intended it. The thing could not be, as every man of buſineſs, and acquainted with our affairs, muſt know and feel. He declared, that if it were poſſible to adopt it, it would turn out a new Miſſiſſippi ſcheme; and that it was worthy only, of ſuch an unprincipled, abandoned, bubble projector as Law. He did not doubt but in this country, there would be found men weak and bad enough to bite at ſuch a bubble; but he aſſerted, that it would burſt with utter ruin to the adventurers. He reminded the houſe, that they had loſt thirteen colonies, by the rapacity of the miniſter, in endeavouring to obtain a great revenue from America; and he warned them not to throw the Eaſt after the Weſt, by being again led into another revenue chace. That this would prove as idle as the former; for that no money, at leaſt no immediate ſupply, could be derived from thoſe territorial poſſeſſions; which were a conſtant bait to the avarice of the court, and perhaps of the public.

The miniſter denied that his motion was a threat or a menace. It was meant merely as putting in a legal claim in behalf of the public, to the reverſion of a right which undoubtedly belonged to them; and at that moment of time, when it was eſpecially neceſſary that the claim ſhould be formally made. Gentlemen did not ſeem to recollect, that by the lapſe only of a few days, with reſpect to the notice, the company would neceſſarily gain, and the public unavoidably loſe, a year's poſſeſſion of thoſe advantages, which, by the ſtipulations of the law that founded the agreement, were to revert to the latter at the concluſion of three years; leaving it in the option of the public, on receiving proper ſatisfaction from the company,

pany, to grant, by a new charter, a renewal of their leaſe. This was all that the motion tended to. It precluded no propoſitions which might hereafter be made by the company, nor it laid no reſtraint on parliament from accepting of any which it approved. It merely went to prevent a year of the public right to the reverſion of the company's trade from ſlipping away without any compenſation.

In anſwer to thoſe gentlemen on the other ſide, who ſaid that the company would laugh at the notice, becauſe they muſt know that it could not be ſeriouſly intended; he ſhould in the firſt place obſerve, that it would be the Eaſt India company's own fault, if the notice was carried into execution. But he would not have theſe gentlemen carry away the idea, that if the preſent company broke up and divided their ſtock, the public would, as a neceſſary conſequence, loſe the revenues ariſing from the trade, or from the territorial acquiſitions in India. He truſted there were means of ſecuring both the one and the other. He did not wiſh to break with the preſent company; he did not deſire to drive them to a diſſolution; but the company ought not to imagine that the public lay at their mercy. The public had a right to look for great reſources from the company, and from the territorial acquiſitions in India. The company, as it was now eſtabliſhed, he acknowledged, was the beſt medium of drawing home the revenues from the Indies; but if the company were ſo unreaſonable and ſo thoughtleſs, as not to come to a fair bargain with the public, a new company might be formed, and ſuch meaſures adopted, as would prevent or remedy the evils threatened to the revenue.

Mr. Burke having moved the previous queſtion on the miniſter's motion, it was rejected on a diviſion, by a majority of 142, to 68. The main queſtion being then put, for the ſpeaker to give notice to the Eaſt India company, of the payment in three years of their capital ſtock, it was carried without a diviſion.

On the laſt day of ſitting before the receſs, upon bringing up the report from the committee of ways and means, of the new and very heavy taxes, which were then to be laid on, a faint, and perhaps ill-judged attempt, was made by a few gentlemen in oppoſition, to defer receiving the report, until the petitions of the people of England were heard, and their grievances redreſſed. A motion was accordingly framed, for poſtponing the report, until the 7th of April; and notwithſtanding the appearance of the houſe, and other infallible indications of the event, was unaccountably puſhed to a diviſion; when it was rejected by a majority of 145, to 37.

During theſe ſcenes of continued and doubtful warfare in the Houſe of Commons, ſome tacit ceſſation of hoſtility ſeemed to prevail in that of the Lords; the only public queſtion that was brought forward, being a motion of the Earl of Effingham, on the 10th of March, for a liſt of all places, penſions, and employments, whether for a term of years, for life, during pleaſure, or good behaviour, held by the members of that houſe. It would not have been eaſy to have found any

any new ground of debate upon this ſubject. Much of the ground taken upon a former motion of the Earl of Shelburne's, which excluded lords who held places or penſions under government, from ſitting in the propoſed committee of accounts, was now trodden again by both parties. The ſame injurious cenſure was now ſaid to be thrown upon the honour of the houſe by the preſent motion, which had been before charged to the former, in ſuppoſing that places, penſions, or emoluments, could poſſibly influence the public conduct of any of its noble members. And arguments ſimilar to thoſe which we have already ſeen, were uſed on the other ſide, to ſhew the futility or abſurdity of that idea. In the courſe of the debate, ſome ſtrictures which were paſſed on the conſtitution of the Scotch peerage, excited ſome degree of warmth; nor did even the right reverend bench of biſhops, paſs entirely ſcot-free.—The motion was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 51 to 24.

CHAP. VIII.

Army eſtimates. Debates on the ſubject of the new corps. Diviſion. Queſtion carried. Conſideration of the petitions. Great debates in the committee. Part taken by the Speaker. Amendment to the motion, propoſed and agreed to. Mr. Dunning's amended motion, carried, upon a diviſion, in a very full houſe. Second motion, agreed to. Third motion, by Mr. T. Pitt, agreed to. Houſe reſumed. Mr. Fox's motion, for immediately receiving the report from the committee, oppoſed, but carried. Reſolutions, reported, received, and confirmed by the Houſe. Mr. Dunning's motion (on a following day) in the committee, for ſecuring the independence of parliament, agreed to. Second motion, for diſqualifying perſons holding certain offices, from ſitting in that houſe, carried, upon a diviſion, by a majority of two only. Mr. Crewe's bill, for excluding revenue officers from voting on the election of members of parliament, rejected, on a diviſion. Great debates in the Houſe of Lords, upon the ſecond reading of the contractors bill. The bill rejected, upon a diviſion, by a conſiderable majority. Proteſt. Conſequences of the Speaker's illneſs. Poſtponed motion of Mr. Dunning's, for an addreſs, to prevent diſſolving the parliament, or proroguing the preſent ſeſſion, until proper meaſures ſhould be taken for correcting the evils complained of in the petitions of the people, brings out long debates; but is rejected by a conſiderable majority, in an exceedingly full houſe. Diſorder upon Mr. Fox's riſing to ſpeak, after the diviſion. Nature of his ſpeech. Reply, by the miniſter. Great debates upon the clauſe in Mr. Burke's eſtabliſhment bill, for aboliſhing the office of the Great Wardrobe, &c. Clauſe rejected upon a diviſion. Succeeding clauſe, for aboliſhing the Board of Works, rejected upon a diviſion. Debates upon the miniſter's bill for a commiſſion of accounts. Cloſe diviſion upon a queſtion in the committee. Bill at length paſſed. Debates on Colonel Barré's motions, relative to the extraordinaries of the army. Firſt motion rejected, upon a diviſion, by a great majority. Succeeding reſolutions rejected. General Conway's

Conway's bill, for reſtoring peace with America, diſpoſed of, upon a diviſion, by a motion for the order of the day. Motion tending to an enquiry, into any requiſition made by the civil magiſtrate, for the attendance of the military, upon the late meeting of the electors of Weſtminſter. Various clauſes of Mr. Burke's eſtabliſhment bill, rejected, upon, or without diviſions. Recorder of London's motion in behalf of the petitioners, rejected upon a diviſion. Mr. Dunning's motion, in the committee of the whole houſe on the conſideration of the petitions, for reporting their own two reſolutions of the 10th of April, ſet aſide, by a motion for the chairman to quit the chair, which was carried upon a diviſion. Meeting of the Proteſtant aſſociation in St. George's Fields. Subſequent riots, miſchiefs, and conflagrations. Reſolutions, conduct, and adjournment of both houſes. Lord George Gordon committed to the Tower. Speech from the throne, on the meeting of parliament after the late diſorders. Addreſſes. Reſolutions in the Houſe of Commons, for quieting the minds of well-meaning, but ill-informed perſons. Bill paſſes the Houſe of Commons, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion. Is laid by in the Houſe of Lords. Speech from the throne. Prorogation.

April 5th. ON the ſecond day after the receſs, the army eſtimates being laid before the Houſe of Commons, and a motion made for their reference to a committee, much warm debate, as had been expected, and in ſome degree announced, aroſe upon the ſubject of the new levies, and of the innovations with reſpect to rank and promotion, which were charged by the oppoſition to have taken place in the army.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, firſt brought forward the buſineſs of the Cinque Ports regiment, which the miniſter, as Lord Warden of thoſe ports, had raiſed, in a great meaſure, if not entirely, at his own expence; and to the command of which his ſon, who had not before held any military command, was appointed. This regiment was covered, as well by the circumſtances which attended its being raiſed, as by the declaration of Colonel North himſelf, in his place, and in his firſt parliamentary ſpeech, (a circumſtance which always draws a particular degree of complacency and attention from the houſe) that he neither received any pay, nor was entitled to any future rank, ſo that the trouble and expence, along with the honour and pleaſure of ſerving his country in a time of difficulty and danger, was all that he could poſſibly derive from the command. But what particularly ſaved this corps and appointment from farther animadverſion, was, its being ſtated by the miniſter himſelf, to be only a regiment of what is called *fencible* men; a term before unknown in the military affairs of England, but which is applied in Scotland to a ſpecies of militia, (particularly the loyal clans of Argyleſhire, who were originally retained by government as a check upon their diſaffected neighbours) whoſe terms of enliſtment extend no farther than to the immediate defence of their country.

But the debate was kept up afterwards, with reſpect to other new

new raiſed corps, and with no common degree of animation and ſpirit, by the principal men in oppoſition. Diſclaiming in ſtrong terms all national prejudices, they readily acknowledged, that Scotland produced as brave and as able officers as any in the world; but whilſt this was freely and chearfully admitted, they abſolutely denied, and ſaid it did not admit of a queſtion, that either that, or any other country in the univerſe, had ever exceeded England in the production of ſuch men. But they abhorred all odious comparative diſcuſſions of the merits of the brave. Their object, they ſaid, was ſtrongly to condemn that illiberal, unconſtitutional, and dangerous partiality, ſhewn by the preſent miniſters to one part of the united kingdom, in prejudice to the other. This, they aſſerted, was carried to a pitch of enormity, unparalleled in the hiſtory of any other country, excepting that of a conquered and ſuſpected people. It was likewiſe the more particularly dangerous, they ſaid, as the natives of that country, being debarred by their own peculiar conſtitution of many of thoſe rights and immunities at home, which were inherent to Engliſhmen, were not only diſpoſed to make light of privileges of which they knew not the value, but were likewiſe apt, and naturally enough, to regard them with rather a jealous and malignant eye. And it was beſides a matter of ſuch public notoriety, as could not eſcape the notice of the moſt heedleſs obſerver, that the natives of that country had, with very few exceptions indeed, been violently attached during the preſent reign, to the ſupport of every meaſure of the court and miniſters, however dangerous in their nature, deſperate in their deſign, or ruinous in their tendency. Could any thing then be more alarming to the people of this country, than to ſee the ſword placed almoſt excluſively in the hands of men, who were avowedly ſo inimical to their conſtitutional rights, and public liberties? It was likewiſe, in a narrower view of the queſtion, the more unreaſonable in the practice, and the more pernicious in the effect, as it was peculiarly characteriſtic, they ſaid, of the natives of that part of the united kingdom, to be more ſubjected to local attachments, and to violent national, and other prejudices, than perhaps any other people upon the face of the earth; inſomuch, that it was a fact known to all military men, that no Engliſh officer could live in any regiment the majority of which was Scotch; whereas, on the other hand, no Scotch gentleman ever found any difficulty, or felt the ſmalleſt uneaſineſs, in living in a regiment, moſtly, or almoſt wholly Engliſh.

They entered into a recital of facts, to ſupport the charge of an unjuſt partiality in point of military promotion. However invidious this taſk might appear, they felt it their duty, they ſaid, without the ſmalleſt degree of perſonal prejudice, to ſtate the facts to the houſe. Our firſt nobility, Engliſh gentlemen of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious families; families particularly attached to the conſtitution, and to revolution principles; and whoſe own poſſeſſions rendered them deeply intereſted

tereſted in the ſecurity and proſperity of their country; were refuſed the favour of raiſing regiments for its defence, upon the ſame terms which were accepted from unknown men; from clerks in office, and *commis*. Among other names brought forward as inſtances upon this charge, were thoſe of the Earl of Derby, and of his brother the late Major Stanley. What rewards, they aſked, had ſuch diſtinguiſhed officers as the Colonels Meadowes and Muſgrave received, for their eminent ſervices? None other, than wounds, and conſtitutions broken and ruined, in climates unfavourable to the human ſpecies! Was either of them offered a new regiment? Or would either of them have declined the offer? The Earl of Harrington, who had dedicated his life and fortune to the ſervice of his country, and who had painfully earned in the field every ſtep of his rank, was now ſent to the Weſt Indies, and deſtined to obey the commands of a man, who was the other day a half-pay ſubaltern. Would that nobleman, or would his brother, Major Stanhope, have refuſed to raiſe regiments, on the conditions which were annexed with them to men who had never ſeen any ſervice? On the contrary, Major Stanhope had made the propoſal, and was rejected; he alſo had a particular natural intereſt in the county of Derby, which now affords the head quarters for the enliſting and forming of a regiment, by a man whoſe name was never before heard of in the county. For, they ſaid, to render the farce more truly ridiculous on the ſide of miniſters, or as if they meant to burleſque every rule of military order and decorum, as well as every idea of general propriety, theſe new men were allowed, to the ruin of the recruiting ſervice, to raiſe their regiments in the heart of England; inſtead of their being ſent on that buſineſs, as was naturally to be expected, to the part of the united kingdom, where their intereſts and connections might be ſuppoſed to lie. So that, by this new and unparalleled management, they were, in fact, Engliſh regiments totally commanded by Scotch officers; as if this country had not produced men, who were qualified for the conduct of its own forces.

They did not wiſh, they ſaid, to reſtrain the gentlemen of that country from their full ſhare of military rank and command; they even threw no perſonal blame on thoſe who were gratified with more. Their object of reprobation was, the undue preference given by miniſters, to one part of the united kingdom in prejudice to the other. They deteſted all partiality. They would equally oppoſe and condemn, a ſouthern as a northern, an Engliſh or Iriſh, as a Scotch partiality. The thing was in itſelf odious, wherever it was found, or however applied. In the preſent ſtate of public affairs, it was highly dangerous, and might be fatal. They wiſhed, and our ſituation moſt urgently demanded, that the three kingdoms ſhould be actuated by one heart, and their force concentrated in one common arm. But this could never be obtained or hoped for, whilſt government itſelf was the ſower of diſcord and diſſention, by the partial and unjuſt diſtri-

diſtribution of thoſe favours, with the diſpoſal of which, for purpoſes widely different, it had been entruſted by the conſtitution.

The nature of the ſubject confined the debate on the other ſide, in a great degree, to a general denial of the alledged partiality, and to a qualification or juſtification of the particular articles of charge. The ſecretary at war contended, that various noblemen and others, who had never been in ſervice before, had raiſed regiments in the laſt war, and had been appointed to their command. Being called upon to ſpecify, he particularly mentioned General Frazer, and Gen. Morris. He produced a long liſt of promotions in order to ſhew, that the charge of partiality in favour of Scotch officers was unfounded. In regard to Colonel Fullarton, (whoſe corps formed the great object of contention) after paſſing the higheſt encomiums on the private character, and public ſpirit of that gentleman, and particularly applauding the liberality of his offer to government, he contended, that when gentlemen of active minds, and of enterprizing ſpirits, made a tender of their abilities, and directed them to particular ſervices of the firſt importance, it would be indefenſible in government to have refuſed their offers; and more eſpecially ſo, when the conditions on which they tendered their regiments, were much cheaper to the public than thoſe of others.

The noble American Secretary took the ſame ground, and ſpoke in the higheſt terms of Colonel Fullarton's conduct and character. He ſaid, that he had been actuated merely by pure ſpirit and zeal on this occaſion; as, to his knowledge, he had given up a much more lucrative employment, in order to ſerve his country in this arduous and critical moment. No inſult or injury had been offered to the ſervice by accepting of his offer to raiſe a regiment. It was wanted for a ſpecial purpoſe on a ſudden; a very gallant and advantageous offer was made, and at that time there were no other offers, ſo that other men could not be preferred. Hints were alſo thrown out, that ſome particulars had come to his knowledge, which ought to give him a preference in the ſervice, to which he was particularly deſtined.

A general officer, on the other ſide, obſerved, that the appointment of Lieut. Gen. Frazer to a high command in the laſt war, was not a military, but a political meaſure. That the idea was a very wiſe one; and the effect of the meaſure equalled the wiſdom of the deſign. It was intended to wear away the inveterate prejudices, which ſeveral of the northern clans of Scotland had entertained againſt government; and it not only effectually rooted out thoſe ancient animoſities, but it converted the moſt diſaffected and dangerous of thoſe people, into excellent regiments of hardy ſoldiers, who inſtead of being internal enemies, fought bravely in our ſervice abroad.

Another general officer, of high military rank and reputation, who has not been engaged in any active ſervice during the preſent war, and who once filled a very high civil department of the ſtate, declared, that he ſhould not oppoſe

the eſtimate in the groſs, as he had no objection to ſome of the new corps: but he muſt oppoſe that particular corps, the command of which was given to a gentleman, who had no military ſkill, and no military rank. For though he highly eſteemed the private character of Mr. Fullarton, he muſt think it an injury to the army that he ſhould have the command of a regular regiment, when there were ſo many veteran majors, who had the joint pretenſions, of wounds, experience, and ſervice, to plead for preference. The military gentlemen on that ſide, (who were thoſe only that ſpoke at all upon the ſubject) obſerved in general, that it muſt be a ſtrange object of enterprize, which a regiment of raw recruits, headed by a leader totally inexperienced in martial matters, were deemed the fitteſt inſtruments for carrying through with effect.

The reaſon given by the ſecretary at war for the appointent of the new colonel, viz. his active and enterprizing ſpirit, was reprobated on the other ſide in rather ſevere terms. It was ſaid to be a direct libel on the whole Britiſh army; it was no leſs than ſaying, that the men, who at preſent compoſed the army, were deficient in thoſe qualities of enterprize and ſpirit; and were accordingly incapable through that defect, notwithſtanding their military ſkill and experience, of undertaking the particular ſervice for which that gentleman was deſtined and qualified.—It was likewiſe replied to the American ſecretary, that it was ſingular he ſhould riſe in vindication of a gentleman who had not been attacked, and ſay nothing in defence of miniſters, againſt whom the whole ſtrength of the debate had gone.——The reaſon, indeed, he gave for the appointment was, they ſaid, curious. No other offers, he ſaid, were then made—was that a reaſon for accepting this? No other offers for that particular proviſion could be made, as the nature of the ſervice was only known to the gentleman in queſtion.

The queſtion before the committee, was, whether the ſums allotted in the eſtimates for the raiſing and ſupport of the new corps ſhould be agreed to. The queſtion being reſpectively put on Col. Holroyd's dragoons, and Col. Humberſtone's corps, was agreed to without a diviſion. But with reſpect to Col. Fullarton's corps, the committee divided, when the queſtion was carried for granting the ſum propoſed in the eſtimate, by a majority of 102 to 66.

But the ſucceeding day, was to diſtinguiſh April 6th, the preſent ſeſſion from every other ſince the revolution; and was likewiſe to lay the ground for thoſe ſubſequent events, which brought out ſo much immediate bitterneſs of reproach, relative to the fluctuation of conduct or principle in no ſmall number of members of the Houſe of Commons, and which have finally affixed a charge, at leaſt, of inconſiſtency, which will not ſoon be worn off, upon the character of that parliament. That day was deſtined, by a previous order, to the taking into conſideration the petitions of the people of England; amounting to about forty in number;

and conveying their ſentiments and names in ſuch an immenſe quantity of parchment, as ſeemed rather calculated to bury than to cover the ſpeaker's table.

The buſineſs was opened, and the ſubject delineated by Mr. Dunning. It ſeems almoſt needleſs to add, that the arrangement was clear, and the repreſentation ſtrong and accurate. He obſerved, that independent of all other great public objects recommended by the petitions to the care and attention of parliament, and which, according to the different ideas of the various claſſes of petitioners, were of a various nature, there was, however, one great fundamental point on which they all hinged. This was, the ſetting limits to the increaſed, dangerous, and unconſtitutional influence of the crown, and an œconomical expenditure of the public money. For although theſe ſeemed to be ſeparate objects; yet they might be fairly conſolidated into one great principle. For inſtance, if the public money was faithfully applied, and frugally expended, that would, in its effect, reduce the undue influence of the crown; if, on the other hand, that influence was reſtrained within its natural and conſtitutional bounds, it would immediately reſtore the loſt energy of parliament, and once more give efficacy to the exerciſe of that great power, of ſeeing to the diſpoſal, and controuling the expenditure of the public money, with which the conſtitution had particularly inveſted that houſe.

He took a ſhort but accurate view of the ſeveral queſtions which had hitherto been agitated upon the ſubject, with a critical inveſtigation of the different grounds on which they were ſupported and oppoſed. Mr. Burke's ſcheme of reform, held the firſt place in this courſe of examination; which he deſcribed, with reſpect to the labour and difficulty of the taſk, the number and magnitude of the various and complicated objects which it embraced, and the heterogeneous and diſcordant nature of that chaos of matter, which he had ſeparated, reduced, and by a new arrangement combined in ſuch admirable light and order, as one of the firſt efforts of human ability and genius; and as equally affording an inſtance of uncommon zeal, unrivalled induſtry, and of invincible perſeverance. He obſerved, that this ſcheme was partly upon the plan of the petitions; that if it did not embrace every thing that was deſcribed or pointed to in the petitions, it contained nothing that was not conſonant to their letter and ſpirit; nor did it exclude or determine againſt a ſyllable of their contents. —— The hiſtory which he gave of the original reception of that ſcheme; of the progreſs of the eſtabliſhment bill, and of the various oppoſition which it encountered, unto the late defeat, which he conſidered as its final cataſtrophe, was highly curious, intereſting, and full of keen political obſervation.

With reſpect to the firſt article, Mr. Dunning drew a diſtinction, (not very honourable to thoſe whom it affected) between the genuine ſentiments of the houſe, when acting from their own immediate feelings and perceptions, and the impreſſions afterwards made upon them from without. To

the first he attributed the universal applause and the high eulogiums, which Mr. Burke's propositions received on their being first opened to the house. The temper and disposition which afterwards appeared, he was convinced originated out of that house; and would never otherwise have prevailed within its walls.

For after such general approbation, the bill was let down softly. First, it contained some matter worthy of approbation, then, it was doubtful; at last, it was fundamentally wrong and dangerous.

He observed, that in the course of the very important contest on different parts of the establishment bill, notwithstanding the dexterity used on the other side, some matters of great public concern were brought unwillingly out; and which indeed were the cause for his entering at present upon the subject. Particularly, in the discussion of the first clause of that bill, for abolishing the office of a third secretary of state, two fundamental points were brought into controversy. It had been affirmed, that the influence of the crown was not too great. It had been asserted, that the influence of the crown, even such as it was stated to be in argument, was constitutional and necessary: and it had also been asserted, that the other point insisted on in the petitions, the enquiry into the expenditure of the Civil List Revenue, was a business not competent to that house. After taking notice how the minister shrunk from the contest, when it was strenuously endeavoured on his side, to bring the question forward to abide the decision of the house; he observed that the clause was, however, lost, under pretence that the office was not useless, or if it was, that no evidence of its being useless appeared.

The next clause, he said, relative to the abolition of the board of trade, was opposed on the same ostensible ground of its not being useless. The minister, however, besides the ostensible ground, maintained both the other doctrines, that the influence of the crown was not too much, and that parliament had no right to controul the Civil List Expenditure; but the house was not to be drove.—— The house revolted, and the clause for abolishing the board of trade was carried by a small majority.

The next clause of the establishment bill, Mr. Dunning observed, was openly opposed on principle; and that principle supported, in one shape or other, by a great majority of that house. The king's household was deemed sacred; it was not to be touched; a distinction was made by some of those who gave the minister that majority: useless places which related to the functions of the state, they held, might be abolished; but the king's revenue, for the support of his household, was his own personal revenue, with which parliament neither had, nor could have any thing to do.——That decision he considered as giving the death-wound to his friend's bill.

The next attempt, he observed, made in pursuance of the petitions, or in compliance with the wishes of the people, was that by Col. Barre, for instituting a committee of accounts. But the noble minister, he said, after freely promising

miſing his full aſſiſtance to the meaſure, well foreſeeing, that it would bring out many things extremely irkſome and unpleaſant to himſelf, defeated the deſign, by running a race with his honourable friend for the bill, and ſnatching it out of his hands, where it had been placed, by the unanimous voice and approbation of that houſe. He heavily cenſured the manœuvre of the miniſter in this buſineſs, both as it reſpected him in the character of a gentleman, and in that of his public capacity: nor did he leſs condemn his ſubſtituted bill for a commiſſion of accounts, which he deſcribed as being totally unprofitable, if not worſe.

Two other efforts, he obſerved, were made towards anſwering one of the principal objects of the petitioners, by leſſening the influence of the crown in that houſe. The one was Sir George Saville's motion for the production of the penſion liſt; which was excellently calculated for anſwering that purpoſe; but which he had the mortification of ſeeing defeated like the foregoing. The other was Sir Philip Jennings Clerke's bill for the excluſion of contractors; which had the good fortune of being carried through that houſe.

Thus, the whole of what had been obtained, in conſequence of that pile of parchment before them, containing the ſentiments, the prayers, and the petitions of above one hundred thouſand electors, and through ſuch laudable efforts, ſuch late and frequent diſcuſſion, and ſo many arduous ſtruggles within the houſe, amounted only to a ſingle clauſe in the eſtabliſhment bill, which ſtanding naked, as it did, could be conſidered of little or no importance; to the miniſter's runaway bill, which was as direct an inſult to that houſe, as it was a bare-faced mockery of their conſtituents; and to the contractor's bill, which the friends of adminiſtration predict will ſtill miſcarry; or if that hope ſhould fail, openly boaſt, that ſuch means are contrived as will defeat all its purpoſes. Such, he ſaid, was the manner in which the dutiful petitions of the people of England had hitherto been treated.

He then ſtated, that as every other means had failed of producing any effect adequate to the prayer of the petitions, he thought it his duty, and it was the duty of the houſe, to take ſome determinate meaſure, by which the people might know, without equivocation, what they had to truſt to, and whether their petitions were adopted or rejected. To bring both the points conteſted between the petitioners and miniſters fairly to iſſue, he ſhould frame two propoſitions, abſtracted from the petitions on the table, and take the ſenſe of the committee upon them. He meant, that they ſhould be ſhort, and as ſimple as poſſible, ſo as to draw forth a direct affirmative or negative.

He then moved his firſt propoſition, "That the influence of the crown has increaſed, is increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed."—He ſupported his motion principally upon the public notoriety of the fact; and diſclaimed ſeeking for that kind of explicit proofs, which, as they were neceſſary, were likewiſe eaſily obtained in other caſes; but which, in this being impracticable, it was of courſe ridiculous to require. The

queſtion, he ſaid, muſt be decided by the conſciences of thoſe, who as a jury were called upon to determine, what was or was not within their knowledge.—He obſerved, however, as a collateral circumſtance of evidence, that nothing leſs than the moſt alarming and corrupt influence, could induce a number of gentlemen in that houſe, to ſupport the miniſter by their votes in thoſe meaſures within doors, which they condemned and reprobated without. That this was the caſe, and within his own immediate knowledge, he declared upon his honour; and added, that though he was not himſelf very ſqueamiſh, nor over-delicate, in giving his opinion upon the meaſures of adminiſtration, he had never indulged himſelf in throwing upon them ſuch ſevere epithets, as had fallen in his preſence from the mouths of members abroad, who, notwithſtanding, ſupported them within thoſe walls; nor was the number ſmall, for, but that the taſk would be too invidious, he could mention no leſs than fifty members of that houſe, who had held that language and conduct.

On the other hand, the miniſters and their friends contended, that the reſolution now moved was clearly an abſtract propoſition.—The learned gentleman had declared, that he would not inform the houſe what further meaſures he intended to graft upon his intended reſolutions; this afforded to them all the properties, and even the exact definition of an abſtract queſtion. There were, to be ſure, inſtances in the records of parliament, in which abſtract queſtions were moved and agreed to; but they were very improper examples to be followed; and in general, even in thoſe caſes, they related to ſome previous proceedings in the houſe, ſome diſputed point, ſome ſubject of controverſy under diſcuſſion, in which the ſenſe of the houſe was particularly called for. When this happened not to be the caſe, the perſon who propoſed to the houſe to vote an abſtract queſtion, having a proſpective view to meaſures which were to be engrafted in it, was bound by the nature of the requiſition, to explain what thoſe meaſures were intended to be; otherwiſe, one of thoſe two things might happen, either that the houſe ſhould vote an abſtract queſtion to no manner of purpoſe, or that after having agreed to the leading propoſition, they might, notwithſtanding, be under a neceſſity of rejecting the meaſure to be engrafted on it, although that meaſure might well bear a ſtrong ſeeming relation to the antecedent reſolution; a circumſtance which would throw a diſgraceful appearance of inconſiſtency and abſurdity upon their proceedings.

The propoſed reſolution, they ſaid, came fully within theſe predicaments. It was purely abſtract, as not being connected with any one meaſure whatever; it pointed to no remedy, nor was it apparently deſigned to avert any evil. Many gentlemen in that houſe might poſſibly think, that the influence of the crown was really increaſing; others, that it was increaſed; and ſome, perhaps, that it ought to be diminiſhed. Theſe, through their ignorance of what was to follow, might vote for the abſtract propoſition ſimply as it ſtood;

ſtood; and yet might afterwards totally diſapprove of the meaſure with which the learned gentleman intended to follow it up; whereas, if the meaſure of correction had accompanied the fact of abuſe, they would, from a knowledge of its tendency, have rejected the queſtion in the abſtract.

They objected to the total want of evidence to ſupport the facts; and could for themſelves anſwer that they were wholly unfounded. The ſlighteſt view of the ſtate of public affairs would directly overthrow the whole ſuppoſition. Was it a time when America was loſt! it was feared irretrievably loſt! when that loſs was ſucceeded by a war with France, and another with Spain; was it a time, after ſo long a ſeries of diſappointments, untoward events, ill ſucceſs and loſſes, and all the unpopular conſequences incident to ſuch a ſtate of things, to ſuppoſe that the influence of the crown was increaſed? The people were heavily burthened; they foreſaw an increaſe of thoſe burthens daily approaching; they felt the loſs of America; they were diſappointed and out of temper; in ſuch circumſtances to talk of the influence of the crown, was abſurd and preposterous.

It was beſides argued to be unfair and unjuſt with reſpect to the preſent adminiſtration. It would appear, they ſaid, if the preſent reſolution was adopted, at leaſt to the people without doors, that this influence had originated, and was daily increaſing, under the preſent adminiſtration. This implied a cenſure of ſo ſevere a nature, as called for the moſt ſound and ſubſtantial proof before it ſhould be admitted, much leſs eſtabliſhed by a vote of parliament. For if any ſuch influence exiſted at all, it muſt have exiſted before the preſent miniſters were born; but the charge was not accompanied or ſupported by a ſingle argument, which could diſtinguiſh this adminiſtration even from any other during the preſent reign.

They farther urged, that the preſent mode of carrying on the government of this country had continued the ſame exactly from the revolution downwards; and unleſs ſome proof were ſhewn that an influence, whatever that might be, exiſted at preſent, different from that which was ſuppoſed to exiſt in former times, the preſent vote would be replete with danger to the conſtitution; for it would tend to alter that ſyſtem of government, which had been eſtabliſhed by our forefathers; and which had been approved of, continued, and confirmed, by ſeveral ſucceeding generations.

The aſſertion, as to the reprobation of the meaſures of miniſters without doors, by thoſe who had ſupported them within, was bitterly reſented. The fact itſelf ſeemed to be doubted, as much as propriety would admit of; and a court lord, after every poſſible degree of execration of ſuch men, if they really exiſted, called upon them to quit his ſide of the houſe, and to go over to the other, emphatically crying out, "Go, you worſt of men, be your hearts and motives ever ſo corrupt, preſerve ſome appearance of principle and decency, and ſupport thoſe principles in public, which you approve of, and ſecretly avow, in private."

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The ſpeaker, on this day, took a decided part in ſupport of the motion. He obſerved, that however irkſome it was to him to take any part in their debates, and however cautious he was, and ought to be, of obtruding his own private opinions on the houſe, there were caſes, and he conſidered the preſent as one of them, in which it would be criminal in him to remain ſilent. The queſtion before them, he ſaid, was of infinite conſequence to that houſe, and to the people at large; both were under the greateſt obligation to the learned gentleman who had brought it under diſcuſſion; and however it might be determined, he was happy in the opportunity which it afforded him of diſcharging his duty, as a member of that houſe, both to his conſtituents, and to his country in general.

He denied that the queſtion was in any degree abſtract; it was a queſtion of fact. What were the facts? It deſired the houſe to reſolve in the firſt inſtance, that the influence of the crown was increaſed; who would doubt the truth of that fact?—That it is increaſing; could any man doubt of that either? He believed not. If there was any ſuch perſon preſent, he was ſure that he was not himſelf that perſon. He had ſeen ſo many inſtances of both ſince he had the honour of a ſeat in that houſe, as ſufficiently juſtified him in ſaying, that the influence of the crown had increaſed, and was increaſing. The petitions on the table averred the fact; it was the duty of that houſe to ſay whether it was or was not ſo. It was an allegation which called for no proofs; it did not indeed admit of any. It could only be known to the members of that houſe, and they were the only perſons competent to reſolve it; for ſuch were the circumſtances of the affair, that if it were even proved by evidence, they only could know whether the evidence was true or falſe. They were bound as jurors, by the conviction ariſing in their own minds, and were obliged to determine accordingly.

He appealed to the feelings and experience of gentlemen who heard him, if the influence of the crown had not increaſed, was not daily increaſing, and whether it was not the duty of that houſe to limit it? He profeſſed himſelf a friend to the legal conſtitutional prerogatives of the crown; but he contended that theſe afforded the only legitimate influence, which it could have, or ought to exerciſe; and aſked, whether it was not a very vain and idle thing to limit or mete out the prerogatives of the crown, while they permitted another, and much more dangerous, becauſe a concealed influence, to operate in their ſtead.

He further obſerved, that the ſpecies of government eſtabliſhed in this country, under its true and proper definition of a monarchy limited by law, he was free to ſay, required no other aſſiſtance for the exerciſe of its functions, than what it derived from the conſtitution and the laws. That the powers veſted in the executive part of government, and in his opinion wiſely placed there, were ample and ſufficient for all the purpoſes of good government, and without any further aid, were much too ample for the purpoſes of bad government; and he thought himſelf bound

bound as an honeſt man to declare, that the influence of the crown had increaſed far beyond the ideas of a monarchy ſtrictly limited in its nature and extent.

Such doctrines and opinions, coming from ſuch an authority, could not but produce ſome conſiderable effect. The ſpeaker likewiſe obſerved to the committee, that it might poſſibly be very gall ing to them to be informed of their duty by the petitioners; but they ſhould recollect that it was entirely their own fault. He was ſorry, in one ſenſe, to ſee thoſe petitions before them; becauſe he was of opinion, that the houſe, conſcious of its own duty, ſhould have prevented the neceſſity. What the petitioners now demanded, ſhould have originated within their own walls; and then, what now would bear too much the appearance of compulſion, would have been received with gratitude on the one ſide, and conferred with credit and a good grace on the other. But at any rate they were to conſider, that they were then ſitting as the repreſentatives of the people, and ſolely for their advantage and benefit; and that they in duty ſtood pledged to that people, who were their creators, for the faithful diſcharge of their truſt.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland, in order to obtain a negative to the motion, propoſed to ſtrengthen the propoſition in ſuch a manner, as, he thought, muſt of neceſſity occaſion its rejection. He accordingly moved as an amendment the following words, "That it is "now neceſſary to declare," an amendment which the oppoſition (undoubtedly from a ſenſe of their ſtrength) readily, and perhaps unexpectedly agreed to. The amended queſtion then ſtood thus,—That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is now neceſſary to declare, that the influence of the crown is increaſed, increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed.

The committee divided about 12 o'clock, when the motion ſo amended was carried by a majority of 18; the numbers being 233, who ſupported Mr. Dunning's propoſition, to 215, who voted with adminiſtration againſt it. Thus the miniſter, a ſecond time in this ſeſſion, found himſelf in a minority.

Mr. Dunning then moved his ſecond propoſition, "That it is "competent to this houſe to exa- "mine into, and to correct abuſes "in the expenditure of the civil "liſt revenues, as well as in "every other branch of the pub- "lic revenue, whenever it ſhall "ſeem expedient to the wiſdom "of this houſe ſo to do."

Although the miniſter requeſted that the committee would not proceed any farther that night, the queſtion was notwithſtanding put, and carried without a diviſion. But the new majority, after the vexation of ſo many years labour in the ineffective efforts of a minority, were now determined to make the moſt of the advantages afforded by their new ſituation. Mr. T. Pitt, accordingly (who had taken a moſt active and ſpirited part in the debates of the day) moved the following reſolution, That it is the opinion of this committee, "that it is the duty "of this houſe to provide, as far "as may be, an immediate and "effectual redreſs of the abuſes "com-

" complained of in the petitions " preſented to this houſe, from " the different counties, cities, " and towns in this kingdom."

The miniſter again intreated and implored, but with no better ſucceſs than before, that the committee would not proceed any farther for that night. No ground of argument being taken againſt, nor oppoſition whatever made to this concluſive motion, it was carried in the affirmative without an apparent diſſent.

The buſineſs was not, however, yet over. The houſe being reſumed, Mr. Fox moved, that the reſolutions ſhould be immediately reported. This was oppoſed by the miniſter, with all the force he yet retained, as being unuſual, violent, and arbitrary. But the torrent was too ſtrong to be reſiſted. The reſolutions were ſeverally reported and received; and, after being read a firſt and ſecond time, were agreed to, and confirmed by the houſe, without a diviſion.

Such was the complete and deciſive victory gained, in behalf of the petitions, by the oppoſition, on that extraordinary and memorable day. The exultation and triumph on one ſide of the houſe, was only equalled by the evident depreſſion and diſmay which prevailed on the ſide of adminiſtration. Indeed the appearance of things was ſufficient to ſtrike the boldeſt with diſmay; nor does it ſeem, that any propoſition could have been brought fairly before the houſe on that night, which, in the ſpirit that then prevailed, would not have been carried againſt the miniſters. When the nature and the tendency of the queſtions are conſidered, and the manner in which they were carried, is attentively viewed, ſcarcely any thing more important ſeems to have been ſo propoſed and carried ſince the revolution. The ſyſtem of the court was ſhaken to its foundations. Without doors, the joy and triumph in moſt parts of England, as well in moſt of the counties that did not petition, as in thoſe that did, was great and general; and though not diſplayed in the ſame manner, would not perhaps have been exceeded, on occaſion of the moſt deciſive victory over a foreign enemy.

It can be no matter of ſurprize, that under the preſſure of ſuch circumſtances, and puſhed without mercy on all ſides as he was, the miniſter ſhould in ſome inſtances be thrown off his guard ſo much, as to ſhew ſtrong marks of indignation and reſentment; more eſpecially when keen perſonal reproach was ſuperadded to the general ſenſe of misfortune. This effect was particularly produced by the ſeverity of ſome ſtrictures thrown out by Mr. Thomas Pitt; who obſerved, that there could not be a more indubitable proof of the enormous and deſtructive influence of the crown, than that noble lord afforded in the poſſeſſion of his preſent office, after ſo many years of loſs, misfortune, and calamity, as had already marked the fatal courſe of his adminiſtration. He aſked, whether that noble lord had not loſt America? Whether he had not ſquandered many millions of the public money, and waſted rivers of blood of the ſubjects of Great Britain. And yet, though the whole country with one voice cried

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out againſt him, and execrated his American war, the noble lord ſtill held his place. Could this poſſibly be aſcribed to any other cauſe than to the overgrown influence of the crown, along with that daring exertion of it, which ſets the voice and the intereſts of the people at naught. The noble lord, he ſaid, had ſunk and degraded the honour of Great Britain; the name of an Engliſhman was now no longer a matter to be proud of; the time had been when it was the envy of all the world: it had been the introduction to univerſal reſpect, but the noble lord had contrived to ſink it almoſt beneath contempt. He had rendered his countrymen and their country deſpicable in the eyes of every other power.——It muſt have required more than a common ſtock of philoſophy to remain unmoved, under ſuch a weight of invective, and under charges of ſuch a nature.

April 10th. On the next day of buſineſs, the houſe being in a committee on the ſubject of the petitions, Mr. Dunning, in purſuance of his plan, moved a reſolution to the following purport, That in order to ſecure the independence of parliament, and to obviate all ſuſpicions of its purity, that within ſeven days after the meeting of parliament, every ſeſſion, there be laid before that houſe, by the proper officer, an account of all monies paid out of the civil liſt, or any part of the public revenue, to or for the uſe, or in truſt, for any member of parliament, ſince the laſt receſs, by every perſon who ſhall have paid the ſame.

This motion was but faintly oppoſed; the principal grounds of argument being, that the commons paſſing reſolutions, which were in fact teſts, might occaſion ſome difference with the other houſe; and the old doctrine, of the indelicacy of ſuppoſing, that men of honour and character could be biaſſed in their public opinions and votes, by the conſideration of any paltry emoluments. Theſe were however overruled, and the reſolution carried without difficulty.

Mr. Dunning then moved, That the perſons holding the offices of treaſurer of the chamber, treaſurer of the houſhold, cofferer of the houſhold, comptroller of the houſhold, maſter of the houſhold, clerks of the green cloth, with all their deputies, be rendered incompatible with a ſeat in that houſe.—Thus avowedly endeavouring to remedy, ſo far as it could now be done, the failure of that clauſe in Mr. Burke's eſtabliſhment bill, which went to the total abolition of thoſe very offices. This motion was warmly oppoſed, and brought out ſome conſiderable debate, in which the propriety of place bills, with the ſeveral qualifications and exceptions to the principle, were much and ingeniouſly agitated. It was, however, more ſtrenuouſly oppoſed in act, in the ſtruggle of an exceedingly cloſe diviſion, than even in argument. The queſtion being called for at a late hour, the motion was carried, in a very full houſe, by a majority of two only; the numbers, upon a diviſion, being 215, to 213. This was the miniſter's third minority. However, he ſeemed to gather ſtrength.

Thus far, the new majority had kept their ground. Experience, however,

however, soon taught them, that they could only hold it on certain questions, and in certain seasons.

The first check they received was on the second reading of Mr. Crewe's bill, for excluding revenue officers from voting on the election of members of parliament. As this bill was on the same principle with that which had been brought forward by the late Mr. Dowdeswell about ten years before, the ground of argument was necessarily the same on both sides which we then stated; with this addition on one, that the present bill went to two of the great objects of the petitions, to diminish the influence of the crown, and to restore or secure the independence of parliament; the opposition from thence contending, that the house was bound by its own late determinations to support the bill. The debate was long, and the question strongly argued on both sides. The one, holding out the injustice and cruelty of depriving a great body of men of their franchises, without any crime proved or alledged to justify the forfeiture; and the other insisting, that the bill would deprive them of no franchises, for that no revenue officer, while he continued such, either did or could possess a free vote: so that instead of injustice or cruelty, it would be a great relief to these people, as it would save them from the hard necessity, of either voting against their inclination and conscience, or of losing their places; the bill did not deprive, it only suspended the officer's franchise, until he was in a situation which would admit of his exercising it properly, that is, without restraint; the option either of holding his place, or of exercising his franchise, would always lie with himself. 13th.

The bill was, however, thrown out upon a division, about ten at night, by a majority of 224, to 195; so well was the house attended at this time.——The illness of the speaker, on the following day, occasioned a sudden cessation. The house was adjourned unto the 24th day of the month.

During this interval, the contractor's bill brought out long and very considerable debates in the House of Lords. Upon the second reading, the Duke of Bolton having moved that the bill should be committed, a powerful and determined opposition on the side of administration immediately appeared, in which the secretaries of state, and both the great law lords in office took a principal share. April 14th.

The court lords insisted, that the principle of the bill was false, and that it proposed manifest injustice. It was likewise a direct infringement of that great prerogative of the crown, which sets it above all controul whatever, in the articles of making and conducting war. The principle was false, in supposing dishonesty and corruption without any manner of evidence. It was cruel and unjust, in inflicting punishment without proof of criminality or guilt. It would deprive a respectable body of men of their natural rights, as well as of their municipal franchises, without the smallest charge, or even pretence, of their having committed any act which could incur a forfeiture. Indeed it reached

to thoſe who could commit no act, for it decreed puniſhment to men yet unborn.

With all its other enormities, the bill, they ſaid, went to the direct ſubverſion of the conſtitution, by depriving the people of England of their inherent and invaluable right, of chooſing thoſe perſons whom they truſted and liked, to be their repreſentatives in parliament. Nor was its tendency more unjuſt to individuals, more injurious to the prerogative, or more inimical to the conſtitution, than it would be found pernicious to the public ſervice of the ſtate in time of war. For it would deter all reputable merchants and gentlemen of character, who had a nice ſenſe of honour, and who were not diſpoſed to forfeit the common rights and franchiſes of citizens, from ſupplying our fleets and armies, upon any terms, with thoſe neceſſaries, which it would frequently happen, that no others could furniſh. And at any rate, it would throw that buſineſs entirely into the hands of men, who either wanted means and ability to fulfil their contracts, or inclination and honeſty to fulfil them properly.

The bill indeed provides, that thoſe who become contractors at a public bidding, after 25 days previous notice given in the Gazette, ſhall not be ſubject to its penalties; that is, they will not be rendered incapable of a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons. But the circumſtances and exigencies of war are frequently ſuch, as to require the greateſt poſſible diſpatch, and the moſt inviolable ſecrecy. It may frequently happen that the loſs of half that time in providing the ſtores or neceſſaries which were wanted, would be attended with the moſt ruinous conſequences: and ſuch a public advertiſement would beſides afford direct information to the enemy of the nature and deſign, of whatever expedition or enterprize was then in contemplation. It was frequently neceſſary, they ſaid, to provide for future as well as preſent exigencies in contracts. Their very nature often forbids their being public. The mode of public advertiſement now propoſed, would likewiſe enhance the prices of the commodity in ſuch a degree, that the executive officers of government would be incapable of carrying on the public buſineſs.

Were then, they ſaid, the gentlemen, who performed ſuch eminent and eſſential ſervices to their country, as the proviſion of thoſe ſupplies, without which fleets and armies are ineffectual, to be, for that reaſon only, debarred from ſerving it in another manner, for which, by their fortunes and abilities, they might probably be no leſs qualified? Was it a part of the ſyſtem included in the preſent rage of novelty and reform, either to baniſh the mercantile intereſt from the Houſe of Commons, or to place the exiſtence of our fleets and armies in the hands of beggars and bankrupts?

They reprobated in high terms the indignity offered to the human heart and underſtanding, in ſuppoſing that men of character, fortune, and ſenſe, would forfeit their good name and reputation, and ſacrifice thoſe public intereſts in which they were ſo deeply concerned, by proſtituting their votes in parliament for the paltry emolu-

emoluments of an office, or the profits of a contract, either of which must bear a very diminutive proportion to the value of their private estates, which were wholly staked in the welfare and security of their country. The vulgar but popular prejudice, they said, of supposing every minister corrupt, and that every man who has any contract with government, whatever his former integrity might have been, becomes likewise corrupt from that instant, could not be sufficiently exploded, or treated with too much contempt. Who could be supposed so base or so foolish, as to sacrifice his reputation, and his permanent interests, for a precarious income or office? But if it were even admitted, that a few such wretched and unworthy characters might possibly exist, would the multiplying of penal laws, eradicate the vices, or correct the enormities of mankind? Had they produced that effect with respect to gaming, the most destructive to a state of all vices?

But admitting, what was very possible, that some particular persons might have been guilty of imposition or fraud in their contracts, still there could be no occasion for the interference of parliament, much less for agreeing to the present bill. — The laws had very wisely provided proper punishment for public as well as private delinquency; and the courts of justice were always open to due examination, and ready to enforce the laws. Such matters should therefore be left by parliament to their natural course. They might possibly, if there were such, come ultimately and properly before that house in its judicial capacity. But at any rate, the public could never fail of obtaining justice against the offenders, without the interposition of parliament. They had indeed heard, both formerly and now, a great deal about Atkinson's rum contracts; and it was endeavoured to bring those transactions forward as a sort of evidence in support of the present bill. But that house being totally unacquainted with the circumstances of the affair, could form no opinion at all upon it; if any thing improper appeared in those transactions, the law would take due cognizance of it, and punishment would necessarily follow conviction. A great law authority threw some light upon this subject, which had been so often brought into discussion. But the public, he said, could be no losers by the affair; as the noble lord at the head of the treasury had stopped the money overcharged, in the first instance; and the matter of the second, was now in a due course of investigation.

The lords on that side contended, that there were many other objections of great weight against the bill. Particularly with respect to the proposed new mode of contracts, they observed, that the most improper men, would probably be the lowest bidders; but that there was still a matter of greater danger and mischief to be apprehended, which was, that the enemy might secretly employ agents at these public biddings, merely to thwart and ruin the public service.

They scarcely combated the bill less with respect to its objects, than its principle. These were

were two, namely, to reſtore the independency of parliament, by diminiſhing the ſuppoſed increaſed influence of the crown, and to promote œconomy in the expenditure of the public money. The firſt object, they contended, did not exiſt, and therefore could not be attained. Could any man venture to ſay, that either houſe of parliament was at this day in a ſtate of dependence or ſlavery? Or, what proof could be given, that the influence of the crown was increaſed, or increaſing? If all other were wanting, the paſſing of the preſent bill through the other houſe, and their late-boaſted reſolutions, would afford the moſt inconteſtible evidence in both reſpects to the contrary. But ſuppoſing that influence had really exiſted, the preſent bill was totally inadequate to that, its firſt and principal object. The ſecond object indeed, of promoting public œconomy, was a matter worthy of the higheſt conſideration; but this bill was as defective in that reſpect as in the other; and thus was, in fact, totally incommenſurate to both its objects.

But it was advanced on the other ſide, that thoſe reſolutions paſſed in the other houſe, were to be received as evidence, and even in ſome meaſure to influence the conduct of that. On theſe points, however, they muſt totally differ. They could only conſider theſe reſolutions as the opinions of 233 members of that houſe, and perhaps of a number of their conſtituents; but they could by no means conſider them as any abſolute proof of the facts they related to, nor even as the ſenſe of the people of England at large. As little could they ſubmit to the poſition held out on the other ſide, that they had no right of interference or rejection with reſpect to the preſent bill, from its being a matter of domeſtic regulation which related merely to the commons houſe. This they combated on two grounds. For if the premiſes had been even fairly ſtated, they could by no means admit the inference. The very circumſtance, that the bill muſt of neceſſity go through their houſe after it had paſſed the commons, clearly ſhewed, that they muſt have a right and power of rejection, as well as of deliberation and enquiry. But in fact, the bill was not merely a matter of domeſtic regulation; it could indeed anſwer very little, if any thing to that purpoſe. It was on the contrary a great queſtion of ſtate. It included in its embrace the royal prerogative, the conſtitution, the private rights of individuals, and the public rights of the people at large; and would beſides eſtabliſh, or give a ſanction, to queſtions of dangerous import, relative to the ſuppoſed influence of the crown, and to the honour and independence of parliament.

A noble earl in high office obſerved, that the time was faſt approaching, if not already arrived, when the weight and importance of that houſe muſt neceſſarily become apparent to the whole nation. They were placed as a barrier by the conſtitution, between the extenſion of power and prerogative, on the one hand, and the violence of the people, or the innovations of the commons, on the other.

other. When miſtaken notions, and falſe repreſentations of virtue and liberty, had either deceived the people at large, or the members of the other houſe, it was their duty, who had as dear an intereſt in the conſtitution as either, or both, to ſtep forth as its hereditary guardians, and effectually to controul, reſtrain, and reſiſt, the delirium of virtue, the rage of innovation, and the madneſs of enthuſiaſm; until they had brought them back to coolneſs, ſobriety, and reaſon. That ſtate of things, he conceived at preſent ſubſiſting; and the noble lord threw out ſome peculiar phraſes, particularly, that the people were liberty mad — that they had run mad about public virtue—and that the times unfortunately exhibited nothing but an innovating ſpirit of alteration and ideal perfection, internal commotion, cauſeleſs diſcontents, turbulence and diſſention.

The lords in oppoſition, treated with very little reſpect, and indeed rather contemptuouſly, many of the arguments brought againſt, and objections made on the other ſide, particularly with reſpect to the principle and juſtice of the bill. They aſked if it was poſſible, that thoſe noble lords, who ſeemed now to be ſo ſtrangely alarmed with reſpect to the conſtitution, and who felt ſo much for ſuppoſed public injury, and private injuſtice, could have totally forgotten, or could have been ignorant, that the whole code of election laws, whether with regard to the elector, or the elected, all the qualification, place, reſtraining, or excluſion laws, were not founded upon the ſame principle with the preſent bill, and had not produced effects exactly correſpondent to thoſe, which are now held out as objects of ſo much apprehenſion and horror. Are not a prodigious majority of the people of England, and including a great number of men of rank, character, and fortune, rendered incapable, by one law, of having a vote in the choice of their own repreſentatives? Are not men of the greateſt abilities and integrity, without qualifications which may not depend on either, proſcribed from a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, however warmly the wiſhes of the electors may be in their favour, or however highly they may conſider it to their advantage to be ſo repreſented, by another? Do the commiſſioners of the exciſe and cuſtoms complain of any injuſtice, in receiving their places at the expence of that right by which they might otherwiſe fit in parliament? Or do they feel any ſenſe of ſtigma or diſagrace under that excluſion? Theſe gentlemen poſſeſs at leaſt as fair characters, and generally as pleaſant countenances as contractors; and yet was it ever known, that any body or community of electors, had become ſo enamoured of any of them, as to complain of injury, becauſe, they could not be returned as their repreſentatives? It is indeed true, that as the contractor may gain more money in a ſingle morning by one job, than the fee-ſimple of the commiſſioner's place would ſell for, that circumſtance may render him a much more welcome viſitor to our corrupt and rotten boroughs; but that is one of the enormities which the bill is intended to remedy.

All

All the reſtrictive, place, penſion, and excluſion laws that ever were paſſed, are ſo many living records, of the conſtant jealouſy with which our anceſtors, and former parliaments watched, and as far as it was in the power of man, endeavoured to prevent or correct, the growth and progreſs of undue influence and corruption; particularly the dangerous influence of the crown. All theſe laws were founded upon the ſame principle, and held the ſame objects with the preſent bill. They all likewiſe tend to overthrow that unheard-of poſition, that the minds of men are not liable to be biaſſed by honours, places, or vaſt pecuniary emoluments. Did not their own records, as well as thoſe of the other houſe, furniſh inſtances, of men in high rank, truſt and office, having in various caſes been operated upon by baſe and unworthy motives? Have no ſuch men been found corrupt and venal? Or have they not ſuffered public ignominy and puniſhment for their peculation, venality and proſtitution? But this doctrine, they ſaid, muſt have originated, either from ſo perfect a puerility of underſtanding, or ſuch a thorough contempt of that houſe and of the nation, as to be worthy only of notice as a ſubject of animadverſion, but not of anſwer. Of the ſame nature, they ſaid, was the argument drawn from the ſuppoſed improbability of abuſes in contracts, becauſe the laws have left in the hands of miniſters, the means of proſecuting in the courts of juſtice, the ſupporters of their own power, and the accomplices of their fraud and malverſation. Surely a ſingle inſtance quoted in which the public were ſaid to have been exonerated from the fraud of a contractor, would not have been advanced, if the learned lord had recollected, that the detection of the fraud was entirely owing to the activity of a gentleman in the other houſe; and that the miniſter was compelled, ſorely againſt his will, by the bitter and repeated attacks made upon him by the oppoſition, to adopt an apparent meaſure of remedy, which was, however, probably but a mere deluſion.

The arguments founded upon the many ſuppoſed miſchiefs and dangers attributed to open contracts, were, they ſaid, as futile, and as unworthy of notice, as the foregoing. The facts themſelves were totally unfounded, and contradicted by eſtabliſhed and daily experience. The conduct of the navy in this reſpect, overthrows, at once, every thing that has been ſaid upon that ſubject. The navy is the only ſource, and affords the only means of enterprize in this country. Yet all the victualling office contracts are open and above board. The very names of the ports, at which ſhips or ſquadrons are intended or likely to touch, are ſpecified in the public news-papers. Has any evil been yet known to reſult from this method of ſupplying the navy? Of what conſequence would it be to the enemy to know, that the rum contractor had palmed currency upon the miniſter of this country for ſterling money? Or that the gold contractor receives a large premium for ſending Portugal

gold to America, when in fact he ſends nothing but Engliſh guineas thither.

They treated the ſuppoſed invaſion of the prerogative as a matter of ridicule. It was undoubtedly, they ſaid, a fatal ſtroke to the executive power, to be enabled to ſupply its fleets and armies better, to carry on the public buſineſs more advantageouſly, and the operations of war more ſucceſsfully, than it was before diſpoſed or capable of doing in itſelf. They cloſed the ground of examination by declaring, that they had not heard an argument againſt the bill, which did not appear to be either frivolous, fallacious, or dangerous. It had indeed been urged, that it was neceſſary to abate that phrenzy, of virtue, which began to appear in the Houſe of Commons. As to that new ſpecies of phrenzy, they could not but conſider it, rather as a character of ſoundneſs, than as a ſymptom of inſanity; and as they neceſſarily came frequently into contact with the other houſe, they could not refrain from ſincerely wiſhing, that that diſtemper might become contagious.

Having thus controverted the objections to the bill, they ſupported it on the following grounds: Its own intrinſic merit. The magnitude of the evil which it was deſigned to remedy, and the neceſſity from which it was derived. Its being in conformity to the wiſhes and petitions of the people of England. The impropriety, if not danger, of their obſtructing a meaſure of domeſtic regulation adopted by the Houſe of Commons, and tending merely to their own internal purity and independence. On that ground, the queſtion of right, as well as of expedience or propriety, was controverted. They had a very great law authority, they ſaid, in the caſe of the Middleſex election, although the learned lord oppoſed the preſent bill, that in caſes which related to their own immediate privileges, and the receiving or excluſion of their own members, there was no appeal from the deciſions of the Houſe of Commons, nor could any other branch of the legiſlature check or alter their reſolutions. So that right or wrong, according to that authority, their deciſion would be final. Surely, the ſame rule that held in that inſtance, muſt equally apply in the preſent. This bill, which related particularly to their own privileges, had been unanimouſly paſſed by the other houſe. If it was rejected there, the probable conſequence would be, that as it went to the excluſion of a particular deſcription of men, the other houſe would ſhew their contempt of the rejection, in the exerciſe of what was deemed their own inherent right, and acting as they had done in the affair of the Middleſex election, exclude them by a mere reſolution. Could the lords be blind, in the preſent critical ſituation of affairs, to the danger of a rupture with the other houſe?

It was curious, they ſaid, to obſerve the continual inconſiſtency in the conduct of miniſters. When a motion tending to œconomical reform had, not long before, been made in that houſe, it was ſtrongly objected to by a noble earl in office, becauſe, it might give offence to the commons, that the

lords

lords ſhould take up the performance of a duty appertaining to them. And now, when a bill of the ſame tendency, which originated with, and peculiarly relates to themſelves, is unanimouſly paſſed, and ſent up by that houſe, the ſame noble lord endeavours with all his might that it ſhould be rejected, without the ſmalleſt conſideration of the danger of a breach between the two houſes, which he had on the former occaſion held out as an object of ſo much terror.

They concluded, by a ſtrong appeal to the neceſſities and the temper of the times, and by hoping, that the lords would have too full and lively a ſenſe of what they owed to their own honour and dignity, to ſuffer that houſe to become an engine in the hands of the miniſter; and thus to do that for him, which he was aſhamed and afraid to attempt doing for himſelf in the other.

The queſtion being put, after a very long debate, the bill was rejected by a majority of 20; the numbers being 61 to 41. A proteſt was entered, ſigned by 25 peers; and in the greater part by another.

Nothing ever happened more fortunately in favour of any adminiſtration, than the illneſs, at this peculiar juncture, of the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. It ſeemed as if nothing elſe could at that time have ſaved them. The receſs, indeed, was not long; but it produced extraordinary and unexpected effects. For beſides that the ardour and animation which ever attend new enterprize, and perhaps more in caſes of reform than any other, naturally cool and ſlacken under a ceſſation of action; the receſs likewiſe afforded time and opportunity, which were by no means loſt or neglected, for uſing effectual means to bring the numerous deſerters from the court, who had been afraid to oppoſe the late popular torrent, back to their original ſtandard.

In effect, the meeting of the houſe of commons, after this ſhort receſs, preſented ſo new a face and appearance of things, and ſuch a total change of temper and diſpoſition, that it ſeemed no longer the ſame identical body.

The firſt public queſtion of conſequence before the houſe, was a poſtponed motion of Mr. Dunning's, which had been deferred on the laſt day of meeting, on account of the ſpeaker's illneſs. The motion was for an addreſs to his majeſty, requeſting that he would not diſſolve the parliament, nor prorogue the preſent ſeſſion, until proper meaſures ſhould be taken by that houſe, to diminiſh the influence of the crown, and to correct the other evils complained of in the petitions of the people. April 24th.

This motion brought out great and long debates; in the courſe of which, almoſt every ground, that we have hitherto ſeen trodden, relative to the various great objects of the preſent controverſy, was again, upon ſome occaſion, and in ſome degree taken. Whether it was, that the leaders of the oppoſition underſtood, or that they only apprehended, the defection of their late but new allies, they however took all imaginable pains, and uſed every poſſible argument, to ſhew the neceſſity of their ſupporting their own determinations; as well

well as the ſhame and diſgrace that muſt attend a dereliction of thoſe principles, which they had ſo recently avowed and eſtabliſhed.—They had already ſubſtantiated, they ſaid, by the reſolutions of the ſixth of April, the grievances complained of in the petitions; and they had alſo bound themſelves, by the ſame reſolutions, under the moſt indiſſoluble obligation to the people of England, to procure full redreſs for thoſe grievances. So that no gentleman, who had ſupported thoſe reſolutions by his vote, could, without the moſt ſhameful inconſiſtency of conduct, and a dereliction of principle ſo manifeſt, as to afford room for the moſt odious ſurmiſes, refuſe giving his ſupport to any fair meaſure that was propoſed for obtaining that redreſs, unleſs he could himſelf ſubſtitute a better, or at leaſt ſhew, that the means offered were in themſelves eſſentially faulty.

A few, though but very few, freely declared, that they neither did nor ſhould, whether upon the preſent, or upon any future occaſion, hold themſelves at all fettered in their conduct, by any former reſolutions or opinions. They ſhould eſtimate every queſtion that came before them by its own intrinſic value; and conſider its probable conſequences, merely as it then appeared, without the trouble of any retroſpect. It by no means neceſſarily followed, that thoſe who ſupported the reſolutions of the 6th of April, were to approve of the preſent motion; no charge of inconſiſtency could therefore be incurred by their oppoſing either that, or many others which might poſſibly be held out under the ſame idea. If they promiſed their endeavours to procure redreſs for the people, they did not thereby give up the right of exerciſing their own judgment, whether in chuſing the moſt eligible means of obtaining that end, or in deciding upon the meaſure of redreſs which it might be right and neceſſary to obtain.

The miniſters cheared their old or new friends with the warmeſt plaudits, for that liberality of ſentiment, which diſdained the trammels of vulgar reſtraint. They likewiſe exclaimed loudly at the impropriety indecorum, and indelicacy of their antagoniſts, in endeavouring to put gentlemen out of countenance, by confronting them with their former conduct and opinions. This they declared to be unparliamentary and unfair. Nor could there be any lack of precedents or reaſons, to ſupport a change in either or both.

The queſtion being put a little before midnight, in an unuſually full houſe, the motion was rejected upon a diviſion by a majority of 51; the numbers being 254, to 203.

Mr. Fox riſing to ſpeak immediately after the motion, a moſt extraordinary ſcene of diſorder was diſplayed, ariſing (as the minority affirmed) from the unwillingneſs of the majority to hear the deſerters treated as they deſerved. The chair being repeatedly called on to exerciſe its authority, the ſpeaker at length, with the utmoſt vehemence of voice, called on every ſide of the houſe to order; and having ordered the officers to clear the bar, required and inſiſted that every member ſhould take his place.

This

This opened the way to Mr. Fox; and after all that had been ſuppoſed done to prevent it, the gentlemen concerned found themſelves condemned to hear, the keeneſt philippic, that perhaps ever was ſpoken in that houſe. No calls to order, nor other means, could either check the torrent of his eloquence, or reſtrain the bitterneſs of his invective. He declared the vote of that night, to be ſcandalous, diſgraceful, and treacherous. He did not apply theſe charges to the 215 gentlemen, who had, along with the miniſter, oppoſed the reſolutions of the 6th of April. Theſe gentlemen acted an open, a conſiſtent, and a manly part, in their oppoſing the addreſs propoſed on the preſent day. They had differed from him; he was ſorry for it; but he could not blame them, becauſe they differed from him upon principle.

But who could contemplate, he ſaid, without a mixture of the greateſt ſurprize and indignation, the conduct of another ſet of men in that houſe? Thoſe who had reſolved that the influence of the crown was increaſed, and ought to be diminiſhed; that the grievances of the people ought to be redreſſed; who pledged themſelves to that houſe, to the nation, to their conſtituents, to each other, and to themſelves, that it was their duty to redreſs the grievances complained of; and who had now ſhamefully fled from that ſolemn engagement! It was ſhameful, it was baſe, it was unmanly, it was treacherous. The gentlemen he meant, he ſaid, ſurrounded him; they ſat at his ſide of the houſe; he was ſorry for it. They were thoſe who voted with him on the 6th of April, and who voted with the miniſter that night. No man held in greater contempt thoſe who were at the devotion of the miniſter, than he did himſelf: they were ſlaves of the worſt kind, becauſe they ſold themſelves; yet, baſe as the tenure of their places was, they had one virtue to pride themſelves on; their fidelity, conſiſtency, and gratitude, were ſubjects of commendation. To all their other demerits, they had not added the abſurdity and treachery, of one day reſolving an opinion to be true, and the next of declaring it to be a falſhood. They had not taken in their patron, their friends, or their country, with falſe hopes, and deluſive promiſes. Whatever their motives or ſentiments might be, they had adhered to them; and ſo far as that went, their conduct was entitled to his approbation.

Mr. Dunning joined him in the charge of direct treachery to the nation. For that the counties, depending on the faith of parliament, for the redreſs held out by thoſe reſolutions, had relaxed greatly in the meaſures which they were purſuing for obtaining it by other means; and that the county of Cambridge in particular had, upon that dependence, reſcinded its own reſolution for appointing a committee of aſſociation. They both likewiſe declared, that the diviſion of this night was totally deciſive with reſpect to the petitions; that it amounted to a full rejection of their general prayer; and that all hope of obtaining any redreſs for the people, in that houſe was at an end.

The miniſter anſwered Mr. Fox

in a long ſpeech; in which he expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at, and a good deal reprehended, the ſtrange language, and the unbounded cenſure he had heard. The adminiſtring comfort to his ſuffering friends, was not, however, his principal object. He was much more anxious to obviate the impreſſion, which the charges made, of rejecting by the preſent deciſion the petitions of the people, might occaſion without doors.—He accordingly laboured that point much, and upon the ſame ground which had been before taken relative to the rejection of ſome of the clauſes in Mr. Burke's bill. He aſked, whether any concluſion could be more extravagant, or irreconcileable to common ſenſe, than that the giving a negative to a ſingle propoſition, ſhould be conſidered as deciding the fate of the petitions, and as amounting to a general rejection of the whole? The reſolutions of the 6th of April were ſtill in full being. Other meaſures might be propoſed on them. And ſurely it might very well happen, that thoſe who did not aprove of the means in one mode of redreſs, might readily concur in others.

Mr. Burke's eſtabliſhment bill, after lying for ſome time dormant, was brought forward a few days after. The 28th. firſt clauſe agitated was that for aboliſhing the office of the great wardrobe, and all thoſe leſſer offices and places depending on it. This queſtion brought out long and very conſiderable debates; and it was ſupported by the framer with all his uſual vigour and ability. The clauſe was, however, at length rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 210, to 183. The principle of reform being in effect abandoned by the late vote, the attendance on particular parts now grew daily leſs and leſs.

The committee then proceeded upon the ſucceeding clauſe, for aboliſhing the board of works. This brought out new debate, in which the mover of the bill diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than ever by the force of his arguments, the fertility of his invention, and the pleaſantry with which he enlivened a matter apparently dry and inſipid in itſelf; but the queſtion being at length put, the clauſe was rejected, upon a diviſion, by a majority of 203, to 118.

The miniſter's bill, for a commiſſion of accounts, had brought out upon him, in the various ſtages of its progreſs, more aſperity of language, and ſeverity of cenſure, than perhaps had ever been undergone upon a ſimilar occaſion, by any other miniſter in that houſe. This partly proceeded from the manner in which, we have ſeen, he had taken the bill out of the hands of another gentleman, and partly from the meaſure of appointing commiſſioners, who were not members of the houſe of Commons. This was ſaid to be directly ſubverſive of the conſtitution. That it was no leſs than a ſurrender of the firſt right of that houſe, that of managing, as well as of granting, the public money, and of directing and controuling its expenditure. And ſome of the oppoſition contended ſtrongly, that the houſe was not competent to ſuch a reſignation. That being only delegates themſelves, they could not delegate to others.

They

They might as well appoint their own ſucceſſors. If they were incapable, or indiſpoſed, to diſcharge the duties of the great truſt depoſited with them, they were bound in duty to return it into the hands of their conſtituents. But they had no right to appoint deputies to tranſact that eſſential part of the buſineſs of the nation, which was entruſted only to themſelves.

On the other hand, the miniſter gave every aſſurance, that he had not the ſmalleſt wiſh or intention, either of violating any of the privileges, or of abating any of the powers of that houſe; and that he was fully convinced, that there were gentlemen on both ſides within thoſe walls, of as great integrity, honour, ability, and poſſeſſed of as warm a zeal for the public welfare, as any in the kingdom. That he had already given one of his motives for propoſing that the commiſſioners ſhould not be members of that houſe, which was to avoid the invidious reflections which that circumſtance would draw both upon himſelf and them. That debates ran ſo high, and the times were ſo contentious, that almoſt every gentleman in that houſe had taken one ſide or other; a circumſtance which muſt render their conduct, however pure, liable to great and continual miſconſtruction. Among a number of other reaſons, he ſtated the preſent immenſity of parliamentary buſineſs, which would not afford leiſure to the members for ſo tedious and laborious an undertaking. That the failure of former commiſſions proceeded from their originating in party. And that the commiſſioners being members of that houſe, had laid the ground of frequent difference with the other. He likewiſe endeavoured to ſupport the meaſure by precedent, and for that purpoſe referred to the 13th of Charles the ſecond, when nine commiſſioners were choſen by ballot, ſome of whom, he contended, were not members of parliament; but upon examining the reference, the evidence was found defective, it not poſitively appearing that any one was not a member, and it ſeeming certain that ſome were.

The houſe being in a committee on the ſubject, the nomination of the commiſſioners brought out great and various debates; and the naming of Sir Guy Carleton, in particular, afforded room for much cenſure and ridicule on the ſide of oppoſition. They ſaid it was completing and rounding the preſent ſyſtem adopted in the government of the army; as well as extending it to new objects. In the firſt inſtance, they dragged clerks out of offices, to place them at the head of regiments; and now, they pull the truncheon out of the hand of a brave and veteran commander, and placing a pen, an inſtrument totally out of the line of his profeſſion, in its place, oblige him, at a time of life little calculated for new habits or acquirements, to commence commiſſary of accounts. It was ſtill more abſurd and improper, becauſe Sir Guy Carleton was himſelf, at that very time, an accountant with the public. Why was not that gallant officer employed in his proper ſphere of action, in a ſeaſon when his ſervices were ſo much wanted? On this May 1ſt.

this ſubject, in particular, Mr. Fox expatiated with infinite wit and felicity of thought and expreſſion.

The miniſter ſupported his nomination, by obſerving, that as the accounts of the army would form a great and principal object of examination and enquiry with the commiſſioners, he thought it a matter of great moment, that a general officer, of Sir Guy Carleton's high character, great experience, and conſequent knowledge in ſuch ſubjects, ſhould be placed at the head of the commiſſion. That he ſhould act upon the ſame principle in the nomination of others; ſome of the gentlemen he intended to propoſe being drawn from the law, and others from the mercantile profeſſion. The former were, for the greater part, maſters in chancery. Theſe the miniſter ſupported, as from their knowledge in ſtating and ſettling accounts, being particularly ſuited to the buſineſs. The oppoſition exceedingly ridiculed this idea, and aſked, whether their remarkable quickneſs in bringing private accounts to a ſettlement was what recommended them to that office?

The next nomination made by the miniſter was a gentleman in office, although placemen were expreſsly excluded by a proviſion in the bill. This threw the oppoſition, who were ſufficiently diſſatiſfied before, into a violent flame, and a motion was immediately made for the chairman's quitting the chair. After much heat and debate, the queſtion was put, and rejected, upon a cloſe diviſion, the numbers being 195, to 173. Though it was then two o'clock, the debate was continued till between three and four; when nothing being concluded, it was put off to another day. The iſſue of the buſineſs was, that the bill was finally carried through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. All that the oppoſition got by their ſtruggle, was the excluſion of the gentleman in office, to whoſe perſonal character they had not the ſmalleſt objection.

The extraordinaries of the army coming under conſideration, in the committee of ſupply, on the following day but one, Colonel Barré, who had taken great pains in inveſtigating that ſubject, after ſtating the reſult of his enquiries, with his obſervations on them, to the committee, moved reſolutions to the following purport:—That the ſum of 1,588,027 l. 2s. is ſtated in the papers preſented to this houſe, to have been applied to the ſervice of the land forces in North America, from the 31ſt of January, 1779, to the 1ſt of February, 1780, of which ſum no account whatſoever has been laid before parliament. The ſaid ſum being over and above the pay, cloathing, proviſions, with the expence of freight and armament attending them, ordnance, tranſport ſervice, oats, blankets, expence of Indians, pay of certain general and ſtaff officers, pay of ſeveral commiſſaries, and other allowances for the ſaid forces. —That the ſum of 3,796,543 l. has been applied to the ſervice of the land forces in North America, in the year 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, of which ſum no ſatisfactory account has been laid before parliament. The ſaid ſum being over and above the ſums ſtated in the accounts for pay, &c. including, with the addition of rum, all thoſe con-

contingents which we have ſtated in the former reſolution.—That it is the opinion of this committee, that the practice of incurring and paying extraordinaries of the army, to ſo large an amount, without either explanation or ſatisfactory account, and without the authority of parliament, is not warranted by precedent, is a dangerous invaſion of the rights of this houſe, and one of the groſs abuſes in the expenditure of the public money, complained of in the petitions of the people.—That it is the opinion of this committee, that the creation of new, unneceſſary, or ſinecure offices in the army, with conſiderable emoluments, is a profuſion of the public money, and the more alarming, as it tends to increaſe the unconſtitutional influence of the crown.

Theſe motions, ſupported with the greateſt ability, and moſt perfect knowledge of the ſubject, by the mover, drew out the uſual courſe of debate, and upon the ſame ground which we have heretofore ſeen taken, on other attempts of enquiry into the expences of the American war. The firſt reſolution was rejected, upon a diviſion, by a majority of more than two to one; the numbers being 123, to 57.—The ſecond and third reſolutions received a negative without any diviſion; and the fourth was withdrawn. The debates laſted till between one and two in the morning. The mover received great applauſe from ſome of the petitioning bodies, as well for the motions themſelves, as for the labour and perſeverance with which he had ſurmounted the numerous difficulties that had obſtructed the courſe of his enquiries.

An ineffectual attempt was made by General Conway, to bring in a bill for reſtoring peace with America. The bill did not come fully up to the ideas of oppoſition, although it went beyond thoſe of adminiſtration; but ſo eager were the former, as they declared themſelves, for taking up any meaſure which at all tended to that deſirable event, and likewiſe conſidering that it might be moulded in its progreſs to ſuch a form as they conceived would be more adapted to its purpoſe, that it brought out conſiderable debates; and upon a motion to get rid of it, without a direct negative, by calling the order of the day, they brought the queſtion to a diviſion, in which it was carried againſt them by a majority of 123, to 81. 5th.

Information having ſome time before been received by the oppoſition, that on the day of a great meeting of the electors of Weſtminſter, upon public affairs, at Weſtminſter-hall, and where ſeveral perſons of the firſt rank and diſtinction in the kingdom attended, private orders had been given for a large body of the military, particularly the whole, or a part of the 3d regiment of guards, to be armed and in readineſs, who were likewiſe unuſually provided with a conſiderable quantity of powder and ball, it had been more than once taken notice of in the Houſe of Commons, and brought out no ſmall degree of warmth and ſharpneſs of obſervation. On the other ſide, the fact was at firſt denied, and it was aſſerted that no ſuch orders had been given; but afterwards, it was partly acknowledged, and attributed to the buſy,

or

or impertinent application of a Weſtminſter juſtice. As that deſcription of men were not held in the higheſt eſtimation, ſuch an authority was not at all acknowledged, as any juſtification of ſo extraordinary a meaſure. The ſubject was however of a nature, which rendered the obtaining of any evidence on which to proceed exceedingly difficult.

8th. This difficulty being at length overcome by Sir William Meredith, he made a motion, for the proper officer to lay before the houſe, a copy of any requiſitions made by the civil magiſtrates, and by whom, for any of the foot or horſe guards, to be in readineſs from the 5th to the 7th of April laſt.

This motion brought out ſome exceedingly warm animadverſion, and ſtrong language; (which at this time became more common than ever) and it was openly declared, that if the people, legally and conſtitutionally aſſembled upon their own affairs, were to be ſurrounded by bodies of armed men, and thoſe too of a deſcription particularly inimical and dangerous to the conſtitution and them, it was become neceſſary, that the people ſhould provide for their own ſecurity, by going effectually armed to ſuch meetings.—The ground of argument on the other ſide, was the right of the civil magiſtrate to call in the aid of the military under any apprehenſion of riot, and the neceſſity of that power for the preſervation of the public peace. The motion was rejected on a diviſion, by a majority of 133, to 91.

The houſe now began to be very badly attended, as will appear from the ſtate of diviſions.

18th. The committee on the remaining clauſes of Mr. Burke's eſtabliſhment bill being reſumed, that for aboliſhing the offices of maſter of the buck-hounds, fox-hounds, and harriers, was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 75 to 49.

The clauſe for enacting, that the places of lieutenant and enſign, and all other inferior offices belonging to the body of yeomen of the guards, after the determination of theſe offices in the preſent poſſeſſors, and alſo, all commiſſion and other offices belonging to the band of gentlemen penſioners, ſhould not be ſold, but filled by officers of the army and navy on half pay, and of fifteen years ſervice; was agreed to.

The clauſe for aboliſhing the office of paymaſter of the penſions, and its dependencies, was rejected on a diviſion, by a majority of 79, to 64.

The clauſe againſt the private payment of the penſions during pleaſure, was better attended, and of courſe rejected by a greater majority; the numbers, upon a diviſion, being 115, to 79.

The clauſe for limiting the ſecret ſervice money, was rejected without a diviſion.

The clauſe for regulating the order in which payments were to be made to the civil officers of the ſtate, including all the orders of the houſhold, was rejected, upon a diviſion, by a majority of 110 to 58.

The clauſe for enabling certain ſpecified great officers, to call the ſeveral public accountants before them, in a ſummary way, and to examine and audit their accounts, was rejected by 68 to 31.

Mr.

Mr. Burke then declared, that he would not divide the houſe upon any of the remaining clauſes, but deſired that they might be read over and negatived as expeditiouſly as poſſible, in order that the committee might be diſſolved, and his bill no longer remain either an eye-ſore to his adverſaries, nor an object for demanding the tireſome and fruitleſs attendance of his friends. About half of the members immediately quitted the houſe upon this notice; but one ſolitary clauſe, relative to the exchequer, having the fortune to attract the regards of the miniſter, he wiſhed it might be poſtponed to another day; for though he liked the object extremely, it was not dreſſed entirely to his taſte; upon which account, he propoſed that the chairman ſhould report a progreſs, in order to keep the committee open.

The framer of the bill replied, that his patience and his ſpirits were both exhauſted; and he requeſted of the noble lord to be ſo kind and merciful, as to put an end to his ſufferings, and negative this, as he had done the preceding clauſes. His plan, if adopted on the large ſcale on which he had laid it down, would, he ſaid, have ſaved to the nation, directly and in its conſequences, above a million per annum; and it was ſcarcely worth his lordſhip's while to keep him any longer on the torture, under the preſſure of this unfortunate clauſe, for any trifling ſaving which it might produce.—Both ſides being obſtinate, the queſtion was brought to a diviſion, which being carried by the miniſter, the committee was ſtill kept open.

On the following day, the Recorder of London moved a reſolution in favour of the petitioners, amounting in ſubſtance, to the not granting of any farther ſums of money for the public ſervices, until the grievances ſtated in the petitions of the people were redreſſed. Although he ſupported his motion very ably, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, and ſeemed to be very attentively liſtened to by the houſe, it brought out no manner of debate; for juſt as the miniſter had riſen to reply, the queſtion was ſo inceſſantly called for by the court party, that it was accordingly put; and the motion was rejected, upon a diviſion, by a majority of 89, to 54.

The laſt effort in behalf of the petitioners, though going only a ſmall way indeed to meet their expectations, was a motion by Mr. Dunning, in the committee of the whole houſe on the conſideration of the petitions, that their own two reſolutions of the 10th of April, ſhould be then reported. This brought out very warm debates, in which moſt of the principal ſpeakers on both ſides took a part. A motion was immediately made on the other ſide, for the chairman to quit the chair, amounting to a diſſolution of the committee. May 26th.

The queſtion being put, the chairman was voted to quit the chair, by a majority of 177, to 134.

While theſe matters were agitated with ſo much warmth in and out of parliament, and with ſo many extraordinary turns of fortune, an affair totally ſeparate was at the ſame time carried on, for a long time, with little notice; but

but which, in due ſeaſon, broke out with ſo much fury and violence, as entirely to bear down all deſigns, either for reforming, or for ſtrengthening government; and at once overwhelmed and bore away before it both majority and minority, with an irreſiſtible torrent of popular fanaticiſm and phrenzy.

Every body knows the circumſtances, as well as the event, of this ſhameful and unhappy affair *; and that Lord George Gordon, who had been early placed at the head of the Scotch Aſſociation for the ſupport of the Proteſtant religion, was likewiſe appointed preſident to an aſſociation in London, formed in imitation or emulation of the former. The public ſummons in the news-papers, by which he aſſembled fifty or ſixty thouſand men in St. George's Fields, under an idea of defending the religion of the country againſt imaginary danger, by accompanying the preſentment, and enforcing the matter, of a petition to parliament, demanding the repeal of the late law, which afforded ſome relaxation of the penal ſtatutes againſt popery, are likewiſe freſh in every body's memory.

The extraordinary conduct of that noble perſon in the Houſe of Commons during the preſent ſeſſion, and the frequent interruptions which he gave to the buſineſs of parliament, as well by the unaccountable manner in which he continually brought in and treated matters relative to religion and the danger of popery, as the caprice with which he divided the houſe upon queſtions, wherein he ſtood nearly or entirely alone, were paſſed over, along with other ſingularities in his dreſs and manner, rather as ſubjects of pleaſantry, than of ſerious notice or reprehenſion. Even when he involved matters of ſtate with thoſe of religion in a ſtrange kind of language, boaſting that he was at the head of 120,000 able men in Scotland, who would quickly remedy their own grievances if they were not otherwiſe redreſſed, and little leſs than holding out deſtruction to the crown and government, unleſs full ſecurity was given to the aſſociations in both countries, againſt thoſe imminent dangers with which they were immediately threatened by popery. Such things, and others, if poſſible, ſtill more extraordinary, were only treated merely as objects of laughter. It is, however, poſſible, that this careleſſneſs, or complacence in the houſe, was at length carried too far.

Beſides the advertiſements and reſolutions, the inflammatory harangue of the preſident at the preceding meeting of the Proteſtant Aſſociation, was publiſhed in the news-papers, and was full of matter which might well have excited the moſt inſtant attention and alarm. In that piece, the preſident informs his enthuſiaſtic adherents, among other extraordinary matter, That, for his part, he would run all hazards with the

* For a particular detail, and, we ſuppoſe, as far as it extends, tolerably authentic account, of this whole affair, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle, page 254 of our preſent volume.

people; and if the people were too lukewarm to run all hazards with him, when their conſcience and their country called them forth, they might get another preſident; for he would tell them candidly, that he was not a lukewarm man himſelf, and that if they meant to ſpend their time in mock debate and idle oppoſition, they might get another leader. He afterwards declared, that if he was attended by leſs than 20,000 men on the appointed day, he would not preſent their petition; and he gave orders, under the appearance of a motion, for the manner in which they ſhould be marſhalled in St. George's Fields; appointing that they ſhould be formed in four bodies, three of them regulated by the reſpective boundaries of the great diviſions of the metropolis; and the fourth compoſed entirely of his own particular countrymen. To prevent miſtakes, the whole were to be diſtinguiſhed by blue cockades.—If this were not ſufficient to arouze the attention of government, Lord George Gordon gave notice to the Houſe of Commons on the Tueſday, that the petition would be preſented on the following Friday; and that the whole body of Proteſtant aſſociators, were to aſſemble in St. George's Fields, in order to accompany their petition to the houſe.

Theſe notices ought to have given a more ſerious alarm than they ſeem to have done to government. The oppoſition afterwards charged them with little leſs than a meditated encouragement to this fanatic tumult, in order to diſcountenance the aſſociations which had more ſerious objects in view; and to render odious and contemptible all popular interpoſition in affairs of ſtate. They reminded them of their activity in giving orders to hold the military in readineſs on a peaceable meeting in Weſtminſter Hall; and their utter neglect of the declared and denounced violence of this ſort of people.

The alarming cry againſt Popery, with the continual invective and abuſe, which they diſſeminated through news-papers, pamphlets, and ſermons, by degrees drew over to a meeting, originally ſmall and obſcure, a number of well-meaning people from the various claſſes of Proteſtants, who ſeriouſly apprehended their religion to be in danger. Thus, however deficient they were in point of conſideration, being, for the far greater part, poor and ignorant people, many of whom could not write their names, they became formidable with reſpect to numbers. It is, however, to be at all times remembered, that the conduct of theſe aſſociators was not more execrated, than the intolerant principle, to which they owed their union and action, was condemned, by the ſound and eminent divines, both of the eſtabliſhed church and of the Diſſenters.

The grand diviſions of the aſſociators, being drawn off by different routes from the rendezvous in St. George's Fields, filled the ways, through which they marched in ranks, with a multitude which excited wonder and alarm. Having arrived at the place of their deſtination, and filled up all the ſtreets and avenues to both houſes, they began June 2d.

gan the exercise of the new authority derived from their numbers, only by compelling the members as they came down, to cry out No Popery, to wear blue cockades, and some, as it is said, to take an oath to contribute all in their power to the repeal of the new law, or as they called it the Popery Act. But upon the appearance of the Archbishop of York, and other of the prelates and court lords, their rage and violence was increased to the highest pitch. During this dreadful tumult, which continued with more or less interruption for some hours, the Archbishop, the Duke of Northumberland, the Lord President of the Council, with several others of the nobility, including most or all of the lords in office, were treated with the greatest indignities. The Bishop of Lincoln, in particular, most narrowly escaped with his life; first by being suddenly carried into a house upon the demolition of his carriage; and then being as expeditiously led through, and over its top, into another. Lord Stormont's life was likewise in the most imminent danger; and he was only rescued, after being half an hour in their hands, by the presence of mind and address of a gentleman who happened to be in the crowd.

It would be impossible to describe the astonishment, sense of degradation, horror, and dismay, which prevailed in both houses. Attempts were twice made to force their doors; and were repelled by the firmness and resolution of their door-keepers and other officers. In this scene of terror and danger, the resolution and spirit, with which a young clergyman, who acted as assistant or substitute to the Chaplain of the House of Commons, rebuked the outrage of the mob, and told their leader, in their presence, that he was answerable for all the blood that would be shed, and all the other fatal consequences that might ensue, merited some other reward besides mere applause.

In the mean time, the author, mover, and leader of the sedition, having obtained leave in the House of Commons to bring up the petition, afterwards moved for its being taken into immediate consideration. This brought out some debate, and the rioters being in possession of the lobby, the house were kept confined for several hours, before they could divide upon the question. The impediment being at length removed by the arrival of the magistrates and guards, the question was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 192, to fix only, by whom it was supported. During this time, Lord George Gordon frequently went out to the top of the gallery stairs, from whence he harangued the rioters, telling them what passed in the house; that their petition would be postponed; that he did not like delays; and repeating aloud, the names of gentlemen, who had opposed the taking it into consideration under their present circumstances; thus, in fact, holding them out as obnoxious persons and enemies, to a lawless and desperate banditti.

The House of Commons have been much censured, for the want of resolution and spirit, in not immediately committing, upon the arrival of the guards at night, their own member to the Tower, who had by so shameful a violation

tion of their privileges, involved them in a ſcene of ſuch unequalled danger and diſgrace. It has even been ſaid, that a meaſure of ſuch vigour, might have prevented all the horrid ſcenes of conflagration, plunder, military ſlaughter, and civil execution, that afterwards took place. And it has been argued, from the paſſive conduct of the mob ſome years ago, upon the committal of the Lord Mayor Croſby, and of Alderman Oliver to the Tower, that it would not have been attended with any ill conſequence.

It is, however, to be remembered, that danger is conſidered in a very different manner, by thoſe who are entirely out of its reach, and even by the ſame perſons, under its immediate impreſſion. The circumſtances were likewiſe widely and eſſentially different. Religious mobs are at all times infinitely more dangerous and cruel, than thoſe which ariſe on civil or political occaſions. What country has not groaned, under the outrages and horrors of fanaticiſm? Or where have they ever been quelled but in blood? This mob was much more powerful and numerous, as well as dangerous, than any other in remembrance. The force of the aſſociators, was on that day, whole and entire, which it never was after. The intenſe heat of the weather, which neceſſarily increaſed their inebriation, added fire to their religious fury; and rendering them equally fearleſs and cruel, no bounds could have been preſcribed to their enormities.

The ſituation of the lords was ſtill worſe than that of the commons. Beſides that the malice of the rioters was pointed more that way, they were not under the reſtraint of any application to them for redreſs. The appearance of the lords who had paſſed through their hands, every thing about them in diſorder, and their cloaths covered with dirt, threw a groteſque air of ridicule upon the whole, which ſeemed to heighten the calamity. A propoſal was made to carry out the mace; but it was apprehended, that perad-venture it might never return.—In a word, ſo diſgraceful a day was never beheld before by a Britiſh parliament.

In the midſt of the confuſion ſome angry debate aroſe, the lords in oppoſition charging the miniſters, with being themſelves the original cauſe of all the miſchiefs, that had already or might happen, by their ſcandalous and cowardly conceſſions to the rioters in Scotland; and at the ſame time calling them loudly to account, for not having provided for the preſent evil, of which they had ſo much previous notice, by having the civil power in readineſs for its prevention.—To this it was anſwered by a noble earl in high office, that orders had been given on the preceding day for the attendance of the magiſtrates; but two of thoſe gentlemen who happened to be in the way, being ſent for and examined, declared they had neither heard of nor received any ſuch orders.

Before the riſing of the Houſe of Commons, ſeveral parties of the rioters had filed off, and proceeded to the demolition of the chapels belonging to the Sardinian and Bavarian miniſters.

The commons adjourned to the 6th; but the lords met on the following day, and agreed to a motion for an addreſs made by the Lord Preſident, requeſting his majeſty to give immediate orders for proſecuting, in the moſt effectual manner, the authors, abettors, and inſtruments, of the outrages committed on the preceding day, both in the vicinity of the houſes of parliament, and upon the houſes and chapels of ſeveral of the foreign miniſters.

On the 6th, above 200 members of the Houſe of Commons had the courage, notwithſtanding the dreadful conflagrations and miſchiefs of the two preceding nights, the deſtruction threatened to ſeveral of themſelves in their perſons and houſes, and which had already fallen upon the houſe of Sir George Saville, in Leiceſter Fields, to make their way through the vaſt crowds which filled the ſtreets, and which were interlaced and ſurrounded by large detachments of the military on foot and on horſeback. They found Weſtminſter Hall and the avenues to the houſe lined with ſoldiers; upon which a celebrated member obſerved in his ſpeech, bewailing the deplorable ſituation to which parliament was reduced, that they had a bludgeoned mob waiting for them in the ſtreet, and a military force with fixed bayonets at their doors, in order to ſupport and preſerve the freedom of debate.

They, however, paſſed ſome reſolutions; one being an aſſertion of their own privileges; the ſecond, for a committee to enquire into the late and preſent outrages, and for the diſcovery of their authors, promoters and abettors; the third, for a proſecution by the Attorney General; and the fourth, an addreſs to his majeſty for the reimburſement of the foreign miniſters, to the amount of the damages they had ſuſtained by the rioters. Another reſolution was moved by the miniſter and agreed to, for proceeding immediately, when the preſent tumults were ſubſided, to take into due conſideration the petitions from many of his majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects. Intelligence being received of the conflagrations which were commenced in the city, it threw every thing into new confuſion, and a haſty adjournment took place.

Some of the lords likewiſe met; but the impropriety of their proceeding upon any public buſineſs in the preſent ſtate of tumult, and ſurrounded by a military force, being taken into conſideration, and an account arriving at the ſame time, that the firſt lord of the admiralty, in his way to the houſe, had been ſet upon, wounded, and his life only critically ſaved by the military, they adjourned to the 19th.

Never did the metropolis, in any known age, exhibit ſuch a dreadful ſpectacle of calamity and horror, or experience ſuch real danger, terror and diſtreſs, as on the following day and night. It is ſaid, that it was beheld 7th. blazing in thirty-ſix different parts from one ſpot. Some of theſe conflagrations were of ſuch a magnitude as to be truly tremendous. Of theſe, the great jail of Newgate, the King's Bench priſon, the new Bridewell in St. George's Fields, the Fleet Priſon, and the houſes

houſes and great diſtilleries of Mr. Langdale in Holborn, where the vaſt quantity of ſpirituous liquors increaſed the violence of the flames to a degree of which no adequate conception can be formed, preſented ſpectacles of the moſt dreadful nature. The houſes of moſt of the Roman Catholicks were marked; and generally deſtroyed or burned; as well as thoſe of the few magiſtrates who ſhewed any activity in repreſſing thoſe tumults. The outrages grew far more violent and general after the breaking open of the priſons.

The attacks made that day upon the bank, rouzed the whole activity of government. Great bodies of forces had for ſome time been collecting from all parts. They were at length employed, and brought on the cataſtrophe of that melancholy night which followed. Strong detachments of troops being ſent into the city, and the attempts on the bank and other places renewed, a carnage, then inevitable, enſued, in which a great number of lives were loſt. Nothing could be more diſmal than that night. Thoſe who were on the ſpot, or in the vicinity, ſay, that the preſent darkneſs, the gleam of the diſtant fires, the dreadful ſhouts, in different quarters, of the rioters, the groans of the dying, and the heavy regular platoon firing of the ſoldiers, formed, all together, a ſcene ſo terrific and tremendous, as no deſcription or even imagination could poſſibly reach.

The metropolis preſented on the following day, in many places, the image of a city recently ſtormed and ſacked; all buſineſs at an end, houſes and ſhops ſhut up, the Royal Exchange, public buildings and ſtreets, poſſeſſed and occupied by the troops, ſmoaking and burning ruins, with a dreadful void and ſilence, in ſcenes of the greateſt hurry, noiſe, and buſineſs.

The Houſe of Commons met on the following day; but although the rioters were entirely quelled, it was immediately noticed that the city of Weſtminſter was under martial law, and they accordingly adjourned to the 19th. On the afternoon of the ſame day, Lord George Gordon was taken into cuſtody, at his houſe in Welbeck Street, and conveyed to the Horſe Guards; and after a long examination before ſeveral lords of the privy council, he was between nine and ten in the evening conducted (under the ſtrongeſt guard that was ever known to attend any ſtate priſoner) to the Tower, where he was committed to cloſe confinement. 8th.

The meeting of parliament, after this compelled receſs, was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which notice was taken, that the outrages committed by bands of deſperate and abandoned men, broke forth with ſuch violence into acts of felony and treaſon, had ſo far overborne all civil authority, and threatened ſo directly the immediate ſubverſion of all legal power, the deſtruction of all property, and the confuſion of every order in the ſtate, that his majeſty found himſelf obliged, by every tie of duty and affection to his people, to ſuppreſs, in every part, thoſe rebellious inſurrections, and to provide for the public ſafety, June 19th.

by the moſt effectual and immediate application of the force entruſted to him by parliament.

They were informed that proper orders had been given, for bringing the authors, abettors, and perpetrators of thoſe inſurrections, and of ſuch criminal acts, to ſpeedy trial, and to ſuch condign puniſhment, as the laws preſcribed, and the vindication of public juſtice demanded. His majeſty concluded, that though he truſted it was not neceſſary, yet he thought it right at that time, to renew his ſolemn aſſurances to them, that he had no other object but to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, the rule and meaſure of his conduct; and that he ſhould ever conſider it as the firſt duty of his ſtation, and the chief glory of his reign, to maintain and preſerve the eſtabliſhed religion of his kingdom, and, as far as in him lay, to ſecure and to perpetuate the rights and liberties of his people.

This ſpeech was generally approved of on all ſides, and the cuſtomary addreſſes carried without oppoſition. Some animadverſion, however, paſſed in both houſes, and no ſmall degree of cenſure was thrown upon the conduct of adminiſtration, with reſpect to the late diſturbances; the miſchiefs that had happened, and all the unhappy conſequences that might enſue, being directly charged to their neglect, in not calling forth the civil power in time, and to their delay, in not employing the military until it was too late.—To the laſt charge, it was replied, that the ſervices were ſo numerous, and the applications ſo continual, and from ſuch various quarters, for protection or aſſiſtance, as the apprehenſions or danger of the people increaſed, that the troops at hand were not half ſufficient to anſwer the demands, until the arrival of the regulars and militia from the country.

The following day brought on in a committee of the whole houſe, the conſideration of the ſeveral petitions, praying for a repeal of the late bill, which had been made the occaſion of ſo much miſchief. No repeal was propoſed upon thoſe petitions. No evil had actually happened from the relaxation of the ſingle penal law which had been relaxed; and the conſequences apprehended from it, were conſidered as weak and viſionary. There was rather much diſcourſe than debate upon the ſubject, very little having been ſaid on the part of the petitions. The queſtion was, however, ſolemnly, and very largely ſpoke to, and with the greateſt eloquence. The chief ſpeakers were Lord North, Lord Beauchamp, Sir George Saville, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox. The two latter ſpoke for three hours each. For the firſt time they all ſpoke on the ſame ſide; and ſupported the doctrine of toleration, on grounds much larger than thoſe on which the bill complained of ſtood.

In order, however, to quiet the minds, and to remove the apprehenſions, of ſuch well-meaning but ill-informed perſons, as might be among the petitioners, reſolutions to the following purport were

were moved for by Lord Beauchamp, agreed to by the committee, and confirmed by the houſe.

That the effect and operation of the act paſſed in the 18th of his preſent majeſty, for relieving his ſubjects profeſſing the Popiſh religion from certain penalties and diſabilities, impoſed on them by an act of the 11th and 12th of William the Third, have been miſrepreſented, and miſunderſtood.

That, the ſaid act, of the 18th of his preſent majeſty, does not repeal or alter, or in any manner invalidate, or render ineffectual the ſeveral ſtatutes made to prohibit the exerciſe of the Popiſh religion, previous to the ſtatute of the 11th and 12th of William the Third.

That, no eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual juriſdiction or authority is given, by the ſaid act, to the Pope or the See of Rome.

That, this houſe does, and ever will, watch over the intereſts of the Proteſtant religion with the moſt unremitted attention; and that all attempts to ſeduce the youth of this kingdom from the eſtabliſhed church to Popery, are highly criminal, according to the laws in force, and are a proper ſubject of further regulation.

And, that all endeavours to diſquiet the minds of the people, by miſrepreſenting the ſaid act of the 18th year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, as inconſiſtent with the ſafety, or irreconcileable to the principles of the Proteſtant religion, have a manifeſt tendency to diſturb the public peace, to break the union neceſſary at this time, to bring diſhonour on the national character, to diſcredit the Proteſtant religion in the eyes of other nations, and to furniſh occaſion for the renewal of the proſecution of our Proteſtant brethren in other countries.

On the ſame principle of affording ſatisfaction to, and quieting the minds of thoſe, who had been miſled by error and miſrepreſentation, a bill was brought in (though otherwiſe generally thought unneceſſary) and paſſed the Houſe of Commons, for affording ſecurity to the Proteſtant religion from any encroachments of Popery, by more effectually reſtraining Papiſts, or perſons profeſſing the Popiſh religion, from teaching, or taking upon themſelves the education or government of the children of Proteſtants.

A letter which had been written during the late diſturbances, by the noble lord at the head of the army, and confirmed by others of a ſubſequent date, containing orders to the officer who commanded the military forces in the city of London, to diſarm all perſons, who did not belong to the militia, or who did not carry them under the royal authority; this meaſure, being conſidered as contrary to the natural rights of mankind, as well as to the expreſs law of the land, it gave no ſmall umbrage without doors, and became a ſubject of ſome animadverſion within. It likewiſe occaſioned ſome confuſion in the city, where the inhabitants were aſſociating and arming for mutual defence, under the conduct of their reſpective magiſtrates; and became the ground of a correſpondence, which has been publiſhed, between the chief magi-

ſtrate, and the Lord Preſident of the council.

21ſt. This matter was taken up in the Houſe of Lords by the Duke of Richmond, at whoſe motion (after ſome animadverſion on the ſubject on a preceding day) the letters in queſtion, the plan of an aſſociation by the Lord Mayor, and the declaration of rights in the 2d of William and Mary, were all read. The Duke of Richmond then obſerved, that thoſe letters were depoſited in the public archives; that they would deſcend to poſterity a moſt alarming precedent, of a moſt violent and unwarrantable infringement of the conſtitution, if no reſolution of cenſure and diſapprobation was entered on the records of parliament. He had nothing to do with the noble lord's intention: his intention might be perfectly innocent, nay, it might be laudable. But the letter of the order was dangerous; future advantage might be taken of it to the deſtruction of our freedom, and therefore it was that he anxiouſly wiſhed, their lordſhips to come to ſome reſolution upon the ſubject.

He accordingly moved a reſolution to the following purport, That the letter of Jeffery Lord Amherſt, dated the 13th of June, to Colonel Twiſleton, then commanding an armed force in the city of London, in which he orders him to diſarm the inhabitants, who had armed themſelves for the defence of their lives and properties, and likewiſe to detain their arms, contained an unwarrantable command to deprive the citizens of their legal property; was expreſsly contrary to the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, and a violation of one of their moſt ſacred rights, as declared in the 2d of William and Mary, that every Proteſtant ſubject of this empire is entitled to carry arms in his own defence.

The noble lord who was the ſubject of the propoſed reſolution, had, upon the firſt mention of the affair, juſtified the letter, by ſaying it related only to the mob, and the riotous rabble, who, he had received information, were poſſeſſed of firelocks; that he had done his duty, and was ready to abide the conſequences. But this juſtification not being admitted on the other ſide, who contended that it was totally overthrown, by the word *inhabitants* in the firſt letter, and the explanations relative to the armed aſſociations in the ſucceeding, new grounds of vindication or defence were taken by the miniſters upon the making of this motion.

They ſaid, that while they allowed the right of Proteſtant Engliſhmen to arm, whether in defence of their own perſons and houſes, or thoſe of their neighbours, they muſt conſider a wide difference between their acting in this defenſive manner, for the immediate protection of their perſons and properties, and their aſſembling armed in bodies, and marching out in martial array; the firſt was clearly juſtifiable, becauſe neceſſary; the latter might lead to many dangerous conſequences. That it was not eaſy, even now, to look back with an equal and compoſed mind, or indeed without conſiderable emotion, to thoſe dreadful diſturbances; what then muſt it have been,

been, in the midſt of that ſcene of outrage, danger, and confuſion. It was in the wild uproar and confuſion of that ſcene, that the noble lord gave the order. The meaſure was prompted by the ſpur of the occaſion. The neceſſity and occaſion, as in numberleſs inſtances, muſt juſtify the act. It was not to be conceived, that in the ſituation in which the noble lord was engaged, he could pay nice attention to his expreſſions; or that a man educated in the field, ſhould be acquainted with all the privileges of the bill of rights.

But the oppoſition contended, that there was no weight in the argument, that the letter was written in a ſtate of hurry and confuſion; for the date ſhewed, that it had been written ſeveral days after the diſturbance and danger were over. It was therefore to be conſidered as a meaſure taken upon due deliberation; and it was of too ſerious and alarming a nature, to be paſſed over without the notice of parliament. They therefore urged, and even ſupplicated the houſe, not to permit ſuch a letter to deſcend as a record and precedent to poſterity, without ſome mark of their diſapprobation; at any rate, they ſaid, a direct negative would be highly impolitic. They ought at leaſt to take ſome gentle method of diſpoſing of the propoſition; and to leave ſomething, however lenient, on their journals, which might prove an antidote to the poiſon.

The queſtion was, however, negatived, without a diviſion. Two motions on the ſame ground were made by Mr. Sawbridge, a few days after, in the Houſe of Commons, where they met with a ſimilar fate.

On bringing up the bill for the regulation of Popiſh ſchools from the Houſe of Commons, the lords in general, including the right reverend bench, appeared much on the ſide of toleration; and indeed ſome of the peers, ſpiritual as well as lay, expreſſed the moſt liberal and enlightened ſentiments on the ſubject; ſo that the bill ſcarcely ſeemed to be any farther conſidered as neceſſary, than merely as tending to allay the jealouſies and apprehenſions of the petitioners.

But ſeveral of the lords conſidering it as a great indignity to parliament, and to that houſe particularly, to paſs a bill, which carried all the appearance of being forced upon them by outrage, and threat, and the ſame idea operating by degrees with others, it was contrived, (after ſeveral propoſed, and ſome received amendments) upon its being brought up to be reported from the committee, to ſet it aſide, without a direct negative, by moving July 4th. it might be read the third time, on that day week, which being carried, had the effect of a previous queſtion, as it was known that a prorogation would take place in the interim.

The ſpeech from the throne acknowledged, July 8th. that the magnanimity and perſeverance of parliament, in the proſecution of the preſent juſt and neceſſary war, had enabled his majeſty to make ſuch exertions, as would, he truſted, diſappoint the violent and unjuſt deſigns of his enemies, and bring them to liſten to equitable and honourable terms

of peace.—That theſe exertions had already been attended with ſucceſs by ſea and land; and the late important and proſperous turn of affairs in North America, afforded the faireſt proſpect of the returning loyalty and affection of the colonies, and of their happy re-union with their parent country. Particular obligations were acknowledged to be felt, and thanks accordingly returned to the Commons, for the confidence they had repoſed, and the large and ample ſupplies which they had ſo chearfully granted. But the ſtrength of the ſpeech ſeemed thrown into the concluding paragraph, in which both Lords and Commons were earneſtly called upon to aſſiſt his majeſty, by their influence and authority in their ſeveral counties, as they had already by their unanimous ſupport in parliament, in guarding the peace of the kingdom from future diſturbances, and watching over the preſervation of the public ſafety. To make the people ſenſible of the happineſs they enjoy, and the diſtinguiſhed advantages they derive, from our excellent conſtitution in church und ſtate. To warn them of the hazard of innovation; to point out to them the fatal conſequences of ſuch commotions as have lately been excited; and to impreſs on their minds this important truth,—That rebellious inſurrections, to reſiſt or to reform the laws, muſt either end in the deſtruction of the perſon who makes the attempt, or in the ſubverſion of our free and happy conſtitution.

Such was the end of this unuſually long, and very extraordinary ſeſſion of parliament. A ſeſſion, in which almoſt every day produced a queſtion, and every queſtion a debate, which in any other would have been deemed highly intereſting; but which were frequently loſt, in that glare of ſtill greater matter, which was ſo continually thrown out in this. A ſeſſion, in which unexpected victories, and unaccountable defeats, alternately raiſed and ſunk the hopes of the contending parties, from the higheſt pitch of exultation, to the loweſt ſtate of deſpondency. The point of deciſion ſeemed more than once quivering, and hanging only by a hair.

Upon the whole, it may be ſaid with confidence, that ſo great a number of important affairs were never agitated in any one ſeſſion. The riot, in the cloſe, threw a general damp upon all endeavours whatever for reformation, however unconnected with its particular object. Popular fury ſeemed, for that time at leaſt, the greateſt of all poſſible evils. And adminiſtration then gathered, and has ſince preſerved, no ſmall degree of power, from a tumult which appeared to threaten the ſubverſion of all government.

This may likewiſe be conſidered as concluding the political exiſtence of that parliament.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Sir George Rodney proceeds to Gibraltar, in his way to the Weſt Indies. Takes a valuable Spaniſh Convoy. Falls in with a ſquadron, under the command of Don Juan de Langara. Takes the Admiral, with ſeveral men of war, and deſtroys others. Relieves Gibraltar, ſupplies Minorca, and proceeds on his deſtined voyage. Prothee, French man of war, taken by Admiral Digby, on his return from Gibraltar. Dutch convoy, under the conduct of Count Byland, ſtopped, and examined, by Commodore Fielding. Count Byland comes to Spithead, with his ſquadron and convoy. Conſequences of that, and of other precedent and ſubſequent meaſures. Ruſſian Manifeſto. Northern neutrality. Royal proclamation in London, ſuſpending certain ſtipulations in favour of the ſubjects of the States General. Retroſpective view of affairs in America and the Weſt Indies, in the year 1779. *Advantages derived by the Spaniſh commanders, from their early knowledge of the intended rupture. Don Bernardo de Galvez, ſubdues the Britiſh ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi. Sullivan's ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Indians of the ſix nations. Some obſervations on the policy of that people, and on the ſtate of culture and improvement, which the Americans diſcovered in their country. Expeditions from Jamaica to the Bay of Honduras, and the Moſquito ſhore. Fortreſs of Omoa and Spaniſh regiſter ſhips taken. Vigilant and ſucceſsful conduct of Admiral Hyde Parker, on the leeward iſland ſtation.*

THE opening of the year 1780, ſeemed to indicate ſome return of that naval renown, which had ſo long been the pride of the Engliſh name and nation; but which, through ſome untoward circumſtances, ſeemed for ſome time to have been ſtrangely in the wane.

Sir George Rodney, being appointed to the chief command in the Weſt Indies, was likewiſe under orders, to proceed, in his way thither, with a ſtrong ſquadron to the relief of Gibraltar. For that important fortreſs had been very cloſely blockaded, and in part beſieged by the Spaniards, ever ſince the commencement of hoſtilities between the two nations; and the loſs of our naval ſuperiority in the Mediterranean, together with that unhappy ſtate of weakneſs on the ocean, which diſabled us from keeping the communication with that place open, occaſioned the garriſon's being reduced to very conſiderable diſtreſs, as well with reſpect to proviſions, as to military and garriſon ſtores. The loſs of power, and conſequently of influence and reſpect, in the Mediterranean, among its other ill effects, has been productive of one, which could ſcarcely have been expected, at leaſt in the degree and manner in which it has taken place. This has been the defection of the Barbary ſtates; or if not the whole, that of their principal, and in whom we are moſt intereſted, the Emperor of Morocco

Morocco; who, contrary to all former example, and in contravention of that mortal enmity, which, through a courſe of ages, had been eſtabliſhed and hereditary between the two nations, has taken little leſs than an open and direct part on the ſide of Spain. By this means Gibraltar, in the moſt critical ſeaſon of danger which it has ever experienced, has been cut off from its domeſtic market; and has looked over in vain to the oppoſite ſhore, for that ample ſupply of proviſions, with which it had hitherto been furniſhed from Barbary.

Fortune ſeemed attached to the new commander's flag, in a ſignal manner on the outſet. He had only been a few days at ſea, when he fell in with a very conſiderable convoy, bound from St. Sebaſtian to Cadiz, conſiſting of 15 ſail of merchantmen, under the guard of a fine new 64 gun ſhip, of 4 frigates, from 32 to 26 guns, and of two ſmaller armed veſſels. The whole fleet was taken; and the whole, ſhips of war, as well as others, belonging to the royal company of the Carraccas. The capture was exceedingly fortunate; much the greater part of the veſſels being loaded with wheat, flour, and other ſpecies of proviſion; and the remainder with bale goods and naval ſtores. The former the admiral judiciouſly conveyed to Gibraltar, where their cargoes were ſo much wanted, and the latter he ſent back to England, where the naval ſtores were no leſs welcome.

Jan. 8th, 1780.

But this was only the prelude to greater and more brilliant ſucceſs. In about a week the admiral fell in, off Cape St. Vincent, with a Spaniſh ſquadron of eleven ſhips of the line, under the command of Don Juan Langara. The enemy, being much inferior in force, endeavoured all they could to avoid an engagement; a deſign, to which the different circumſtances, of a rough gale, high ſea, ſhort day, and dangerous coaſt, were extremely favourable. In order to counteract this deſign, Sir George Rodney changed the ſignal for a line of battle abreaſt, to that for a general chace, with orders to engage as the ſhips came up by rotation; taking at the ſame time the lee gage, to prevent the enemy's retreat into their own ports. 16th.

The headmoſt ſhips began to engage about four o'clock in the evening; and their fire was returned with great ſpirit and reſolution by the Spaniards. The night was dark, tempeſtuous and diſmal, and the fleet being nearly involved among the ſhoals of St. Lucar, rendered the aſpect more terrible. Early in the action, the Spaniſh ſhip San Domingo, of 70 guns and 600 men, blew up, and all on board periſhed; the Engliſh man of war with which ſhe was engaged, narrowly eſcaping a ſimilar fate. The action and purſuit continued, with a conſtant fire, until two o'clock in the morning, when the headmoſt of the enemy's line ſtruck to the admiral.

The Spaniſh admiral's ſhip the Phœnix, of 80 guns, with three of 70, were taken, and carried ſafely into port. The San Julian of

70

70 guns, commanded by the Marquis de Medina, was taken, the officers ſhifted, and a lieutenant with 70 Britiſh ſeamen put on board; but by her afterwards running on ſhore, the victors experienced the caprice of war, in becoming themſelves priſoners. Another ſhip of the ſame force, was likewiſe taken, and her officers ſhifted; but ſhe afterwards run upon the breakers, and was totally loſt. Two more eſcaped greatly damaged, and two leſs ſo, into Cadiz. Such was the final diſpoſal of the whole Spaniſh ſquadron.

Such were the peculiar circumſtances attending this engagement, that notwithſtanding the inferiority of the enemy in point of force, few actions have required a higher degree of intrepidity, more conſummate naval ſkill, or greater dexterity of ſeamanſhip. Even the light of the enſuing day, was ſcarcely ſufficient to extricate ſeveral Britiſh capital ſhips from the moſt imminent danger; and it was not until the ſecond morning after the action, that they had entirely cleared the ſhoals, and recovered deep water. It ſeems upon the whole ſcarcely to admit of a doubt, not only that the whole Spaniſh fleet would have eſcaped from a more cautious commander; but that the apparent circumſtances of the caſe would have afforded a full juſtification of his conduct upon any retroſpect.

The Spaniſh admiral, Don Juan de Langara, behaved with the greateſt gallantry; was himſelf ſorely wounded, and his ſhip nearly a wreck, before he ſtruck. The humanity and generoſity diſplayed by Capt. Macbride of the Bienfaiſant, with reſpect to that gentleman and his ſhip, along with the ſtrict attention to honour ſhewn by the Spaniſh commander, both deſerve to be remembered, as laying down a rule of conduct worthy the imitation of other officers in ſimilar ſituations.

A bad and malignant kind of ſmall pox, prevailing on board Capt. Macbride's ſhip, that gallant officer, diſdaining to convey infection even to an enemy, and perhaps conſidering the peculiar terror with which it is regarded by the Spaniards, and the general ill aſpect it bears to that people, acquainted Don Langara with the circumſtance, and with his own feelings upon the ſubject; at the ſame time offering to prevent the inevitable danger and miſchief which muſt attend ſhifting the priſoners, by ſending an officer with an hundred men on board the Phenix, and truſting to the admiral's honour, that neither his officers or men, (amounting to above 700) ſhould, in any caſe, of ſeparation or otherwiſe, in any degree interrupt the Britiſh ſeamen, whether with reſpect to navigating the ſhip, or of defending her, againſt whatever enemy. The propoſal was thankfully embraced, and the conditions ſtrictly adhered to by the Spaniſh admiral; for though there was no other ſhip but the Bienfaiſant in ſight, and that the ſea and weather were exceedingly rough, his people gave every aſſiſtance in refitting the Phenix, and in navigating her to the bay of Gibraltar.

After this ſignal ſucceſs, Sir George Rodney having executed his

his commiſſion at Gibraltar, and waited the return of ſome men of war, which he had ſent with a convoy of ſtore-ſhips and victuallers to the iſland of Minorca, that commander, animated with ſucceſs and covered with glory, proceeded, about the middle of February, to the Weſt Indies, leaving the bulk of the fleet, under the conduct of Rear Admiral Digby, together with the Spaniſh prizes, on their way to England. They were not many days parted, before the returning fleet fell in with, or rather perceived at a great diſtance, a conſiderable French convoy bound to the Mauritius, under the protection of two ſhips of the line. Although a general chace enſued, moſt of the convoy eſcaped; only the Prothee of 64 guns, and two or three veſſels laden with military ſtores, being taken.

Thus far, fortune ſeemed again to ſmile on the Britiſh Flag. This expedition was in all its parts proſperous. Beſides the great damage done to the enemy, ſix ſhips of the line were added to the royal navy of England; and the value of the other prizes, in a public view, was greatly enhanced, by the nature of their cargoes, the critical ſeaſon in which they were taken, and the eſſential ſervices to which they were applied. We have already ſeen, that the higheſt honour which he could receive, the public thanks of his country, through both houſes of parliament, was beſtowed on Sir George Rodney. Nor was the nation at large leſs gratified. The long abſence of good news, rendered this the more highly pleaſing. It was beſides a triumph over our old and natural enemies, the houſe of Bourbon.

During this expedition, government having received intelligence, that a number of Dutch ſhips, laden with timber and naval ſtores for the French ſervice, not being abſolutely allowed protection by the States on their voyage, intended to eſcape the danger which they apprehended from the Britiſh cruizers, by accompanying Count Byland, who, with a ſmall ſquadron of men of war and frigates, was to eſcort a convoy to the Mediterranean, Captain Fielding was, in conſequence of this notice, ſent out with a proper force, in order to examine the convoy, and to ſeize any veſſels containing thoſe articles which we deemed contraband.

Upon the meeting of the fleets, and permiſſion to viſit the merchant ſhips being refuſed to Captain Fielding, he notwithſtanding diſpatched his boats for that purpoſe, which were fired at, and prevented from executing their orders by the Dutch. Upon this, the captain having fired a ſhot ahead of the Dutch Admiral, it was anſwered by a broadſide; and Count Byland having received his in return, and being in no condition of force to purſue the conteſt farther, then immediately ſtruck his colours. Moſt of the Dutch ſhips that were in the predicament which occaſioned the conteſt, had already, through the length and darkneſs of the nights, and by keeping cloſe to the ſhore, eſcaped the danger, and proceeded without interruption to the French ports. The few that remained, with naval ſtores on board, were ſtopt; and the Dutch Admiral then informed, that he was at liberty to hoiſt his colours and proſecute his voyage.

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That commander, however, chose only to accept of the former part of the condition. He hoisted his colours; but he refused to separate from any part of his convoy; and he accordingly, with the whole of the fleet which remained with him, accompanied the British squadron to Spithead; where he continued, until he received fresh instructions from his masters.

This, along with many other, both preceding and subsequent matters, led to that unhappy rupture, which has since afforded so much cause of joy and triumph to the enemies of both, between those ancient, natural, and Protestant Allies, the kingdom of Great-Britain, and the States of Holland. Nor had it a less share probably in other succeeding events, which were equally pernicious to the interests, and subversive of the power of this country. The apparent vigour, however, of this measure, and the semblance it from thence bore to the great and decided maxims of happier times, rendered it in some degree a favourite with many people; who from thence augured a renovation of our ancient spirit in council and fortune in war.

But the event which singularly marked the opening of the present year, and which was probably, at least, accelerated by that we have related, was the extraordinary measure adopted in the north of Europe; where a power, which however great in other respects, was of inferior note in a maritime view, was now seen dictating a new code of maritime laws to mankind, in many respects essentially differing from those which had for several hundred years been established among commercial nations, and going directly to the overthrow of that sovereignty, or pre-eminence on the ocean, which had been so long claimed and maintained by this country.

This was the manifesto or declaration issued by the court of Petersburg, which has been the means of forming, under the name of an armed neutrality, that formidable naval and military alliance and confederacy, between the northern powers, to which most of the neutral states in Europe have since acceded; and which, Great Britain not being in a situation directly to contravene, seems now to be settled as a part of the law of nations. The great principle of this piece, and of that confederacy to which it gave birth, is, that free bottoms make free goods; and this is carried to the degree of supposing that neutral states are entitled to carry on their commerce with the belligerent parties in a state of war, with the same degree of convenience, ease, and safety, which they might have practised in time of peace. Nor is this all; it is farther laid down, that the neutral bottom has a right to convey, and to render free, all things, from any one part of a belligerent state, and even coastwise, to another, without let or impediment; saving only such matters as might be deemed contraband, in consequence of the stipulations of former treaties. Feb. 26th.

This extraordinary measure (which in other times would have been considered and resented as a declaration of war) was rendered the more grievous, from its originating with a power, which not only

only had been regarded as our natural friend and ally, but which had been even held out as our ſheet anchor, in any caſe of neceſſity, which might occur in the preſent war. Indeed this evil was ſo great and ſo grievous, that it might well have been conſidered as filling up that meaſure of calamity, to which we had been doomed by our fatal civil diſcord.

It needs ſcarcely to be noticed, that the courts of France and Spain, expreſſed the utmoſt approbation of a ſyſtem ſo exactly calculated, and immediately ſuited to their own views, and which they could at a future time find means eaſily to ſhake off. They, accordingly, were little leſs than loſt in aſtoniſhment, at the conſideration of that wiſdom, juſtice, liberality of ſentiment, and benevolence, which had produced ideas ſo ſimilar to their own. It was upon the ſame principle, of a liberal and free commerce, and an unreſtrained navigation to all nations, that they had taken part with the Americans, and were now expending their blood and treaſure in a war with England. As they did not fully comprehend the new ſyſtem, nor know to what extent it was to be carried, they waited with deference, for thoſe further regulations or explanations, which the Empreſs of the Ruſſias might think proper to communicate; but were convinced, from the congeniality of ſentiments on both ſides, that nothing could happen, in the intermediate time, on theirs, which would afford any diſſatisfaction to her.

The ſolitary court of London, was obliged to ſuppreſs her indignation at an injury, which ſhe could not, at preſent, reſent nor remedy. She expoſtulated with the court of Peterſburgh, on the conſtant attention and regard, which ſhe had hitherto on every occaſion ſhewn to her flag and commerce; ſhe declared a continuance of the ſame conduct and diſpoſition, and ſhe reminded Ruſſia, of the reciprocal ties of friendſhip, and the common intereſts, by which they were mutually bound.

But although the northern confederacy was too formidable to be meddled with, the weak ſtate of Holland, with reſpect both to her military and marine force, together with the particular ſituation of that country, and the diviſions among the people, who were ſplit into violent factions, by no means afforded any ſuch operative motives of conduct. It was accordingly determined, by ſtrong meaſures, not only to endeavour to prevent the republic from acceding to the northern confederacy, but likewiſe thereby to induce that ſtate to afford the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty to England, and which all negociation had hitherto failed of obtaining. It was alſo undoubtedly expected, that an appearance of vigorous determination, along with a warm expreſſion of reſentment on the ſubject, would tend much to ſupport and ſtrengthen the Engliſh party in Holland, and to diſcourage and depreſs the French; the latter of which, from various cauſes and motives, had increaſed exceedingly in ſtrength and number, during the progreſs of the American war; a war, which we have formerly ſeen, had been early deprecated and regretted by the friends of England in that country. The expecta-

expectation formed from those measures was much disappointed. The Dutch are certainly much hurt and weakened; but their connections with our enemies of all descriptions is grown much closer, and their alienation from Great Britain much more decided and hostile.

Upon these, and other grounds, after previous, but ineffectual warning, given by the British ministers, both at London and the Hague, a royal proclamation was issued at the former of these places, in which the non-performance of the States General, with respect to the succours stipulated by treaty, being considered as a dereliction of the alliance so long subsisting between both countries, and that they have thereby placed themselves in the condition of a neutral power, bound by no treaty or connection with this kingdom, it is therefore held, that upon every principle of wisdom and justice, they should from henceforward be considered, as standing only in that distant relation in which they had placed themselves. It is therefore declared, that the subjects of the United Provinces, are henceforward to be considered upon the same footing with those of other neutral states, not privileged by treaty; and his majesty suspends, provisionally, and till further order, all the particular stipulations respecting the subjects of the States General, contained in the several treaties now subsisting; and more particularly those contained in the marine treaty between Great Britain and the United Provinces, concluded at London, on the 11th of December, 1674.

April 17th.

Having thus taken a general view of our affairs in Europe, it will be necessary to look to those in other parts of the world; and in the first place, to take a retrospect of such matters in America and the West Indies during the year 1779, as did not come within our line in the last volume.

It appears from various circumstances, that the Spanish governors and commanders in America and the West Indies, had been acquainted with the intended rupture between Spain and England, long before the declaration presented by their minister to the court of London, on the 16th of June, 1779. It would even seem, that they were informed of the precise time, or very near it, at which that event would take place; for it is asserted, that war was declared in the island of Porto Rico, in a few days after the delivery of that rescript in London; and it is certain, that English vessels were carried into the Havannah as prizes, before any intelligence of that measure could have been possibly received in America. Plans were accordingly laid, and preparations made to the time, which afforded advantage in the commencement of hostilities.

But in no instance was the effect of this pre-intelligence so ruinous, as in the loss which it occasioned of the British settlements on the Mississippi, along with the capture of the troops destined to their protection. We have heretofore shewn, that the settlements in that part of Louisiana, being yet too weak for a particular government, were annexed to that of West Florida;

which was, however, too distant to afford any effectual protection. We have also seen that in the preceding year, a party of Americans visited that country, and received a temporary submission from the inhabitants, which they did not stay to maintain. That American expedition, and the defenceless state of the settlements, which it had rendered apparent, were undoubtedly the causes, that some troops had since been sent for their protection.

Don Bernardo de Galvez, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, having collected the whole force of his province at New Orleans, first publicly declared the independency of America by beat of drum, and then set out on this expedition. He had previously concerted his measures so well in securing the communications, that Major General Campbell, who commanded at Pensacola, did not receive the smallest information of the danger of the western part of the province, or even that hostility was intended, until the design was nearly effected. With similar address, and profiting of the security which prevailed on our side, he had, by surprize and stratagem, taken a royal sloop of war, which was stationed on Lake Pontchartrain, and was equally successful in seizing several vessels on the lakes and rivers, laden with provisions and necessaries for the British detachment, and one, containing some troops of the regiment of Waldeck.

Aug. 19th, 1779.

Such lucky circumstances, were not necessary to insure success to his enterprize. The whole military force, British and German, stationed for the protection of the country, did not amount to five hundred men; and these had no other cover against a superior enemy, but a newly constructed fort, or more properly Field Redoubt, which they had hastily thrown up, at a place called Baton Rouge. In this place, however, Lieutenant Colonel Dickson, of the 16th regiment, stood a siege of nine days; and when the opening of a battery of heavy artillery had rendered all farther defence impracticable, he obtained conditions very honourable to the garrison, and highly favourable to the inhabitants. The troops, from the nature of their situation, were necessarily obliged to surrender prisoners of war; and it is to be remembered, highly to the honour of the Spanish governor and commander, Don Bernardo de Galvez, that upon this, as well as upon a later occasion of the same unfortunate nature, no thing couldexceed the good faith with which he observed the prescribed conditions, nor the humanity and kindness with which he treated his prisoners.

The languid nature of the campaign on the side of New York, enabled the Americans, in the beginning and progress of the autumn, to take a heavy vengeance on the Indians, for the cruelties and enormities which they had so long practised on the frontiers. So formidable was this enemy now grown, through the accession of strength and discipline which it derived from the refugees and white adventurers, that a small army, with a train of artillery, under the conduct of General Sullivan, assisted by some other officers of name,

name, were destined to this service. The famous confederacy of the five or of the six nations, as it has been differently called; that confederacy which exhibited the rude outlines of a republic, in the most hidden deserts of America, was the object of the present expedition.

These nations lying at the backs of the northern and middle colonies, amidst the great lakes, rivers, and impenetrable forests, which separate them from Canada, had long been renowned for the courage, fidelity, and constancy, with which they had adhered to the English in their wars with the French; and had even assisted them frequently against different nations of their own countrymen. In the beginning of the present contest, they had concluded a treaty with the Americans, by which they bound themselves to observe a strict neutrality during the progress of the struggle. The Americans said, that they offered at that time to take up the hatchet against the English, but that they had rejected the offer upon principle; only requiring of them to adhere strictly to the neutrality.

The power of presents, with the influence of Sir William Johnson, and some others who had interest among them, operating upon their own natural propensities, soon led them to depart from this pacific line of conduct, and they took a distinguished part in that cruel and destructive war, which, we have more than once seen, was carried on against the back settlement. The Oneida Indians were the only nation of the confederacy, who had adhered to the neutrality; or at least, who were not known to have taken any direct part against the Americans. They were accordingly destined to escape the intended general destruction. For the principle of this war was extermination; so far as that can be carried into execution against an enemy, who seldom can be caught or found, except when, from motives of advantage, he chooses to stay, or to reveal himself. They were of opinion that nothing less than driving them totally and far from their present possessions, could ever afford any permanent prospect of security and quiet to their numerous infant settlements; which they knew, under these circumstances, would soon become the great sources of wealth and strength to their respective states.

The Indians marched boldly towards the frontiers of their country to meet the invaders. They were headed by Butler, Brandt, Guy Johnson, and Macdonald; and, besides assembling all their own tribes and allies, were joined by some hundreds of refugees, or, as the Americans call them, Tories. They possessed themselves of a difficult pass in the woods, between Chemung and Newtown, in the vicinity of the Teaoga River; where they constructed a strong breast-work, made of large logs, of above half a mile in extent; from whence other works, of less strength, reached a mile and a half, to the top of a mountain in their rear, where a second breast-work was formed.

A warm attack and defence took place, and was continued for two hours; in which Sullivan found that he had full occasion for

Aug. 29th, 1779.

his artillery to make any effectual impreſſion on the breaſt-work. The rout of the confederates was accelerated and completed, through the movements that were made by the generals Poor and Clinton, for turning their flanks, and thereby cutting off their retreat. The victory was ſo complete, that they never attempted to make another ſtand during the ſubſequent deſolation of their country.

This action only opened the way to the commencement of Sullivan's expedition; and there was a difficulty ſtill remained, which was capable of rendering it in a great meaſure ineffective. To render the ſervice in any conſiderable degree effectual, it was neceſſary that the army ſhould be out a month, at leaſt, in a country totally unknown, and where no ſupplies of any ſort could be hoped for; but with all Sullivan's induſtry, and the aids of his employers, the diſtance, roads, and other circumſtances, rendered it impracticable to provide proviſion for more than half the time; nor, if there had been more, were packhorſes to be found for its conveyance; although to lighten the carriage, the cattle which they were to live upon were driven along with the army. The ſpirit of the ſoldiers, the hearty zeal of the officers, with an animating ſpeech from their general, removed all impediment to the deſign: the propoſal of ſhort allowance was received with the loudeſt ſhouts of approbation; and the ration for 24 hours was fixed, with univerſal conſent, at half a pound of flour, and as much freſh beef; the reduction going even to the ſalt.

This expedition was worthy of note, as it diſcovered a greater degree of policy, and rather an higher ſtate of improvement, among thoſe Indian nations, than had been expected, even by thoſe who had lived near, and almoſt in the midſt of them. Sullivan diſcovered, to his ſurprize, that no guides could be procured who knew any thing at all of the country; and that the only means he had of finding his way to the Indian towns, were thoſe which betray a wild beaſt in his den, the track of the inhabitant; which was a much more difficult clue in the former caſe than the latter, as the laſt of an Indian file always ſmooths and covers over with leaves the tracks made by his fellows and himſelf; ſo that it requires much experience, as well as patience and induſtry, to be able to develop and trace them.

The degree of culture about the Indian towns was conſiderably higher than could be ſuppoſed from former obſervations and opinions relative to the cuſtoms and manners of theſe people. The beauty of their ſituation, in many inſtances, indicating choice and deſign, together with the ſize, the conſtruction, and the neatneſs of their houſes, were the firſt great objects of admiration in this new country. Sullivan ſays, in ſeveral places, that the houſes were not only large, but elegant; and frequently mentions their being built of frame-work. The ſize of their corn fields excited his wonder, as well as the high degree of cultivation which they ſhewed. Some idea may be formed of both, from the quantity of corn the Americans deſtroyed in this

this expedition; which they eſtimate at 160,000 buſhels.

But the number of fruit-trees which they found and deſtroyed, with the ſize and antiquity of their orchards, afford an object of much greater admiration; as theſe circumſtances not only ſhew that cultivation was not of a late date among theſe people, but tend likewiſe to overthrow that opinion ſo generally received, that the Indians are incapable of looking to futurity in their conduct, and conſequently totally improvident with reſpect to poſterity. Perhaps other inſtances of this nature, and in a ſtill higher degree, may yet be found, in more remote or hidden parts of America; and perhaps it may be diſcovered, that man, in what is called his ſavage ſtate, like beavers, and ſome other animals, becomes more ſavage, careleſs, and improvident, in proportion as he finds that his views are broken, and his ſecurity leſſened, by the near approach of the civilized part of his own ſpecies.

Sullivan informs us, that they cut down 1500 fruit-trees in one orchard; and takes notice in different places, without the ſmalleſt obſervation on the fact, that many of the trees carried the appearances of great age. Neither the paſt enormities or cruelties of the Indians, the policy of the motives, the juſtice of the reſentment, or even the ſuppoſed neceſſity of the act, can prevent the pain ariſing to a ſenſible mind, from ſuch a havock and deſtruction of the labours and hope of mankind; it is not impoſſible, that the very improvidence imputed to the proprietors, renders the blight which thus fell upon the fruits of their poor induſtry the more afflicting.

The work of deſolation was completed within the preſcribed time, and no more; there not being a day to ſpare. In that time, the Americans had deſtroyed forty Indian towns; of which, Chineſee, the largeſt, contained 128 houſes; but the others bore no proportion as to ſize. It ſeems, by a paſſage in Sullivan's letter, as if they had already began to caſt a wiſtful eye towards the cultivation of that fine, and, until now, unexplored country. Sullivan gained great public applauſe by this expedition, and received teſtimonials of the fulleſt approbation and warmeſt affection from his officers and army; but he purchaſed theſe gratifications at the expence of a ruined conſtitution, which has ſince reſtrained him from all active ſervice.

It happened about this ſeaſon, that the baymen on the Muſquito and bay of Honduras ſhores, (as the logwood cutters are called) being hard preſſed, and in great danger from the Spaniards, the governor of Jamaica had diſpatched Captain Dalrymple, (commandant of a new corps raiſed in Ireland for the ſervice of that iſland) with a ſmall force and ſome arms, to their relief. Admiral Sir Peter Parker had alſo detached a ſmall ſquadron, conſiſting of the Charon, Loweſtoffe, and Pomona frigates, with the Race-Horſe ſchooner, under the conduct of Captain Luttrell, of the Charon, as commodore, to the bay of Honduras, in order to intercept ſome Spaniſh regiſter ſhips; which, however, eſcaped into the excellent harbour, and under the protection of the ſtrong fortreſs of St. Fernando de Omoa, where they were found too well ſecured for

any attack by ſea, which the preſent ſmall ſquadron was capable of making.

In the intermediate time, five or ſix hundred Spaniards had arrived in ſmall craft at St. George's key, the principal ſettlement of the baymen on the coaſt of Honduras, which they plundered, and beſides otherwiſe treating the people with great barbarity, ſent numbers of them, with their families, as priſoners, to Merida. It happened, however, that by various fortunate accidents, by the arrival of ſuccours, by the ſpirit of enterprize, which ſeems in a particular manner to animate thoſe who have any concern on that coaſt, and the exertions of ſeveral bold and active officers of the army and navy, that the invaders were not only driven with precipitation, and without perfecting their deſign of deſolation, from St. George's key; but that the ſcattered baymen being collected, thoſe who were lately refugees, or in circumſtances of imminent and immediate danger, not ſatisfied with an eſcape, aſpired to adventure and conqueſt.

For upon the expulſion of the Spaniards from the coaſt, the commodore had the fortune to fall in at ſea with the Porcupine ſloop of war, with Captain Dalrymple, and his detachment of the loyal Iriſh, under convoy. Nothing could have been more opportune. The commanders immediately determined to unite their forces, in an attack by ſea and land upon Omoa; a bold attempt with their force, but in which ſucceſs held out a proſpect of throwing the galleons (which were ſtill under its ſhelter) into their hands.

The fortreſs at Omoa ſhould have been exceedingly ſtrong, if ſtrength were always the conſequence of labour and expence. The Spaniards had for many years been employed in the conſtruction of the works. The walls, (the ſtones of which were raiſed in the ſea, at above 20 leagues diſtance) were about 28 feet high, ſurrounded by a deep dry ditch, and the parapets, of ſolid ſtone, were 18 feet in thickneſs. It was, however, to be conſidered only as a fort or caſtle for the defence of the harbour, the town itſelf being entirely open. Its batteries ſhewed about 40 pieces of artillery; but it ſeems to have been deficient in that reſpect, as well as in point of garriſon.

The land force of the aſſailants, by the junction of the baymen, along with the marines, which were entirely given by the commodore to that part of the ſervice, ſomewhat exceeded 500 men; the defenſive force, without including the runaway inhabitants, was not much inferior in number.

In advancing to the fort, the Engliſh were ſo much annoyed by the fire from the town, on their left flank, that after deliberating an hour, in order if poſſible to refrain from the meaſure, they found themſelves at length under a neceſſity of ſetting it on fire. The commander of the expedition conſidering, that any thing like a regular ſiege would be totally beſide his purpoſe; that ſuch a meaſure, beſides a train of heavy artillery, would require a very conſiderable force, as well to withſtand the danger from without, as to conduct the operations againſt the fort; and that his ſmall party would moulder faſt away, under the incommodities of climate and conſtant

Oct. 16th.

conſtant fatigue, determined to place his truſt in a *coup de main*, and to attempt the place by eſcalade.

Meaſures being accordingly concerted with the commodore, the Pomona was towed in pretty cloſe to the fort during the night, and the heavier ſhips took their proper ſtations, ſo as to be able to commence the attack on their ſide about three in the morning; giving a ſignal twenty minutes before, which was to direct that from the land. In the mean time, 150 men, in four columns in line, and carrying the ſcaling ladders, were moved down the hill, where they lay waiting for the ſignal. That being given, they advanced in the ſame ſilence, and with trailed arms, under the fire of their own batteries; which, with the heavy cannonade from the ſhips, ſerved to deafen, as well as to diſtract the enemy; ſo that they paſſed, undiſcovered by the Spaniſh centries, to the very entrance of the ditch.

There they were diſcovered, and the columns ſeemed for a moment to heſitate; but inſtantly recovering, they advanced to fix their ladders to the wall, immediately under a battery of five guns. The firſt ladder was demoliſhed by the flank guns of another baſtion, and a midſhipman of the Loweſtoffe killed, and ſeveral wounded; the other ladders were damaged, but fortunately were not rendered uſeleſs. Two ſeamen having mounted the wall, levelled their muſkets, without firing, at a body of above ſixty Spaniards, and ſuch was the panic and conſternation that prevailed, that they kept them for ſome moments in awe, and even motionleſs, while their friends were aſcending the ladders. The garriſon, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their officers, fled on all ſides. Above a hundred eſcaped over the wall on the oppoſite ſide; but the greateſt part took ſhelter in the caſemates. In theſe circumſtances, the governor and principal officers, making no requeſt but for their lives, preſented their ſwords and keys to the commandant, with a ſurrender of the fort, garriſon, and ſhips.

The priſoners amounted to 355, rank and file, beſides officers and inhabitants. The treaſure had been removed from the caſtle on the approach of the Britiſh forces; but that on board the galleons, with the cargoes of other veſſels in the harbour, and the value of the ſhips themſelves, were eſtimated at about three millions of piaſters, or pieces of eight. But of all this, nothing was ſo ſeverely felt, or ſo real a loſs to the Spaniards, as that of 250 quintals of quickſilver, newly arrived from Old Spain; a commodity ſo eſſential to the purification, and to the ſeparation of their gold and ſilver ores from other bodies, that the value of their mines muſt depend upon its conſtant ſupply. This, therefore, they offered to ranſom at almoſt any price; but the conquerors, preferring the public good to their own private emolument, would not part upon any terms with an article, which, though of no great value to themſelves, was of ſuch immenſe conſequence to the enemy. Upon the ſame principle, they refuſed to ranſom the caſtle, for which high offers were likewiſe made, and left a garriſon for its defence; although their generous views were fruſtrated in this re-

ſpect by its ſubſequent loſs; ariſing more from the unhealthineſs of the place, than from any power or vigour exerted by the enemy in its recovery.

The conduct of the commanders and officers by ſea and land on this ſervice was in all its parts exemplary. Like a well regulated machine, nothing was inert or deficient. The naval captains, Pakenham, Nugent, and Parker, had opportunities of being diſtinguiſhed in various caſes of difficulty and danger; and Captain Carden, of the 60th, who acted as engineer, acquired no leſs credit in his department. But nothing afforded more praiſe, or redounded more to the honour of commanders, officers, and even private individuals, than the humanity and generoſity with which they treated the vanquiſhed. This will appear ſtill the more truly laudable, when the recent cauſes of irritation and reſentment which they had met with are taken into the account.

A convention was concluded, between the Britiſh commanders on the one ſide, and the Spaniſh governor and officers on the other, which went happily to the redemption of the poor baymen and their families, who had been lately conveyed to Merida, as well as other Engliſh, and ſome Moſquito Indians, who had for a longer or ſhorter time been in a ſtate of impriſonment or ſlavery. The governor and garriſon were enlarged for the preſent, as priſoners of war upon parole; but bound to return, and ſurrender themſelves at a given time, if the conditions were not complied with. As the averſion of the Spaniards to the baymen is well known, it was thought neceſſary to retain hoſtages on this occaſion. And as a farther ſecurity, the church-plate and religious ornaments, for which all ranſom had been refuſed, was retained as a depoſit, to be returned freely as a preſent along with the hoſtages, upon the due performance of the conditions.

The recital of any act of mere courage, however extraordinary, in a Britiſh ſeaman, would appear rather ſuperfluous. The following inſtance of magnanimity, however ſingular, is in its circumſtances ſo truly characteriſtic of the peculiar manners, ideas, and generous valour, of that invaluable order of men, that we cannot reſtrain our inclination of endeavouring to preſerve it from oblivion. A common ſailor, who ſcrambled ſingly over the wall, had, for the better annoyance, on all ſides, of the enemy, armed himſelf with a cutlaſs in each hand. Thus equipped, he fell in with a Spaniſh officer, juſt rouſed from ſleep, and who, in the hurry and confuſion, had forgotten his ſword. This circumſtance reſtrained the fury of the ſeaman; who diſdaining an unarmed foe, but unwilling to relinquiſh ſo happy an opportunity of diſplaying his courage in ſingle combat, preſented one of the cutlaſſes to him, telling him "he ſcorned any advantage; you are now upon a footing with me." The aſtoniſhment of the officer at ſuch an act of generoſity, and at the facility with which a friendly parley took place, when he expected nothing leſs, from the uncouth and hoſtile appearance of his foe, than that of being cut inſtantly, and without pity or mercy, into

into pieces, could only be rivalled by the admiration, which his relating the ſtory excited in his countrymen.

It ſeems remarkable, that Rear Admiral Hyde Parker, who ſucceeded Admiral Byron in the command on the Leeward Iſland ſtation, ſhould not have received any certain intelligence of d'Eſtaing's departure with his fleet to the coaſt of North America, until ſo late as the 24th of October, when he diſcovered it by the capture of the Alcmena, a French frigate of war. That vigilant commander, well ſeconded by Rear Admiral Rowley, preſerved ſo decided a ſuperiority over M. de la Motte Piquet, during the latter part of that year, and the beginning of the enſuing, that they not only ſeverely diſtreſſed the French trade, and took and deſtroyed the greater part of a convoy within his view at Fort Royal; but that he had himſelf, at one time, a narrow eſcape from falling into their hands. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, in honour to the French commander, that by ſuddenly ſlipping his cables, putting out to ſea with three ſhips, and with great gallantry and dexterity engaging the foremoſt of the Britiſh fleet, and again retiring under his batteries, he thereby afforded an opportunity to a conſiderable part of that convoy which we have mentioned to eſcape. It was upon that occaſion, that the brave Captain Griffith, of the Conqueror, in purſuing the enemy too cloſe upon their batteries, was unfortunately killed. The Britiſh commanders had likewiſe the fortune to intercept, and after a chace of an extraordinary length to take, three large, heavy metalled French frigates, which were on their return from the Savannah to Martinique.

CHAP. X.

Rhode Island evacuated. Design against New York frustrated by D'Estaing's failure at Savannah. Expedition against Charles Town. Sir Henry Clinton lands with the army in South Carolina; takes possession of the islands of John and James; passes Ashley River to Charles Town Neck; siege of that city. Admiral Arbuthnot passes the Bar with difficulty. American and French marine force abandon their stations, and retire to the town, where most of the former are sunk to bar a passage. The admiral passes the heavy fire of the fort on Sullivan's Island, and takes possession of the harbour. General Lincoln summoned without effect. State of the defences on Charles Town Neck. Colonel Tarleton cuts off a party of the rebels. Col. Webster passes Cooper River with a detachment, by which the city is closely invested. Lord Cornwallis takes the command on that side. Siege pressed with great vigour. Admiral Arbuthnot takes Mount Pleasant, and reduces Fort Moultrie. Tarleton defeats and destroys the rebel cavalry. Capitulation of Charles Town. Garrison, artillery, frigates, &c. Rebels again defeated by Tarleton, at Waxaw. Regulations by Sir Henry Clinton for the security of the province. Departure for New York. Earl Cornwallis reduces the whole colony. Unexpected danger to which the severity of the winter had exposed New York. Gallant defence made by Capt. Cornwallis, against a French superior naval force. Three naval actions between Sir George Rodney, and M. de Guichen, productive of no decisive consequences. Insurrections of the loyalists in North Carolina quelled. Baron de Kalbe marches into that province with a continental force. Is followed by Gen. Gates, who takes the chief command. State of affairs in the two Carolina's. Battle of Camden. Complete victory gained by Lord Cornwallis. Sumpter routed by Tarleton.

THE appearance and continuance of D'Estaing on the coast of North America, in the autumn of the year 1779, necessarily suspended all active operations on the side of New York; where none but defensive measures could be thought of, under the well-founded apprehension of a formidable attack by sea and land, which had been evidently concerted between that commander and General Washington. The latter had collected a strong force for that purpose in the Highlands, to which the northern colonies had largely contributed, hoping to end the war by one decisive stroke; and being in possession of the North River, the cloud seemed ready to break upon the islands, as soon as the French fleet should appear in sight; an event that did not seem to be far distant, as it was expected on both sides by the new allies, that the taking of the Savannah could be little more than the work of a day; and that the success could not only inspire confidence, but even afford means, for the attainment of the grand object.

Under

Under theſe apparent circumſtances of danger, it was found adviſable, beſides adopting every other means of a vigorous defence againſt a greatly ſuperior force, to withdraw the garriſon and marine from Rhode Iſland, and to ſuffer that place to fall again into the hands of the Americans.

But the defeat of D'Eſtaing, and ſtill more the loſs of time, which attended his ill conducted enterprize, having totally fruſtrated the views of the enemy, ſerved equally to extend thoſe of General Sir Henry Clinton, and of Admiral Arbuthnot, to active and effective ſervice, by an expedition to the ſouthern colonies. Waſhington's army was already in a great meaſure broken up. The auxiliaries had returned home; the term of enliſtment of a great number of the continental ſoldiers was expired; and the filling up of the regiments, by waiting for recruits from their reſpective ſtates, muſt neceſſarily be a work of conſiderable time.

South Carolina was the immediate and great object of enterprize. Beſides the numerous benefits to be immediately derived from the poſſeſſion of that province of opulence and ſtaple product, and the unſpeakable loſs which it would occaſion to the enemy, its ſituation rendered it ſtill more valuable from the ſecurity which it would not only afford to Georgia, but in a very conſiderable degree, to all that ſouthern point of the continent which ſtretches beyond it.

Sir Henry Clinton's land force being now whole and concentrated by the evacuation of Rhode Iſland, it afforded means as well as incitement to enterprize. The army was likewiſe in excellent condition; the reinforcements from England had not been impaired by any ſervice; and it was abundantly provided with artillery, and with all the other engines, furniture, and proviſion of war. Nor was the naval force leſs competent to its purpoſe; there being nothing then in the American ſeas, which could even venture to look at it. On the other hand, the diſtance of South Carolina, from the center of force and action, cut it off from all means of prompt ſupport in any caſe; while the preſent ſtate of the American army, along with many circumſtances in the ſituation of their public affairs, rendered the proſpect of any timely or effectual relief extremely faint.

Although every thing had been for ſome time prepared for the expedition, and the troops even embarked, yet through the defect of any certain intelligence, as to the departure of D'Eſtaing from the coaſt of North America, it was not until within a few days of the cloſe of the year, that the fleet and convoy proceeded from New York. Dec. 26th. The voyage from thence to the Savannah, (where they did not arrive until the end of January) was very unproſperous. Beſides its extreme tediouſneſs, the ſea was ſo rough, and the weather ſo tempeſtuous, that great miſchief was done among the tranſports and victuallers. Several were loſt; others diſperſed and damaged; a few were taken by the Americans; an ordinance ſhip went down, with all her ſtores; and

and almoſt all the horſes, whether of draught, or appertaining to the cavalry, were loſt.

From Savannah, the fleet and army proceeded before the middle of February, to the Inlet or harbour of North Ediſto, on the coaſt of South Carolina, where the army was landed without oppoſition or difficulty; and took poſſeſſion with equal facility, firſt of John's Iſland, and next, that of James, which ſtretches to the ſouth of Charles Town Harbour. We have already had occaſion, in our account of Gen. Prevoſt's expedition, to take ſome notice of the geography and nature of this flat and inſulated country. The army afterwards, by throwing a bridge over the Wappoo cut, extended its poſts on the mainland, to the banks of Aſhley River, between which and Cooper's River Charles Town ſtands; the approach to it being called the Neck.

The general is not explicit in his information, as to the nature of the difficulties, or rather wants, which were the cauſe of detaining the army in this poſition, until near the end of March; he ſeeming to conſider theſe circumſtances as matters already well underſtood by the Secretary of State. We only learn, that a train of heavy artillery ſupplied by the large ſhips of the fleet, with a body of ſailors, under the conduct of Capt. Elphinſtone of the navy, were of ſingular ſervice in the proſecution of the ſiege, and that the general found it neceſſary to draw a reinforcement from Georgia, which joined him, without any other interruption, than the natural difficulties of the country, (which were not ſmall) during a toilſome march of twelve days.

The paſſage of Aſhley River was effected with great facility, thro' the aid of the naval officers and ſeamen, with their boats and armed gallies; and the army, with its artillery and ſtores, was landed without oppoſition on Charles Town Neck. On the night of the 1ſt of April, they broke ground within 800 yards of the enemy's works; and in a week, their guns were mounted in battery. March 29, 1780.

In the mean time, Admiral Arbuthnot had not been deficient in his endeavours for the paſſing of Charles Town Bar; in order effectually to ſecond the operations of the army. For this purpoſe he ſhifted his flag from the Europa of the line, to the Roe Buck of 44 guns, which, with the Renown and Romulus, were lightened of their guns, proviſions, and water; the lighter frigates being capable of paſſing the bar, without that preparation. Yet ſo difficult was the taſk in any ſtate, that they lay in that ſituation, expoſed on an open coaſt, in the winter ſeaſon, to the danger of the ſeas, and to the inſults of the enemy, for above a fortnight, before a proper opportunity offered. The bar was, however, then paſſed (on the 20th of March) without loſs; and the entrance of the harbour gained without difficulty.

The enemy had a conſiderable marine force in the harbour, which might have been expected to contribute more to the defence of the town

town and passage than it actually did. This consisted of an American ship, built since the troubles, and pierced for 60 guns, but mounting only 44; of seven frigates of the same country, from 32 to 16 guns; with a French frigate of 26 guns, and a polacre of eighteen. These, at first, upon the admiral's getting over the bar, shewed a disposition to dispute the passage up the river; and accordingly, they were moored with some armed gallies, at a narrow pass, between Sullivan's Island and the middle ground, in a position which would have enabled them to rake his squadron on its approach to Fort Moultrie.

This appearance of resolution, however, gave way to more timid, and it should seem, less wise council. For abandoning every idea of resistance, and leaving the fort to its own fortune, they retired to Charles-Town; where most of the ships, with a number of merchant vessels, being fitted with chevaux de frize on their decks, were sunk to obstruct the channel of the river between the town and Shutes-Folly; thus converting a living active force into an inert machine. This obstacle removed; and the success of the attack on the land side depending almost entirely on the joint operation of the fleet, the admiral took a favourable opportunity of wind and water, to pass the heavy batteries of Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island; so much celebrated for the obstinate and successful defence, which we have heretofore seen, it made, against the long, fierce, and bloody attack of Admiral Sir Peter Parker.

The passage was effected, under a severe and impetuous fire, with less loss of lives than could have been well expected; the number of seamen killed and wounded being under thirty. The fleet, however, suffered in other respects from the fire of the enemy; and a transport, with some naval stores, was of necessity abandoned, and burnt. But the great object was now gained; they were in possession of the harbour, and took such effectual measures for blocking up or securing the various inlets, that the town was little less than completely invested. As the enemy had placed their principal trust in the defence of the passage up the river, and thereby keeping the harbour free, and their back secure, nothing could be more terrible to them than this situation of the fleet; whereby their defences were greatly multiplied, their attention diverted from the land side, and their means of relief, or even of escape, considerably straitened. April 9th.

In this state of things, the batteries ready to be opened; the commanders by sea and land sent a joint summons to General Lincoln, who commanded in Charles-Town; holding out the fatal consequences of a cannonade and storm, stating the present, as the only favourable opportunity for preserving the lives and property of the inhabitants, and warning the commander that he should be responsible for all those calamities which might be the fruits of his obstinacy. Lincoln answered, that the same duty and inclination which had prevented him from abandoning Charles-Town,

Town, during ſixty days knowledge of their hoſtile intentions, operated now with equal force, in prompting him to defend it to the laſt extremity.

The defences of Charles-Town, on the neck, were, for their nature and ſtanding, very conſiderable. They conſiſted of a chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries, extending from one river to the other; and covered with an artillery of eighty cannon and mortars. In the front of either flank, the works were covered by ſwamps, originating from the oppoſite rivers, and tending towards the center; through which they were connected by a canal paſſing from one to the other. Between theſe outward impediments and the works, were two ſtrong rows of abbatis, the trees being buried ſlanting in the earth, ſo that their heads facing outwards, formed a kind of fraize-work againſt the aſſailants; and theſe were farther ſecured, by a ditch double picketted. In the center, where the natural defences were unequal to thoſe on the flanks, a horn-work of maſonry had been conſtructed, as well to remedy that defect as to cover the principal gate; and this during the ſiege had been cloſed in ſuch a manner as to render it a kind of citadel, or independent fort.

The ſiege was carried on with great vigour; the batteries were ſoon perceived to acquire a ſuperiority over thoſe of the enemy; and the works were puſhed forward with unremitted induſtry. Soon after the middle of April, the ſe-

19th. cond parallel was completed; the approaches to it ſecured; and it was carried within 450 yards of the main works of the beſieged. Major Moncrieffe, who had gained ſo much honour in the defence of the Savannah, acquired no leſs applauſe, from the very ſuperior and maſterly manner in which he conducted the offenſive operations of the preſent ſiege.

The town had kept its communication open with the country, on the farther ſide of Cooper's river, for ſome time after it had been inveſted on other ſides by the fleet and army; and ſome bodies of militia cavalry and infantry began to aſſemble on the higher parts of that river, who being in poſſeſſion of the bridges, might at leaſt have become troubleſome to the foraging parties, if not capable of diſturbing the operations of the army. The general, as ſoon as his ſituation would permit, detached 1400 men under Lieutenant-colonel Webſter, in order to ſtrike at this corps which the enemy were endeavouring to form in the field, to break in upon their remaining communications, and to ſeize the principal paſſes of the country. On this expedition Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, at the head of a corps of cavalry, and ſeconded by Major Ferguſon's light infantry and markſmen, afforded a ſtriking ſpecimen of that active gallantry, and of thoſe peculiar military talents, which have ſince ſo highly diſtinguiſhed his character. With a very inferior force, he ſurpriſed, defeated, and almoſt totally cut off the rebel party; and having thereby gained poſſeſſion of Biggin's Bridge on the Cooper River, opened the way to Colonel Webſter to advance nearly to the head of the Wandoo River, and to occupy

cupy the paſſes in ſuch a manner, as to ſhut Charles-Town up entirely.

As the arrival of a large reinforcement from New York, enabled the general conſiderably to ſtrengthen the corps under Webſter, ſo the importance of the ſituation induced Earl Cornwallis to take the command on that ſide of Cooper's River. Under the conduct of this nobleman, Tarleton attacked, defeated, and ruined another body of cavalry, which the enemy had with infinite difficulty collected together.

In the mean time, the beſiegers had completed their third parallel, which they carried cloſe to the rebel canal; and by a ſap, puſhed to the dam which ſupplied it with water on the right, they had drained it in ſeveral parts to the bottom. On the other hand, the admiral, who had conſtantly preſſed and diſtreſſed the enemy, in every part within his reach, having taken the fort at Mount Pleaſant, acquired from its vicinity, and the information of the deſerters which it encouraged, a full knowledge of the ſtate of the garriſon and defences of Fort Moultrie, in Sullivan's Iſland. In purſuance of this information, and determined not to weaken the operations of the army, he landed a body of ſeamen and marines, in order to ſtorm the place by land, while the ſhips battered it in every poſſible direction. In theſe circumſtances, the garriſon (amounting to ſomething more than 200 men) ſeeing the imminent danger to which they were expoſed, and ſenſible of the impoſſibility of relief, were glad, by a capitulation, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. May 7th.

Thus encloſed on every ſide, and driven to its laſt defences, the general wiſhing to preſerve Charles Town from deſtruction, and to prevent that effuſion of human blood, which muſt be the inevitable conſequence of a ſtorm, opened a correſpondence on the following day with Lincoln, for the purpoſe of a ſurrender. But the conditions demanded by that commander being deemed higher than his preſent circumſtances and ſituation entitled him to, they were rejected, and hoſtilities renewed. The batteries on the third parallel were then opened, and ſo great a ſuperiority of fire obtained, that the beſiegers were enabled under it to gain the counterſcarp of the out-work which flanked the canal; which they likewiſe paſſed; and then puſhed on their works directly towards the ditch of the place.

The objections to the late conditions required by Gen. Lincoln, went principally to ſome ſtipulations in favour of the citizens and militia; but the preſent ſtate of danger having brought thoſe people to acquieſce in their being relinquiſhed, as the price of ſecurity, that commander accordingly propoſed to ſurrender upon the terms which were then offered. The Britiſh commanders, beſides their averſeneſs to the cruel extremity of a ſtorm, were not diſpoſed to preſs to unconditional ſubmiſſion, an enemy whom they wiſhed to conciliate by clemency. They granted now the ſame conditions which they had before offered; and the capitulation was accordingly ſigned. May 11th.

The

The garriſon were allowed ſome of the honours of war; but they were not to uncaſe their colours, nor their drums to beat a Britiſh march. The continental troops and ſeamen were to keep their baggage, and to remain priſoners of war until they were exchanged. The militia were to be permitted to return to their reſpective homes, as priſoners on parole; and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be moleſted by the Britiſh troops in perſon or property. The citizens of all forts to be conſidered as priſoners on parole; and to hold their property on the ſame terms with the militia. The officers of the army and navy to retain their ſervants, ſwords, piſtols, and their baggage, unſearched. Horſes were refuſed, as to carrying them out of Charles Town; but they were allowed to diſpoſe of them in the town.

Seven general officers, ten continental regiments, and three battalions of artillery, became priſoners upon this occaſion. The whole number of men in arms who were taken, including town and country militia and French, amounted to 5611, excluſive of near a thouſand ſeamen. The number of rank and file, which appear on this liſt, bear no proportion to the clouds of commiſſion and non-commiſſion officers, which exceed nine hundred. The thinneſs of the continental regiments accounts partly for this circumſtance; it appearing from Lincoln's return to congreſs, that the whole number of men of every ſort, included in ſo many regiments and battalions, at the time of the ſurrender, did not amount to quite 2500. He boaſts in that letter, that he loſt only twenty men by deſertion, in ſix weeks before the ſurrender.

As the ſiege was not productive of ſallies or deſperate aſſaults, which were in a conſiderable degree prevented by ſituation and the nature of the works, the loſs of men was not great on either ſide, and was not very unequally ſhared. A prodigious artillery was taken; amounting, of every ſort, and including thoſe in the forts and ſhips, to conſiderably more than 400 pieces. Of theſe, 311 were found in Charles Town only. Three ſtout rebel frigates, one French, and a polacre of 16 guns, of the ſame nation, which eſcaped the operation of being ſunk to bar the river, fell likewiſe into the hands of the victors.

The Carolinians complained greatly of their not being properly aſſiſted by their neighbours, particularly the Virginians, in this long and arduous ſtruggle. If the complaint is at all founded, it can only relate to the not ſending of reinforcements to the garriſon before the city was cloſely inveſted; for the ſouthern colonies poſſeſſed no force, which was in any degree equal to the raiſing, or even to the much incommoding of the ſiege. Nor does it ſeem that the augmentation of the garriſon would have anſwered any effectual purpoſe. At the commencement of the ſiege, an American lieutenant-colonel, of the name of Hamilton Ballendine, having the fortune of being detected in his attempt to paſs to the Engliſh camp at night, with draughts of the town and works, immediately ſuffered the unpitied death of a traitor.

The moſt rapid and brilliant ſucceſs

ſucceſs now attended every exertion of the Britiſh arms; Lord Cornwallis, on his march up the north ſide of the great Santee river, having received intelligence that the remaining force of the rebels were collected near the borders of North Carolina, diſpatched Colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry, and a new corps of light infantry, called the Legion, mounted on horſeback, in order to rout and diſperſe that body, before it could receive any addition of force from the neighbouring colonies.

The enemy being at ſo great a diſtance, as not to apprehend almoſt the poſſibility of any near danger, had conſidered other circumſtances of convenience more, than the means of ſecuring a good retreat, in their choice of ſituation. No ſuch negligence could paſs unpuniſhed, under any circumſtance of diſtance, with ſuch an enemy as they had now to encounter. Colonel Tarleton, upon this occaſion, exceeded even his own uſual celerity; and having marched 105 miles in 54 hours, preſented himſelf ſuddenly and unexpectedly, at a place called Waxſaw, before an aſtoniſhed and diſpirited enemy. They, however, poſitively rejected the conditions which were offered them, of ſurrendering upon the ſame terms with the garriſon of Charles Town. The attack was highly ſpirited; the defence, notwithſtanding the cover of a wood, faint; and the ruin complete. Above 100 were killed on the ſpot; about 150 ſo badly wounded as to be unable to travel, and about 50 brought away priſoners. Their colours, baggage, with the remains of the artillery of the ſouthern army, fell into the hands of the victors. The loſs on their ſide, though the rebels were ſuperior in number, was very trifling.

May 29th.

After this ſucceſs, there was nothing to reſiſt the arms of Lord Cornwallis; and the reduction of that extenſive colony of South Carolina was deemed ſo complete, at the time of Sir Henry Clinton's departure, on returning to his government of New York, that he informs the American miniſter in his letter, that there were few men in the province, who were not either priſoners to, or in arms with, the Britiſh forces; and he cannot reſtrain his exultation, at the number of the inhabitants who came in from every quarter, to teſtify their allegiance, and to offer their ſervices, in arms, in ſupport of his Majeſty's government; and who, in many inſtances, had brought as priſoners their former oppreſſors or leaders.

June 5th.

That commander accordingly, in ſettling the affairs and government of the province, adopted a ſcheme of obliging it to contribute largely to its own defence; and even to look forward, in preſent exertion, to future ſecurity, by taking an active ſhare in the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion on its borders. In this view, he ſeemed to admit of no neutrals; but that every man, who did not avow himſelf an enemy to the Britiſh government, ſhould take an active part in its ſupport. On this principle, all perſons were expected to be in readineſs with their arms at a moment's warning; thoſe who had families, to form a militia for the

the home defence; but thoſe who had none, to ſerve with the royal forces, for any ſix months of the enſuing twelve, in which they might be called upon, to aſſiſt "in driving their rebel oppreſſors, and all the miſeries of war, far from the province." Their ſervice was, however, limited, beſides their own province, to North Carolina and Georgia, beyond the boundaries of which they were not to be marched; and, after the expiration of the limited term, they were to be free from all future military claims of ſervice, excepting their local militia duties. So warm were the hopes of ſucceſs then formed, that a few months were thought equal to the ſubjugation of, at leaſt, that part of the continent.

This ſyſtem, of ſubduing one part of the Americans by the other; and of eſtabliſhing ſuch an internal force in each ſubjugated colony, as would be nearly, if not entirely, equal to its future preſervation and defence, had been often held out, and much ſuggeſted in England, as exceedingly practicable; and indeed, as requiring only adoption to inſure its ſucceſs. And our preceding commanders on the American ſervice had ſuffered much obloquy and bitterneſs of reproach, for their ſuppoſed negligence, in not profiting of means which were repreſented as ſo obvious, and which, as it was ſaid, would have been ſo fortunately deciſive with reſpect to the war.

The wiſdom of the meaſure in queſtion depended entirely upon the number of perſons in the reſpective colonies attached to the Britiſh government. It certainly became Sir Henry Clinton and his noble ſucceſſor, to uſe every method their genius ſuggeſted to them, for ſecuring or extending their conqueſts; but the ſucceſs of the meaſure in a partial experiment has been ſuch, as will juſtify other commanders for not placing an intire and general dependence upon aſſurances of favourable diſpoſitions in the coloniſts, extorted under the influence of fear, which have every where proved entirely deluſive.

The departure of Sir Henry Clinton from New York had expoſed that city to an apparent danger upon the ouſet of his expedition, which, as it could not poſſibly have been foreſeen, no wiſdom could provide againſt.—A winter, unequalled in that climate for its length and ſeverity, had deprived New York, and the adjoining iſlands, of all the defenſive benefits of their inſular ſituation; and while it alſo deprived them of their naval protection, expoſed that protection itſelf to an equal degree of danger. The North river, with the ſtraits and channels by which they are divided and ſurrounded, were every where cloathed with ice of ſuch a ſtrength and thickneſs, as would have admitted the paſſage of armies, with their heavieſt carriages and artillery; ſo that the iſlands, and the adjoining countries, preſented to the view, and in effect, one whole and unbroken continent.

In this alarming change, ſo ſuddenly wrought in the nature of the ſituation, Major General Pattiſon, who commanded at New York, with the Heſſian General Knyphauſen, and other officers on that

that ſtation, took the moſt prudential and ſpeedy meaſures for the common defence. All orders of men in New York were embodied, armed and officered; and, including about 1500 ſeamen, amounted to ſomething near 6000 men. The officers and crews of the royal frigates, which were locked up in the ice, undertook the charge of a redoubt; and thoſe of the tranſports, victuallers, and merchantmen, were armed with pikes, for the defence of the wharfs and ſhipping.

It, however, happened fortunately, that General Waſhington was in no condition to profit of this unlooked for event. The ſmall army which remained with him, hutted at Morris-Town, was inferior in ſtrength to the royal military defenſive force, excluſive of the armed inhabitants and militia. He, notwithſtanding, made ſuch movements and preparations, as ſufficiently indicated deſign, and afforded cauſe for alarm. An ineffective attempt was even made by Lord Stirling, with 2700 men and ſome artillery, upon Staten Iſland. But he continued on the iſland only one day, and retreated in the night. In a number of ſmall ſkirmiſhes and enterprizes, which took place during the winter, the Britiſh forces had continually the advantage.

During theſe tranſactions in North America, Captain Cornwallis, on the Jamaica ſtation, acquired great honour, by the gallant defence which he made with a very inferior force, againſt M. de la Motte Piquet, who was himſelf wounded in the action. Being on a cruize off Monte Chriſti, in his own ſhip, the Lion, of 64 guns, with the Briſtol of 50, and the Janus of 44, he fell in with, and was chaced by the French commander, who had four 74 gun ſhips and two frigates. The enemy came within cannon ſhot by five in the evening, and a running fight was maintained through the whole night, without the enemy's venturing to come alongſide, which it was in their power to do. In the morning, the Janus being a good deal diſabled, and at ſome diſtance, the Lion and Briſtol, through the defect of wind, were obliged to be towed by their boats to her aſſiſtance. This brought on a general engagement, which laſted between two and three hours, and in which the enemy ſuffered ſo much, that they were obliged to lie by to repair. They, however, renewed the purſuit, and continued it during the night, without coming within gun ſhot. But the appearance of the Ruby man of war, of 64 guns, with two Britiſh frigates, in the morning of the third day, ſuddenly changed the face of things. The French commander was now, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of force which he ſtill retained, chaced in turn, and purſued for ſeveral hours, with the utmoſt exultation and triumph by the Britiſh commanders. March 20th.

Sir George Rodney had arrived at St. Lucia, and taken the command of the fleet upon the Leeward Iſland ſtation, by the latter end of March. Juſt previous to his arrival, M. de Guichen, with 25 ſhips of the line, and eight frigates, all full of troops, had paraded for ſeveral days before that iſland, with a view either of ſur-

prize, or of overwhelming the Britiſh force by their great ſuperiority. The good diſpoſition of the troops made by Gen. Vaughan, and of the ſhips by Rear Admiral Parker, however, fruſtrated their deſign in both reſpects.

This viſit was ſoon returned by Sir George Rodney, who with 20 ſhips of the line, and the Centurion of 50 guns, for two days inſulted M. de Guichen in Fort Royal harbour in Martinique, going ſo cloſe at times, as to be able to count all the enemy's guns, and being even within random ſhot of their batteries. Nothing being able, notwithſtanding his ſuperiority, to draw the French commander out to an engagement, the Britiſh Admiral found it neceſſary to depart with the bulk of the fleet to Groſs Iſlet Bay in St. Lucia, leaving a ſquadron of copper bottomed ſhips to watch the motions of the enemy, and to give him the earlieſt poſſible notice of their attempting to ſail.

Things hung in this ſtate until the middle of April, when the French fleet put to ſea in the night, and were ſo ſpeedily purſued by Sir George Rodney, that he came in ſight of them on the following day. A general chace took place; and all the manœuvres of the enemy during the night, clearly indicating their full intention of avoiding an engagement, their motions were counteracted with great ability by the Britiſh commander.

On the ſucceeding morning, a very extraordinary degree of ſkill and judgment in ſeamanſhip ſeems to have been diſplayed on both ſides; the evolutions on each being ſo rapid and various, as to require the moſt watchful attention on the other to prevent diſadvantage. The French fleet were conſiderably ſuperior in force; amounting to 23 ſail of the line, and a 50 gun ſhip. The Engliſh fleet, as before, conſiſted of 20 of the line, and the Centurion. The van was led by Rear Admiral Hyde Parker; the center, by the commander in chief; and the rear diviſion, by Rear Admiral Rowley.

A little before one o'clock, the French were brought to action by ſome of the headmoſt ſhips; and about that hour, Sir G. Rodney, in the Sandwich, of 90 guns, commenced the action in the center. After beating three French ſhips out of the line, the Sandwich was at length encountered alone, by M. de Guichen, in the Couronne of the ſame force, and ſupported by his two ſeconds, the Fendant and Triumphant. It ſeems little leſs than wonderful, that the Sandwich not only ſuſtained this unequal combat for an hour and half, but at length obliged the French commander, with his two ſeconds, to bear away, whereby their line of battle was totally broken in the center. This happened at a quarter paſt four o'clock, when the enemy ſeemed to be compleatly beaten. But the great diſtance of the Britiſh van and rear from the center, with the crippled condition of ſeveral of the ſhips, and the particularly dangerous ſtate of the Sandwich, which, for the ſucceeding 24 hours, was with difficulty kept above water, rendered it impoſſible to make the victory complete by an immediate purſuit. April 17th.

The circumſtances of this action were never well explained or underſtood. The public letter from

from the commander in chief, which was publiſhed in the Gazette, teems with implied cenſure againſt his officers in general, without the ſmalleſt praiſe or approbation of any one, excepting the captain of a frigate. It was ſaid, that his ſignals were treated with contempt and diſobeyed; and he ſeems himſelf to convey a charge againſt ſome, of not engaging cloſely. It is certain, that a few of the ſhips ſuffered none, or very little loſs; whilſt ſeveral others were great ſufferers. If we recollect rightly, one captain was broke, or at leaſt put under arreſt, and his ſhip given to another officer; nor are we ſure, that more than one court martial was not held. On the other hand, Sir George Rodney paſſes high encomiums on the French admiral, and is not more ſparing in his commendations of the gallantry of his officers.

The affair ſeemed ſo dark and myſterious at home, that it brought out a motion in the Houſe of Peers on the 3d of the following June, from Lord St. John (whoſe brother or near relation had been killed, gallantly fighting in the action) for papers, tending to an enquiry into the ſubject. Upon that occaſion, a noble military earl, read a letter in his place, which he ſaid he had received from an officer who was preſent in the action, and who ſtood high in point of character and honour. In that letter, it was ſaid, that the ſpirit of a certain vice admiral (whoſe name and conduct have ſo long been objects of public diſcuſſion) had gone forth, and infected the Britiſh fleet; and that the ſervice felt all the evils ariſing from thoſe diſſentions which were ſown by our great men at home. It held out, beſides other matter, that the ſhips were foul, and out of repair; that there was a great ſcarcity of all kinds of naval ſtores; and that the commander in chief was not only much diſſatisfied with the conduct and failure in duty of ſeveral of his officers, but likewiſe with thoſe who had deceived him, relative to the ſtate and condition of the ſquadron which he commanded. The noble reader, in his comments on the letter, ſaid, that the cauſes of this public misfortune had originated at home; that beſides the bad condition of the ſhips, officers were put into command, more from their political attachments or principles, than from their reputation or ſervice; and that faction had accordingly ſpread itſelf through, and divided the whole fleet. As the firſt Lord of the Admiralty declared himſelf equally in the dark with every other peer preſent, as to the particular tranſactions of the 17th of April, which were now the objects of enquiry, and aſſured the houſe, that he had not, by private communication or otherwiſe, received any explanation of the public Gazette letter, the motion was eaſily overruled upon a diviſion, and the buſineſs continues in its original obſcurity.

The loſs in the Britiſh fleet, amounted to 120 killed, and to 353 wounded. Of theſe, it is remarkable, that the Hon. Capt. St. John of the Intrepid, and three of his lieutenants, were killed. Some other brave officers

were killed, and ſeveral wounded.

Such expedition was uſed in repairing the damage done to the ſhips, and the purſuit was renewed and continued with ſo much ſpirit, that on the 20th they again got ſight of the enemy, and chaced them for three ſucceſſive days without intermiſſion. The object of the French commander, beſides that of uſing all poſſible means to avoid a ſecond action, being to recover Fort Royal Bay, which he had ſo lately quitted, but where only he could repair his ſhattered fleet; and that of Sir George Rodney, beſides the hope of bringing him again to action, to cut him off from that place of refuge and ſupply. M. de Guichen, was obliged to give up his ſecond object, and for the preſervation of his firſt, to take ſhelter under Guadaloupe. Nothing could afford a clearer acknowledgment of victory to the Britiſh commander; although unfortunately it was not attended with all thoſe ſubſtantial advantages which were to be wiſhed. Sir George Rodney returned to cruize off Fort Royal, hoping thereby to intercept that enemy whom he could not overtake.

The enemy, however, not appearing, the admiral found it neceſſary from the condition of the fleet, after ſeveral days cruize, and greatly alarming the iſland of Martinique, to put into Chocque Bay in St. Lucia, as well to land the ſick and wounded, as to water and refit the fleet. Theſe purpoſes being fulfilled with great diſpatch, and advice received of the motions of the enemy, he again put to ſea, and in four days had the fortune to gain ſight of them, within a few leagues to windward. Both fleets continued in this ſtate of wind and condition for ſeveral days; the French having it conſtantly in their power to bring on an engagement, and, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, as conſtantly uſing effectual means for its prevention. Beſides the ſettled advantage of the wind, they ſoon perceived, that the cleanneſs and condition of their ſhips, afforded ſuch a ſuperiority in point of ſailing, that they ſeemed to grow playful with reſpect to the Britiſh fleet; and accordingly uſed for ſeveral days to come down in a line of battle abreaſt, as if they meant ſeriouſly and directly to hazard an engagement, until they were arrived within little more than random cannon ſhot, when they ſuddenly hauled their wind, and again departed out of all reach. May 10th.

It is at all times bad jeſting before an enemy; even ſuppoſing that enemy to be a much leſs determined and formidable foe than a Britiſh fleet. In the courſe of this manœuvring, the bravade being encouraged by a ſudden and maſterly movement made by the Britiſh admiral for gaining the wind, and which was miſtaken for a ſymptom of flight, the whole French fleet were nearly entangled into that which of all things they moſt wiſhed to avoid. They were only ſaved from a cloſe and general engagement by a critical ſhift of wind; and even with that aid, and all the ſails they could carry, were not able to

to preſerve their rear entirely from conflict.

Rear Admiral Rowley's diviſion now compoſed the van of the Britiſh fleet, and was moſt gallantly led by Capt. Bowyer of the Albion, the headmoſt ſhip. That brave officer arreſted the flight of the enemy about ſeven in the evening, and ſuſtained for no ſhort time the fire of ſeveral of their heavy ſhips, before the rear admiral, in the Conqueror, and two or three more of his diviſion, were able to come up to his aſſiſtance. It was perceivable, from the latter ſlackneſs of the enemy's fire, that their rear had ſuffered conſiderably in this rencounter; the Albion and Conqueror, were the ſhips that ſuffered moſt on our ſide; only three more were able to come within reach of danger.

15th.

The enemy from this kept an awful diſtance, and ventured no more to repeat the parade of coming down, as if they meant to engage. A vigorous effort made, however, by the Britiſh commander, a few days after, in order to weather them, although it failed of the intended effect, yet involved the fleets in ſuch a manner, that the French, for the preſervation of their rear, were under the neceſſity of hazarding a partial engagement. They accordingly bore along the Britiſh line to windward, and maintained a heavy cannonade, at a diſtance which could not admit of any great effect, but which they endeavoured conſtantly to preſerve. The rear, however, and ſome part of the center, could not eſcape being cloſely and ſeverely attacked by the Britiſh van, and ſuch other ſhips as could get up. It was accordingly obſerved that they ſuffered very conſiderably. As ſoon as their rear was extricated, the enemy's whole fleet bore away, with all the ſail they could poſſibly preſs.

19th.

It appears that twelve ſail of the Britiſh fleet, including the Preſton of 50 guns, were able to come up ſo far with the enemy, as to ſuſtain ſome loſs. Although the van was led on this day, by Commodore Hotham, in the Vengeance, with great reputation, yet it was the fortune of the Albion, Capt. Bowyer, to ſtand the brunt of this action, as well as of the preceding. She ſuffered accordingly. The whole loſs of the fleet in both engagements, amounted to 68 ſlain, and 293 wounded; and of theſe, 24 were killed, and 123 wounded, in the Albion only. Admiral Rowley ſuffered conſiderably in the former action, but much more deeply in this; in which his brave Captain, Watſon, likewiſe fell. All the officers who could get into action in either, are entitled to the higheſt applauſe.

The Britiſh fleet continued the purſuit of the enemy for two days, when they totally loſt ſight of them; the chace had then led them 40 leagues directly to the windward of Martinique. The ſtate of the fleet rendered it now abſolutely neceſſary for the commander in chief to proceed to Carliſle Bay, in the iſland of Barbadoes; which afforded, at length, an opportunity to the French of attaining that object which they had ſo long ſought, and of repairing their ſhattered fleet in Fort Royal harbour.

Notwithſtanding the tranquil ap-

pearances of things in South Carolina, at the time of Sir Henry Clinton's departure from thence, it ſoon became obvious, that many of the inhabitants were ſo little ſatisfied with the preſent government, that they endeavoured to diſpoſe of their property upon ſuch terms as they could obtain, and totally to abandon the province. This conduct became ſo frequent and glaring, that Lord Cornwallis found it neceſſary towards the end of July to iſſue a proclamation, ſtrictly forbidding all ſales and transfers of property, including even negroes, without a licence firſt obtained from the commandant of Charles Town; and likewiſe forbidding all maſters of veſſels, from carrying any perſons whatever, whether black or white, out of the colony, without a written paſſport from the ſame officer.

In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis, who extended his views to the reduction of North Carolina, had kept up a conſtant correſpondence with the loyaliſts in that colony, who eagerly urged him to the proſecution of his deſign. But beſides that the heat of the Summer was ſo exceſſive, that it would have rendered action exceedingly deſtructive to the troops, he likewiſe found, that no army could be ſubſiſted in that country, until the harveſt was over. Upon theſe accounts, he earneſtly preſſed the friends of the Britiſh government in North Carolina, to keep themſelves quiet, and free from all ſuſpicion, though in readineſs, until the proper ſeaſon arrived. But the uſual impatience of thoſe people, operated upon by the vigilant jealouſy of that government, or, as they ſaid, by its oppreſſion and cruelty, rendered them incapable of profiting of ſuch ſalutary counſel. Inſurrections accordingly took place, which being conducted without order or caution, as well as premature, were eaſily ſuppreſſed. A Col. Bryan, however, with about 800 half armed men, eſcaped into South-Carolina, where they joined the royal forces.

During the neceſſary continuance of the commander in chief at Charles Town, in regulating the government and affairs of the province, the part of the army deſtined to active ſervice, was advanced towards the frontiers, under the conduct of Lord Rawdon, who fixed his head quarters at the town of Camden. The advantageous ſituation of that place on the great river Santee, which afforded an eaſy communication with ſeveral, and remote, parts of the country, together with other inviting and favourable circumſtances, induced Earl Cornwallis to make it not only a place of arms, but a general ſtore-houſe or repoſitory for the ſupply of the army in its intended operations. He accordingly uſed the utmoſt diſpatch in conveying thither from Charles Town, rum, ſalt, arms, ammunition, and various ſtores, which from the diſtance, and exceſſive heat of the weather, proved a work of infinite labour and difficulty. That noble commander likewiſe ſpared no pains in arming and embodying the militia of the province, and in raiſing new military corps under well-affected leaders.

But during theſe tranſactions, a great change took place in the aſpect

aſpect of affairs in North-Carolina. For beſides the ſuppreſſion of the loyaliſts, who were treated with little mercy, Major-General the Baron de Kalbe, a German officer in the American ſervice, arrived in that province with 2000 continental troops; and was followed by ſome bodies of militia from Virginia. The government of the colony were likewiſe indefatigable in their exertions and preparations, at leaſt for defence, if not for conqueſt. Troops were raiſed; the militia every where drawn out; and Rutherford, Caſwell, Sumpter, and other leaders, advanced to the frontiers at the head of different bodies of them. Skirmiſhes took place on all ſides, and were attended with various fortune; and the enemy became ſo dangerous, that Lord Rawdon found it neceſſary to contract his poſts.

It ſoon appeared, that the ſubmiſſion of many of the South-Carolinians was merely compulſory, and that no conditions or conſequences could bind or deter them from purſuing the bent of their inclinations, whenever the opportunity offered. As the enemy increaſed in ſtrength, and approached nearer, numbers of thoſe who had ſubmitted to the Britiſh government, and others who were on parole, abandoned, or hazarded all things, in order to join them. A Colonel Liſle, who had exchanged his parole for a certificate of being a good ſubject, carried off a whole battalion of militia, which had been raiſed by another gentleman for Lord Cornwallis, to join Sumpter. Another battalion, who were appointed to conduct about 100 ſick of the 71ſt regiment in boats down the Pedee to George-Town, ſeized their own officers, and carried them, with the ſick men, all priſoners to the enemy.

General Gates was now arrived in North-Carolina, to take the command of the new ſouthern army; and the time was faſt approaching, when his high military reputation was to be ſtaked in an arduous conteſt with the fortune of Earl Cornwallis. In the ſecond week of Auguſt, that nobleman having received intelligence at Charles Town, that Gates was advancing with his army towards Lynche's Creek, that Sumpter was endeavouring to cut off the communications between that city and the army, that the whole country between the Pedee and the Black River had revolted, and that Lord Rawdon was collecting his whole force at Camden, he immediately ſet off for that place.

He found on his arrival no ſmall difficulties to encounter. Gates was advancing, and at hand, with a very decided ſuperiority of force. His army was not eſtimated at leſs than five or ſix thouſand men; it was likewiſe ſuppoſed to be very well appointed; whilſt the name and character of the commander, increaſed the idea of its force. On the other hand, Lord Cornwallis's regular force, was ſo much reduced by ſickneſs and caſualties, as not much to exceed 1400 fighting men, or rank and file, with four or five hundred militia, and North Carolina refugees. The poſition of Camden, however advantageous or convenient in other reſpects, was a bad one to receive an attack. He could indeed have made good his retreat to Charles-Town with thoſe troops that were able

able to march; but in that caſe, he muſt have left about 800 ſick, with a vaſt quantity of valuable ſtores, to fall into the hands of the enemy. He likewiſe foreſaw, that excepting Charles-Town and the Savannah, a retreat would be attended with the loſs of the two whole provinces of South Carolina and Georgia.

In theſe circumſtances, the noble commander determined, neither to retreat, nor wait to be attacked in a bad poſition. He knew that Charles-Town was ſo well garriſoned and provided, that it could not be expoſed to any danger, from whatever might befal him. That his troops were excellent, admirably officered, and well found and provided in all reſpects. And that the loſs of his ſick, of his magazines, the abandonment of the country, and the deſertion of his friends, all of which would be the inevitable conſequences of a retreat, were almoſt the heavieſt evils which could befal him in any fortune. In his own words, there was "little to loſe by a defeat, and much to gain by a victory."

The intelligence which he received, that General Gates had encamped in a bad ſituation, at Rugley's about 13 miles from Camden, undoubtedly ſerved to confirm Lord Cornwallis in his determination. He accordingly marched from Camden about 10 o'clock at night, with a full intention of ſurprizing Gates at Rugley's; and making his diſpoſitions in ſuch a manner, as that his beſt troops and greateſt force ſhould be directed againſt the continental regiments; laying little ſtreſs on the militia, if theſe were ſufficiently provided againſt.

Aug. 15th.

It was almoſt ſingular, that at the very hour and moment, at which Lord Cornwallis ſet out from Camden to ſurprize Gates, that general ſhould ſet out from Rugley's in order to ſurprize him. For although he does not acknowledge the fact in point of deſign, and even pretends, that his night movement was made with a view of ſeizing an advantageous poſition ſome miles ſhort of Camden; his order of march, the diſpoſition of his army, with the hour of ſetting out, and other circumſtances, will leave but little room to entertain a doubt of his real object. Theſe leading features will remind ſome of our readers of a celebrated action in the late war; in which the Pruſſian monarch, environed with danger, and ſurrounded on all ſides by armies of enemies, ſome of which were ſingly ſuperior to his own, ſurprized and defeated Laudohn on a night march, when that able general intended to conclude the war by completing the circle, and by ſurprizing him in a manner which muſt have been final in its effects.

In the preſent inſtance, the light troops and advanced corps on both ſides, neceſſarily fell in with and encountered each other in the dark, ſo that the ſurprize was mutual. In this blind encounter, however, the American light troops being driven back precipitately on their van, occaſioned ſome conſiderable diſorder in that part, if not in their centre, which probably was never entirely recovered. Lord Cornwallis repreſſed the firing early, and immediately formed; he found that the enemy were in

in bad ground, and he would not hazard in the dark, the advantages which their ſituation would afford him in the light; at the ſame time that he took ſuch meaſures as effectually prevented their taking any other. For the ground occupied by both armies, being narrowed and preſſed in upon on either hand by deep ſwamps, afforded great advantages to the weaker in making the attack, and by preventing the ſtronger from extending their lines, deprived them in a great meaſure, of thoſe which they ſhould have derived from their ſuperiority in number.

A movement made by the Americans on the left by day-light, indicating ſome change of diſpoſition or order, does not ſeem to have been a very judicious meaſure, in the face of, and ſo near to, ſuch a commander, and ſuch an army. Lord Cornwallis ſaw the advantage, and inſtantly ſeized it; Col. Webſter, who commanded the right wing, directly charging the enemy's left, with the light infantry, ſupported by the 23d and 33d regiments. The action ſoon became general, and was ſupported near an hour, with wonderful reſolution, and the moſt determined obſtinacy. The firing was quick and heavy on both ſides; and intermixed with ſharp and well-ſupported conteſts at the point of the bayonet. The morning being ſtill and hazy, the ſmoke hung over and involved both armies in ſuch a cloud, that it was difficult to ſee or to eſtimate the ſtate of deſtruction on either ſide. The Britiſh troops, however, evidently preſſed forward; and at the period we have mentioned, the Americans were thrown into confuſion, began to give way on all ſides, and a total and general rout ſoon enſued.

We learn from the American accounts, that the whole body of their militia, (which conſtituted much the greater part of their force) excepting only one North-Carolina regiment, gave way and run, at the very firſt fire; and that all the efforts of the general himſelf, and of the other commanders, were incapable of bringing them afterwards ever to rally, or to make a ſingle ſtand; ſo that gaining the woods as faſt as poſſible, they totally diſperſed. But the continental regular troops, and the ſingle North Carolina regiment of militia, vindicated their own and the national character. They even ſtood that laſt and ſore teſt of the goodneſs of troops, the puſh of the bayonet, with great conſtancy and firmneſs.

The Britiſh commander ſhewed his uſual valour and military ſkill. And the officers and troops, in their reſpective ſtations, anſwered his warmeſt expectations. But though all are entitled to our applauſe, yet Lord Rawdon, with the two Lieutenant-Colonels Webſter and Tarleton, could not avoid being particularly diſtinguiſhed.

The victory was complete. The broken and ſcattered enemy were purſued as far as Hanging-Rock, above twenty miles from the field of battle. All their artillery, amounting to ſeven or eight braſs field pieces, with 2000 ſtand of arms, their military waggons, and ſeveral trophies, were taken. Lord Cornwallis eſtimates the ſlain at eight or nine hundred, and ſays about a thouſand priſoners were taken.

taken. The General, Baron de Kalbe, who was ſecond in command, was mortally wounded, and taken. That officer ſpent his laſt breath in dictating a letter, expreſſive of the warmeſt affection for the Americans, containing the higheſt encomiums on the valour of the continental troops, of which he had been ſo recent a witneſs, and declaring the ſatisfaction which he then felt, in having been a partaker of their fortune, and having fallen in their cauſe.

The American Brigadier-General Gregory, was among the ſlain, and Rutherford was wounded and taken. Although ſome brave officers fell, and ſeveral were wounded, on the Britiſh ſide, yet the loſs which the army ſuſtained, was upon the whole comparatively ſmall. It amounted, including eleven miſſing, only to 324, in which number the ſlain bore a very moderate proportion.

Upon the whole, Gates ſeems to have been much outgeneralled. He was, however, conſoled in his misfortune, (which has ſince occaſioned his retreat from the ſervice) by the approbation of his conduct and ſervices, which was publicly beſtowed by ſome of the aſſemblies.

General Sumpter had for ſome time been very ſucceſsful in cutting off or intercepting the Britiſh parties and convoys, and lay now with about a thouſand men, and a number of priſoners and waggons which he had lately taken, at the Catawba fords; apparently ſecured by diſtance, as well as the difficulties of the country. Lord Cornwallis conſidered it a matter of great importance to his future operations, to give a deciſive blow to this body, before he purſued his ſucceſs by advancing into North-Carolina. He accordingly detached Colonel Tarleton, with the light infantry and cavalry of the legion, amounting to about 350, upon this ſervice. The advantages to be derived from woody, ſtrong, and difficult countries, are much counterbalanced by the opportunities which they afford of ſurprize. The brave and active officer employed upon this occaſion, by forced marches, judicious meaſures, and excellent intelligence, ſurprized Sumpter ſo completely at noon-day, that his men, lying totally careleſs and at eaſe, were moſtly cut off from their arms. The victory was accordingly nothing more than a ſlaughter and rout. About 150 were killed on the ſpot, about 300, with two pieces of cannon, taken, and a number of priſoners and waggons retaken.

Theſe ſplendid ſucceſſes laid the ſouthern colonies open, to all the effects of that ſpirit of enterprize which diſtinguiſhes Earl Cornwallis, and which he communicates to all who act under his command. In any other war than the American, they would have been deciſive of the fate of thoſe colonies. But it has been the ſingular fortune of that war, that victory, on the Britiſh ſide, has been unproductive of its proper and cuſtomary effects.

CHRO-

CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

York, Dec. 30.

AT a general meting of the freeholders of the county of York, held here this day, at which moſt of the gentlemen of the firſt conſideration and property were preſent, it was unanimouſly agreed, that a petition ſhould be preſented to the Houſe of Commons for the purpoſes therein mentioned*.

After which the following reſolutions were propoſed, and alſo unanimouſly agreed to, viz.

1ſt, Reſolved, That the petition now read to this meeting, addreſſed to the Houſe of Commons, and requeſting, that before any new burthens be laid upon the country, effectual meaſures may be taken by that Houſe to enquire into, and correct the groſs abuſes in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to reſcind and aboliſh all ſinecure places and unmerited penſions; and to appropriate the produce to the neceſſities of the ſtate; is approved by this meeting.

2d. Reſolved, That a committee of ſixty-one gentlemen be appointed, to carry on the neceſſary correſpondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and to prepare a plan for an aſſociation, on legal and conſtitutional grounds, to ſupport that laudable reform, and ſuch other meaſures as may conduce to reſtore the freedom of parliament; to be preſented by the chairmen of the committee to this meeting, held by adjournment, on Tueſday in Eaſter-week next enſuing.

The committee was then choſen; and thanks given to the lords and members of the Houſe of Commons who honoured the meeting with their preſence and ſupport.

A deputation from the Proteſtent Aſſociation, aſſembled 4th.
under the patronage of Lord Geo. Gordon, waited on Lord North, to requeſt his lordſhip to preſent a petition from that ſociety to parliament; and to ſupport the ſame, againſt a law which has already received the royal aſſent, for the relief of his majeſty's Popiſh ſubjects in certain caſes; which his lordſhip abſolutely refuſed.

In conſequence of a public 7th.
notice given by the ſheriffs, a numerous and reſpectable meeting

* See Appendix.

of the freeholders of Middlesex was held at the Mermaid, at Hackney. About one o'clock Mr. Sheriff Wright took the chair (Sheriff Pugh being confined with the gout, did not attend) and read a requisition made to him, signed by several freeholders of the county, requiring the meeting, the purport of which was, "to consider the propriety of entering into resolutions, and co-operating with the noble lords who formed the minority on the 7th and 15th of December on the motions for the retrenchment of the civil list, and for controlling the public expenditure, &c."

A petition to the House of Commons, almost verbatim the same with that from the county of York, was agreed to. After this, two resolutions similar to those carried at the York meeting were read and approved of, and a committee of fifty-one gentlemen appointed to carry on the business, and the necessary correspondence with the kingdom. Mr. Grieve then made a motion, that the thanks of the meeting be given to the noble lords and commons, who have uniformly and unequivocally stood forth in the defence of the constitutional rights of their country, and for reforming the state; which was carried.

10th. A dreadful fire happened in Great Wild Street, Lincoln's-Inn-fields, at three o'clock last Friday morning, when three houses were consumed, two others damaged, and five or six unhappy persons perished in the flames! Many industrious families, lodgers in the houses which were burnt, &c. lost all their goods, and even their wearing apparel, and were compelled to rush, in a manner naked, into the streets, to save their lives.

At the above fire Mrs. Mitton, a dealer in coals, was seen to look out of her chamber window before the house caught fire; but an engineer at the instant accidentally pointing the engine-pipe that way, struck her backwards, and she was consumed with the building, to which the flames soon after communicated themselves.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 11.

Capt. Clerke, of his majesty's sloop the Resolution, in a letter to Mr. Stephens, dated the 8th of June, 1779, in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, Kamtschatka, which was received yesterday, gives the melancholy account of the celebrated Captain Cook, late commander of that sloop, with four of his private mariners, having been killed, on the 14th of February last, at the island of O'whythe, one of a groupe of new discovered islands, in the 22d degree of north latitude, in an affray with a numerous and tumultuous body of the natives.

Capt. Clerke adds, that he had received every friendly supply from the Russian government; and that as the companies of the Resolution, and her consort the Discovery, were in perfect health, and the two sloops had twelve months stores and provisions on board, he was preparing to make another attempt to explore a northern passage to Europe.

[The above new discovered island in the South Seas lies in 22 N. lat. and 200 E. long. from Greenwich. The captain and crew were at first treated as deities, but upon their revisiting that island some of the

the inhabitants proved inimical, hoſtilities enſued, and the above melancholy ſcene was the conſequence.]

Copies of the journals of the two ſhips, together with many valuable drawings, were left with the governor, to be forwarded to England; who politely engaged to take charge of them himſelf as far as Peterſburgh.

This day the new elected members of the common-council took the uſual oaths for their qualification at the ſeſſions at Guildhall, and immediately afterwards a court of common-council was held, when the committee appointed to enquire into the right of the members of that court to be Governors of the Royal Hoſpitals, reported a ſtate of their proceedings, and the meaſures taken by their opponents; and the committee were empowered to defend the right of the corporation in ſuch manner as they ſhould be adviſed, and to draw upon the chamber for the neceſſary expences.

14th. Four priſoners were tried at the Old-Bailey, three of whom were capitally convicted, viz. John Benfield and W. Turley, for feloniouſly coining and counterfeiting, at a houſe in White's-alley, Chancery-lane, ſhillings, ſix-pences, and half-crowns, ſeveral counterfeit ſhillings, newly caſt, being found in the room; and Mary Williams, for feloniouſly colouring, with a certain waſh producing the colour of ſilver, ſeveral round planks of baſe metal, of a fit ſize to be coined into counterfeit milled money, reſembling ſhillings.

The ſame day the ſeſſions ended, when ſeven convicts received judgment of death, nine were ſentenced to hard labour in the houſe of correction, eight to be impriſoned in Newgate, five whipped and diſcharged, and 11 diſcharged by proclamation.

The ſeſſions of the peace is adjourned till Thurſday the 20th inſtant, at Guildhall, and the ſeſſions of gaol delivery till Wedneſday the 23d of February, at the Old-Bailey.

19th. This day the following malefactors were executed at Tyburn, purſuant to their ſentence: Hugh Mulvey, John Whiley and John Woodmore, who went in the firſt cart, for breaking open the houſe of Thomas Farley, of Coldbath Fields, and ſtealing thereout two ſilk gowns, two pair of ſtays, and other things; John Howell, for ſtealing 352 ſilk handkerchiefs, and other goods, to a conſiderable amount, in the houſe of Mr. Daviſon, pawnbroker, in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet; and William Kent, for robbing Henry Otto, one of his majeſty's meſſengers, of his watch and money, on the highway, near Gunnerſbury-lane, who went in the laſt cart. They were attended by the ſheriffs, city marſhals, officers, the ordinary of Newgate, &c. from Newgate to the place of execution. They behaved exceeding penitent, wept much, and were terribly agitated and ſhocked at their approaching diſſolution.

The above unfortunate youths were all very young, the eldeſt not exceeding 23 years of age.

The ſame day a court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, when Mr. Thorp, one of the common-council of the ward of Aldgate, preſented a letter from Mr. Alderman Lee, deſiring to ſurrender the office

of alderman of the ſaid ward, he finding it incompatible with his preſent concerns to hold the ſaid office. The court accordingly accepted of the ſaid reſignation.

21ſt. The lord-mayor went to Ironmonger's-hall, Fenchurch-ſtreet, when a wardmote was held before his lordſhip for the election of an alderman for Aldgate ward, in the room of William Lee, Eſq; when William Burnell, Eſq; one of the late ſheriffs, was choſen without oppoſition. Thanks were alſo voted to the late Alderman Lee by a majority of 12 voices.

The king's proclamation, ſetting forth, that for the future all foreign ſhips taken carrying to and aſſiſting the enemies of Great Britain with warlike-ſtores or goods of any kind, ſhould be deemed legal prizes, and the ſhip or ſhips and cargoes ſhould be ſold for the benefit of thoſe who took them, was read at the Royal Exchange Gate by Mr. Biſhop the common-cryer, aſſiſted by the proper officers.

The adjournment of the ſeſſion was held at Guildhall before the lord mayor, aldermen, recorder, &c. to conclude the buſineſs which was left unfiniſhed at the late adjournment, when the following extraordinary trial for an aſſault was heard:—Thomas Atkins, a ſerjeant at mace, went on the 24th of laſt June to ſerve a proceſs on Mr. Henry Gough, at his houſe on Holborn-hill; he acquainted Mr. Gough with the nature of his buſineſs, who ſeemed inclined to ſettle the matter. Mr. Gough going up ſtairs, the officer followed, when he, Mr. Gough, turned round, and ſhoved Atkins over the banniſter: Mr. Atkins not receiving much hurt, renewed the attack, and a general battle enſued between Gough and Atkins, and Gough's man and Atkins's man. Gough finding the officer too mighty for him to oppoſe without further aſſiſtance, unchained a large fierce animal, which Mr. Atkins affirmed to be a centaur, or griffin; however, it proved to be a man ſatyr: this had the deſired effect, for both Mr. Atkins and follower, upon ſight of the beaſt, wiſely declined the fight, and made a precipitate retreat. The charge being undeniably proved, Mr. Gough was accordingly found guilty, and ſenteneed to pay a fine of five guineas. Mr. Gough is a dealer in wild beaſts.

Laſt December a gentleman tried the power of electricity on a myrtle tree, in the following manner: he placed the pot in a room which was frequented by the family, and for ſeventeen days electrified it once in each day, allowing half a pint of water to the root on every fourth day. In conſequence of this trial, the myrtle produced ſeveral ſhoots, the longeſt meaſuring full three inches, and it is now in the green-houſe in perfect health.

Dublin, Jan. 15. We have the pleaſure to acquaint our readers, that on Monday laſt there was made the firſt exports entry of woollens from this kingdom at our Cuſtom-houſe ſince the reſtrictions on our trade were taken off. The entry was made by William Worthington, Eſq; of 1300 yards of ſerge, for Liſbon.

York, Jan. 18. At a meeting of the Agriculture Society, held at Beverley, for the Eaſt-Riding of the county of York and county of Hull,

Hull, a premium of three guineas was adjudged to Ann Witty, of Driffield, ſhe having ſerved the longeſt in one place, viz. 40 years; alſo a premium of two guineas to William Carr, of Tickton, he being the next eldeſt ſervant, having ſerved in one place 36 years.

Cordova, in the Tucuman, June 1, 1779.

In the village of Altagratia there lives a negro woman, who, according to the moſt authentic information and teſtimonies taken judicially, muſt be about 175 years old; ſhe is extremely thin, very much wrinkled, and bent double, but ſhe can ſee at a few paces diſtance, and ſpins; but what is moſt extraordinary, though ſhe cannot ſtand for any ſpace of time, ſhe ſtill carries on the buſineſs of a midwife with dexterity. She has five children by her huſband, one Michael, a negro, and ſhe thinks her grand-children have grand-children of their own. Old people ſeem to be no rarity in that country, as there are ſeveral negroes upwards of an hundred years old, and one woman of 120, who retains her memory perfectly, and declares that the old woman in queſtion was arrived at woman's eſtate when ſhe firſt had the uſe of her reaſon.

In the courſe of this month, the price of corn fell almoſt one half from what it was only four years ago. The following is an accurate ſtate of the prices in 1775, and in the preſent winter of 1779 and 1780.

	1775.	1780.
Wheat per load	£. 15 0	£. 7 10 0
Barley per quarter	1 19	0 19 0
Oats	1 2	0 15 0
Peaſe	2 4	1 5 6
Hay per load	4 19	2 0 0

In the weſt of England the wool is all upon hand. In Lincolnſhire, and throughout the north, it has been ſo for ſome time. This article, that was formerly called the ſtaple-commodity of England, will now fetch no price.

Died, *Dec.* 26, of a lingering illneſs, in the 75th year of his age, Thomas Hope, Eſq; well known in the trading world, as one of the firſt characters that this or perhaps any other age ever produced. He was originally deſcended from the elder branch of the family of Hope in Scotland; and, endowed with great natural abilities, he with unremitting application raiſed the credit and affluence of the houſe at Amſterdam, which continues to bear his name, to ſuch a height, as perhaps no other houſe of trade in any country ever arrived. Nor were his thoughts in buſineſs confined to that object only, having for many years preſided as repreſentative of the Prince of Orange, firſt in the Weſt India, and afterwards in the Dutch Eaſt India Companies; where, particularly in the latter, he eſtabliſhed ſuch wiſe laws and regulations in their trade, as muſt make his memory reſpected and adored as long as thoſe companies ſhall exiſt. And it will be remembered by the lateſt poſterity, that a merchant could at once preſcribe laws to ſovereigns in the Eaſt, and, by his money-ed powers, greatly ſway the ſcale of empire in Europe. He was juſt in all his dealings; and friendly, where he had once placed his confidence, to a degree that by many might be thought to exceed the bounds of prudence in trade.

At Wapping, Mr. Thomas Dilworth, well known for his many uſeful publications.

At Stepney, Mrs. Armſtrong, aged 110.

FEBRUARY.

2d. The inhabitants of Weſtminſter, to the number of 4000, met in Weſtminſter-hall, purſuant to public advertiſement, to agree on a petition to parliament, to controul the ſhameful waſte of public money, &c.

The Hon Charles Fox being called to the chair, Mr. Sawbridge repreſented the neceſſity there was for the preſenting a petition ſimilar to that of York. He then read the petition, which was next read by the chairman, and carried unanimouſly.

A motion was then made, that a committee ſhould be appointed to correſpond with the other committees through the kingdom; and the Duke of Portland, the Earls Egremont and Temple, the Lords John and George Cavendiſh, the Hon. Thomas Townſhend, Meſſrs. Sawbridge and Wilkes, and about ninety other noblemen and gentlemen, were appointed of the committee.

After which, Mr. Fox was propoſed as a candidate to repreſent the city of Weſtminſter at the next general election, and was received with the loudeſt acclamations.

5th. There is now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Benj. Penny, near Tetbury in Glouceſterſhire, a bull calf, about three weeks old, with two heads, four ears, and two tongues, quite perfect. It eats with both mouths, and is likely to live. This monſter has been ſhewn to the public in the metropolis, and was alive at the end of the preſent year.

9th. Laſt Sunday between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, one Garret of Sutton, near Retworth, in Suſſex, ſhot his wife dead on the ſpot as ſhe was ſitting before the fire. The more effectually to execute his diabolical intention, he loaded the piece with two balls, and in the preſence of his wife; who, remarking the ſingularity of his loading, and aſking him what he was going to ſhoot with bullets? received for anſwer, ſmall birds. But ſhe ſoon found herſelf the devoted object; the fatal piece was levelled, and ere ſhe could remonſtrate, the balls had paſſed through her body, and killed her on the ſpot.

10th. A court of common-council was held at Guild-hall, when, after a deal of altercation, the vacancies in the ſeveral committees were filled up agreeable to the liſt of the previous meeting.

The buſineſs for which this court was called was next proceeded on, viz. To take into conſideration the expenditure of public monies, and other grievances. Upon which, a motion was made and ſeconded, that a petition be preſented to the honourable the Houſe of Commons from that court; which, after ſome debates, was put, and carried unanimouſly.

A committee of eight aldermen and ſixteen commoners was appointed to draw up the petition, which was agreed upon. This committee was deſired to correſpond with the committees of the ſeveral counties.

Yeſter-

8th. Yesterday morning, pursuant to an order of the King's Bench, on Saturday last, Messr. Stratton, Brooke, Floyer, and Mackay, were brought up to the bar of that court, to receive sentence, having been found guilty of removing Lord Pigot from the presidency of Madras, and imprisoning him for nine months, which was said to be the cause of his death.

Mr. Justice Ashurst being the judge appointed to pass sentence, before he pronounced it went through the heads of the evidence, both for the prosecution and the defence.

He made several remarks as he went through it, in which he observed, that if Fort St. George had belonged to the crown, the depriving Lord Pigot of the presidency would have been high treason; but, as it was under the East-India company, it was only a misdemeanor. He took notice that the defendants had imprisoned Lord Pigot for dismissing several members from the council, yet they themselves had done the like in three instances; but he could say, that, while they held the reins of government, every thing succeeded, both in trade, and in the army; and that the presidency of Bengal, to whom the whole of the business was referred, gave an opinion in their favour. He then proceeded to the sentence, as follows:

"Messr. Stratton, Brooke, Floyer, Mackay,

"Gentlemen,

"You are now called upon to receive sentence for an offence which you have committed, and been found guilty of; but, as there is no distinction in your cases, but are guilty alike, you are sentenced, each of you, to pay a fine to his majesty of 1000 l. and to be imprisoned until that sum is paid." The fines being immediately paid in the court, they were of course discharged.

15th. A cause was tried before Judge Nares at Guildhall, between Mr. Robert Tayler and the owners of one of the Colchester stages. The action was brought for the recovery of damages for the injury which Mr. Tayler suffered from the coachman's driving against his horse near Stratford, by which the horse was thrown down, and Mr. Tayler's legs run over by the hind wheel of the coach. The learned judge in summing up the evidence informed the jury, that the law was clear in making the owners of stage coaches accountable for the misconduct of their coachmen, and told them to find a verdict for the plaintiff, if it appeared from the evidence that the coach was not on the left side of the road, for that if so, the accident had happened in consequence of that misconduct. The jury retired for about ten minutes, and brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with 150 l. damages.

17th. His majesty has been pleased to grant a free pardon to Richard Mealing, convicted in September session of feloniously receiving goods, the property of James Pentecross, knowing the same to be stolen.

His majesty also hath been pleased to grant a free pardon to John Field, convicted the same session of coining shillings and six-pences.

23d. On Monday was tried in the court of King's Bench, before the Earl of Mans-

field, at Weſtminſter-hall, an indictment found by the grand jury of Weſtminſter, againſt a Middleſex juſtice, for commitment of a freeman of London, and a member of the fellowſhip of ticket-porters, to the Savoy, under the authority of the impreſs act, thereby declaring him to be an idle and diſorderly perſon, whereas in truth and in fact the proſecutor was an induſtrious ſober man, of extraordinary good reputation. The proſecution was conducted by the direction of the court of aldermen, to protect the rights of the fellowſhip, they being all freemen, and governed by an alderman. The indictment was laid alſo againſt two conſtables, for the original aſſault, prior to the examination before the juſtice; but the noble lord who preſided on the bench gave a direct intimation to the jury, that they in point of law were juſtifiable; and they were without heſitation acquitted. The point reſted ſolely as to the criminality of the juſtice, and whether he was any ways liable to be called upon for the injury done to the proſecutor, who had been handcuffed, and led like a thief through the ſtreets; and beſides, had ſuffered in the Savoy a miſerable confinement, and even debarred the viſits of his friends; ſo that by mere accident a writ of Habeas Corpus was obtained by the city to diſcharge him out of a loathſome room. The counſel for the juſtice relied upon the act of parliament as a ſufficient anſwer to the charge, ſaying, that the juſtice exerciſed his diſcretion, and was not to be confined within any particular line of conduct: if it could be proved he had wantonly abuſed his power, they allowed the caſe varied materially. Lord Mansfield ſaid, that the juſtice had refuſed to hear evidences, whom he was not empowered to exclude: the juſtice was not to refuſe the examination of witneſſes offered: it was his duty to hear and judge accordingly, and not to be biaſſed by improper motives; but as to that conſideration, it was for the jury to determine. The juſtice was found guilty, and is to receive ſentence next term. The trial laſted till four o'clock.

The ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, which began on the 26th preceding Wedneſday, ended, when ſeven convicts received ſentence of death: William Herbert, for returning from tranſportation; Chriſtopher Burrows and John Burden, for robbing Sarah Gifford in the Green-park, St. James's; Robert Andres and Richard Palmer, for robbing the houſe of Sir Richard Lumm; Chriſtopher Plumley, for robbing the houſe of John Abbot; and John Pears, convicted in September ſeſſions of hiring a horſe and ſelling the ſame. This caſe had been referred to the twelve judges, who were of opinion the offence was capital.

A man was carried before the lord mayor for defrauding a woman of ſome bank ſtock. 28th. It appeared on the examination that he pretended to be a broker, and prevailed on the woman to give him half a guinea, and to ſign a paper empowering him to tranſact ſome buſineſs for her at the bank, her huſband being abroad. The woman not being able to read, put her mark, and when ſhe went to the bank to receive her next dividend, ſhe found

found that all her ſtock was ſold and transferred to another perſon. The impoſition being committed in the outparts, he was ſent there for further examination.

29th. During the night the atmoſphere exhibited the moſt extraordinary appearance that has been obſerved for many years. The light reſembled that of a great fire, and the whole elements ſeemed to be in one continued flame. At intervals flaſhes of ſparkling fire ſhot from the horizon to the zenith, and ſeemingly extinguiſhed in a point. The ſame appearance extended to France and Germany, and probably over all Europe.

Beſides the Petition agreed to at the county meeting held at York, as mentioned under Dec. 30, ſimilar meetings and petitions have been held and agreed to in the counties of Middleſex, Hampſhire, Cheſhire, Hertford, Huntingdon, Surrey, Suſſex, Dorſet, Cumberland, Eſſex, Bedford, Glouceſter, Somerſet, and Wilts; as alſo by the corporations of Nottingham and Newcaſtle-upon Tyne.

Died, At Combe, Joſeph Ekins, a labouring man, aged 103, who never knew a week's illneſs; and for the laſt 40 years ſubſiſted entirely on bread, milk, and vegetables.

Francis Walkern, a carpenter, aged 104, who till within a few days of his death was never troubled with ſickneſs, or any diſtemper whatever.

MARCH.

2d. A cauſe was tried, and learnedly argued, between the oyſter-meters of London, and the proprietors of oyſter-beds in the county of Eſſex; the oyſter-meters claimed a ſpecific ſum for work which they had an excluſive right of performing by cuſtom and immemorial uſage. On the part of the defendants it was contended, that the right inſiſted on was aboliſhed by the acts of the 10th and 11th of William and Mary, which made Billingſgate a free market, and ſettled the fees. The jury, which was ſpecial, after hearing the arguments on both ſides, gave a verdict for the plaintiffs, which eſtabliſhed their rights.

5th. The Stamford waggon took fire at five o'clock in the morning, three miles beyond Hertford, by the careleſſneſs of the driver, who left the lantern in the baſket with a candle, which burnt to the ſocket, and nothing eſcaped but a barrel of porter, and the bottom and one wheel of the waggon. The paſſengers and waggoner were much ſcorched in attempting to throw off the loading, which, on account of the approaching fair, was of conſiderable value, and the damage is eſtimated at above 1000 l.

6th. This morning at a court of common-council held at Guildhall, a motion was made by Mr. Deputy Leaky, That the thanks of this court be voted to Sir George Bridges Rodney, for his late very gallant action againſt the Spaniards; and alſo that the freedom of this city be preſented to him in a gold box of 100 l. value, which were both agreed to.

14th. Two young women were taken out of the New River locked arm in arm, with their legs tied together, and both drowned. It has ſince appeared they were tambour-workers, had

contracted

contracted a perfect friendship for each other from children, and had lived happily together for some time, till religious melancholy, as one of their friends told the coroner's jury, had hurt their minds.

17th. His Majesty has been graciously pleased to settle a pension of four hundred pounds a year on Lady Blackstone, widow of the late Sir William Blackstone.

18th. This morning, about five o'clock, a fire broke out at the house of the Duke of Northumberland, at Charing-Cross. It began at the east end of the second story, fronting the street, in a room where the servants kept their liveries, and other clothes; two servants lay in the next room, who were roused by the fire, which broke in upon them, but they luckily made their escape, though with the loss of all they had. From five o'clock in the morning, when it was first perceived, the fire raged furiously till eight, when the flames were pretty well got under, but by that time had burnt from the east end to the west, there being no party wall in the whole range of building. The roof is destroyed, as are also the first and second floors, at the former of which it stopped, the rooms on the ground floor being most of them arched with brick. The rooms in front, which have been destroyed, were all of them allotted to the use of the principal officers of his Grace's household; such as the secretary, master of horse, &c. How it happened is not yet known; his Grace got out of bed when the alarm was given, and was present during the whole time of its raging.

19th. A fire broke out at a linen-draper's, opposite the Pantheon, in Oxford-street, which consumed the same, and damaged another house. And at night a fire broke out at a tin and oil shop, in Princes-street, Oxford-street, opposite Swallow-street, which burnt the house and furniture, and destroyed the stock in trade, before it was extinguished. A man who lodged in the house, and who had a wife and three children, came through the flames with a child under each arm, and returned to save the third, when the staircase floor fell in with him, and they were burnt; a woman jumped out of the garret window naked, and fell upon the lamp-iron, and was so terribly bruised, that she died next morning in the Middlesex Hospital.

20th. Mr. Fullarton, member for Plympton, and late secretary to Lord Stormont in his embassy to the court of France, complained to the House of the *ungentleman-like* behaviour of the Earl of Shelburne, who, he said, with all the aristocratic insolence that marks that nobleman's character, had in effect *dared* to say, that he and his regiment were as ready to act against the liberties of England, as against her enemies.—This occasioned some altercation between those who were the friends of each party; but being generally thought unparliamentary, it went at that time no farther.

21st. The following acts received the royal assent by commission:

Act for raising a certain sum of

of money by annuities, and eſtabliſhing a lottery.

Act for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion, and for better payment of the army.

Act for regulating his majeſty's marine forces.

Act for better ſupplying his majeſty's navy with mariners, &c.

Act for repealing an act which prohibits the carrying the gold coin, &c. &c. to Ireland.

Act for paying and cloathing the militia.

Act for ſecuring the lawful trade to the Eaſt-Indies, and to prevent Britiſh ſubjects from trading under foreign commiſſions, and for other regulations of trade.

Act to regulate county elections.

Act for continuing the duties on ales, &c. brewed for ſale in the town of Kelſo, in Scotland.

And to ſeveral road, inclofure, and other bills. In all 42.

22d. This morning, in conſequence of the altercation above alluded to, a duel was fought between the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fullarton, of which the following is an authentic narrative.

Lord Shelburne, with Lord Frederick Cavendiſh for his ſecond, and Mr. Fullerton, with Lord Balcarras for his ſecond, met at half paſt five, in Hyde-Park, March 22, 1780. Lord Balcarras and Lord Frederick Cavendiſh propoſed both parties ſhould obey the ſeconds. Lord Shelburne and Col. Fullerton walked together, while Lord Balcarras and Lord Frederick Cavendiſh adjuſted all ceremonials, and fixed on piſtols as the proper weapons. When they came to the ground, Lord Shelburne told them, that his piſtols were already loaded, and offered to draw them, which was rejected by Lord Balcarras and Col. Fullerton; upon which Lord Balcarras loaded Col. Fullerton's piſtols. The ſeconds having agreed that twelve paces was a proper diſtance, the parties took their ground; Col. Fullerton deſired Lord Shelburne to fire, which his lordſhip declined, and Col. Fullerton was ordered by the ſeconds to fire. He fired, and miſſed. Lord Shelburne returned it, and miſſed. Mr. Fullerton then fired his ſecond piſtol, and hit Lord Shelburne in the right groin, which his lordſhip ſignified; upon which every body ran up; the ſeconds interpoſed. Lord Frederick Cavendiſh offered to take the piſtol from Lord Shelburne; but his lordſhip refuſed to deliver it up, ſaying, 'I have not fired that piſtol.' Mr. Fullerton returned immediately to his ground, which he had left with a view of aſſiſting his lordſhip, and repeatedly deſired his lordſhip to fire at him. Lord Shelburne ſaid, 'Sure, Sir, you don't think I would fire my piſtol at you,' and fired it in the air. The parties and their ſeconds got together. Lord Balcarras aſked Lord Shelburne if he had any difficulty in declaring he meant nothing perſonal to Col. Fullerton. His lordſhip replied, 'You know it has taken another courſe; this is no time for explanation.' His lordſhip then ſaid to Col. Fullerton, 'Although I am wounded, I am able to go on, if you feel any reſentment.' Col. Fullerton ſaid, he hoped he was incapable of harbouring ſuch a ſentiment. Lord Frederick Cavendiſh declared, that

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from the character he had heard of Col. Fullerton, he believed ſo. Col. Fullerton ſaid, 'As your lordſhip is wounded, and has fired in the air, it is impoſſible for me to go on.' Lord Balcarras and Lord Frederick Cavendiſh immediately declared that the parties had ended the affair by behaving as men of the ſtricteſt honour.

On hearing of the above affair, the following meſſage was ſent from the city:

Guildhall, London, March 22.

'The committee of common council for correſponding with the committees appointed, or to be appointed, by the ſeveral counties, cities, and boroughs in this kingdom, anxious for the preſervation of the valuable life of ſo true a friend of the people, and defender of the liberties of Engliſhmen, as the Earl of Shelburne, reſpectfully enquire after his lordſhip's ſafety, highly endangered in conſequence of his upright and ſpirited conduct in Parliament.

By order of the committee,
Earl of Shelburne. WM. RIX.'

29th. This morning a ſeſſion of oyer, terminer, and goal delivery for offences committed on the high ſeas, was held at the ſeſſions-houſe in the Old-Bailey, before the Right Hon. William Earl of Mansfield, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench, and Sir James Marriot, Knt. Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, when John Williams, officer of marines, and James Stoneham, boatſwain's mate, of the Eagle privateer, were put to the bar. John Smith, firſt lieutenant of the ſaid ſhip, depoſed, that they ſailed from Briſtol on a cruize, in December laſt; that, being in the captain's cabin, drinking a bottle of wine, on Chriſtmas-day, they heard a muſket fired upon deck; that they ſent a boy to enquire the cauſe, who returned with an unſatisfactory anſwer; that in a few minutes they heard the report of a ſecond muſket, which alarmed them very much, and they ran upon deck all together to ſee what was the matter; that they found the whole crew muſtered upon deck, and that they had broke open the cheſts, and ſupplied themſelves with arms; that upon the captain going up to them, Williams, one of the priſoners, advanced with a blunderbuſs, and ſwore, that if he ventured a ſtep further than the line he had drawn acroſs the deck, he would blow his brains out; that the captain inſtantly knocked Williams down, upon which the reſt of the crew, ſeeing their leader fall, and thinking he had been killed, returned to their quarters; and that Williams and Stoneham, the priſoners at the bar, were inſtantly ſecured, as being ſuppoſed to be the ring-leaders of the mutiny; that the next day they fell in with the Brilliant frigate of war, and that they put twelve more of the rioters on board that ſhip to ſerve his Majeſty, after which they returned without any further moleſtation, peaceable into Falmouth.

Peter Reddiſh was then called, whoſe evidence correſponded exactly with Smith's; the captain was called three times, but did not think proper to make his appearance.

The priſoners in their defence called three evidences, the perſons who acted as linguiſt, ſurgeon, and

and surgeon's mate, who made it appear that the mutiny in the ship did not arise from factious or dishoneſt motives in the priſoners, but from an honeſt deteſtation of the bad conduct of the captain, who it appeared had ſailed with a privateering commiſſion from the Lords of the Admiralty, and had robbed every veſſel of whatſoever nation that he met with of inferior force; they each gave an affecting narrative of the plunder of a Dutchman, whom they boarded under American colours, and ſtripped of all the poor man, who was ſole owner of the veſſel, had in the world, though he was in a neutral bottom, and in a fair way of trade; the poor Dutchman wept over his misfortunes, but did not know that theſe barbarians were Engliſhmen. They likewiſe gave an account of the plunder of a Daniſh ſhip and Portugueſe veſſel in the ſame manner, and that the method they uſed on theſe occaſions, was to throw a tarpaulin over the head of the ſhip, which bore the figure of an eagle, and to call themſelves 'the Black Prince American privateer,' Captain Mackenzie, commander; and theſe witneſſes ſeparately declared, that the priſoners had often told them they would rather be killed than join the captain in theſe iniquitous proceedings; ſeveral other very reſpectable perſons appeared to the characters of the priſoners, but Lord Mansfield refuſed to admit them, declaring that the preſent trial did not at all depend on character, and his lordſhip then ſummed up the evidence in his uſual way; and the Jury, after retiring a few minutes, found the priſoners guilty; but at the ſame time earneſtly recommended them to the King's mercy.

A few days ago, as the London waggon of Mr. Truman of Derby, was travelling between Biggleſwade and Buckden, on the north road, the candle in the lantern unfortunately caught the tilt of the machine, and the fire got to an alarming height before it was perceived by the driver, who had but juſt time to diſengage the horſes, before a caſk of ſpirituous liquors blew up, and made a dreadful exploſion. The loſs ſuſtained is computed at about 2000l. 31ſt.

Canterbury, March 29. Monday laſt Mr. Tankard, a cuſtom-houſe officer, with nine or ten aſſiſtants, came up with a gang of ſmugglers, at King's-down Court-lodge, near Dartford, as they were watering their horſes, and took 28 out of 30 horſes, laden with tea, ſilk, and lace.—One of the maſter ſmugglers was taken, and a number of the horſes wounded.

DIED, At Lincoln, James Pigot, Eſq. aged 96.

Robert Macbride, a fiſherman, in the Iſland of Henies, aged 130 years and ſome months.

At his ſeat near Derby, Samuel Pickering, Eſq. aged 104.

At Radwinter in Eſſex, John Fox, Eſq. aged 97.

In Kent-ſtreet, Southwark, Mary Ann Ryan, aged upwards of 107.

Joſeph Highmore, Eſq. aged 88, formerly an eminent painter.

Dr. Iſaac Schomberg, a very eminent and learned phyſician.

APRIL.

APRIL.

3d. At the grand quarter-seſſion of the peace, held at Guildhall, a new regulation was eſtabliſhed, by which every publican within the juriſdiction of the city is obliged to appear in perſon to renew their licences, and to enter into recogniz nces for the good order and proper conduct of their reſpective houſes.

Laſt week, at the aſſizes at Kingſton, in Surrey, the trials on the crown ſide came on before the Hon. Mr. Juſtice Gould and a ſpecial jury, when Mr. Donovan (who voluntarily ſurrendered) was tried for having killed in a duel, in November laſt, Capt. James Hanſon. It appeared by a number of reſpectable witneſſes, that the deceaſed was entirely in fault, and had forced Mr. Donovan to meet him in a field near the Dog and Duck; it alſo appeared, that the only ground of quarrel between the priſoner and the deceaſed was, that Mr. Donovan interfered between Capt. Hanſon and another perſon, and prevented their fighting, on which Hanſon gave him very abuſive language, and inſiſted "that he would make him ſmell powder." The deceaſed was wounded by a piſtol bullet in the belly, and lived about 24 hours after. He declared to two eminent ſurgeons who attended him, and to ſeveral other perſons, that Mr. Donovan behaved during the action, and after it, with the greateſt honour, tenderneſs, and concern; and he particularly deſired that no proſecution ſhould be carried on againſt him, as he himſelf was ſolely in fault, by an unprovoked raſhneſs of temper and heat of paſſion. The learned judge gave an excellent charge to the jury, and ſaid, "though he allowed that all the circumſtances were as favourable to the priſoner as in ſuch a caſe could be, yet as the idea of honour was ſo often mentioned, he muſt ſay and inform the jury, and the auditors, that it was falſe honour in men to break the laws of God and of their country; that going out to fight a duel was in both parties a deliberate reſolution to commit murder, and there could be no honour in ſo ſavage a cuſtom, which, however diſguiſed in words, is contrary to the principles and happineſs of ſociety, and ought to be reprobated in every well-regulated community." The jury, without going out of court, acquitted Mr. Donovan of the murder, and found him guilty of man-ſlaughter on the coroner's inqueſt. The judge fined him 10l. to the King, which being paid in court, he was immediately diſcharged.

8th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old-Bailey, when ſentence of death was paſſed on the following convicts, viz. John Sparrow, for aſſaulting John Turner Harris, on Conſtitution-hill, in the Green-Park, and robbing him of a ſilver watch, and 3s. in money; Thomas Williams, alias Charles Calloway, for aſſaulting Capt. Joſeph Richards on the highway, near Stepney-Cauſeway, and robbing him of a gold watch and ſome money; Francis Thompſon and James Early, for robbing Joſeph White in Stepney-fields of one guinea, 7s. and ſome halfpence; Suſannah Flood, for ſtealing three guineas and about 14s. the property of George Naſh, in

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his dwelling-house, in Wych-street; John Carr, for robbing George Worthy, near Kensington Gravel-Pits, of some money, and a cane mounted with silver; and Andrew Breeme was convicted of setting his house on fire in Glanville-street, Rathbone-place. For the purpose of determining a point of law, the jury found a special verdict, as follows: that the prisoner wilfully and maliciously set on fire and burnt the house; that the said house was on lease to the prisoner for the term of three years from Mr. Tuppin, who was possessed of it for a term of 99 years under Mr. Bolton. The twelve judges will have to determine whether, under these circumstances, the prisoner has or not committed a felony.

One Read, a coachman, and one Smith, a plaisterer, stood in the pillory, St. Margaret's Hill, for unnatural practices; the former of whom perishing before the time expired, owing to the severity of the mob, the same was taken notice of in the House of Commons. The Attorney-General was desired to prosecute the officer whose business it was to see the sentence of the law executed, and a hint thrown out for a new law to alter the mode of punishment.

At a meeting of the Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture in the East-Riding of York, honorary premiums were adjudged to Christopher Sykes, Rt. Grimston, and Rd. Carlisle Broadley, Esqrs. for planting the greatest number of larch-trees, viz. 54,430 by the first; 25,500 by the second; and 13,700 by the third. At the same time a servant received two guineas for killing the greatest number of rats in one year, not being a rat-catcher by profession, viz. 482.

This day the question to enquire into the right of the corporation to become Governors of the four royal hospitals, St. Bartholomew's, Christ's, Bridewell and Bethlem, and St. Thomas's, came on at Lincoln's-Inn Hall before the Lord Chancellor, as visitor of all the royal foundations. The counsel for the city of London were, the Attorney-General, the Recorder, Mr. Maddox, and Mr. Rose; for the petitioners (the president and governors by donation) were, Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Kenyon, and Mr. Erskine. The former, in a speech of an hour and a half, stated the objects of the petition and the prayer, and a modern bye-law of the corporation for sealing hospital leases in the court of common-council; that in consequence of the new resolution leases brought to the court of aldermen, agreeable to former usage, were refused the seal: after which, the Lord Chancellor intimated that a matter of this importance required a deal of time, and proposed a further day convenient to the court and counsel for a complete investigation. 11th.

Six malefactors were executed at Tyburn, pursuant to their sentences, for various crimes; John Franque, for robbing the house of Jeremiah Brentham, Esq. John Cormach, for robbing the house of Mrs. Crucius; Robert Hughes, for robbing the house of Samuel Lindsay, Esq. Robert Andres and Richard Palmer, for robbing the house of Francis Lumm, Esq. and John Benfield 12th.

Benfield and William Turley, for counterfeiting the current coin.

14th. This day, on a trial at bar in the Court of King's-Bench, the will of the late Duke of Kingston, in favour of the preſent Counteſs dowager of Briſtol, was eſtabliſhed.

Same day, Mr. Serjeant Davy moved the Court of Common-Pleas for a rule to ſhew cauſe why a defendant ſhould not be diſcharged upon a common appearance to a writ iſſued in that court for a pretended debt of 70l. The caſe, as laid before the court, was ſingular. The parties were *huſband* and *wife*; were Roman Catholics; were married according to the rules of that church, and had lived happy together for eleven years, when the wife went into Northumberland with three ſurviving children out of ſeven, upon an allowance of 20l. a year. During her ſtay her huſband had written to her, and ſhe returned at his requeſt. They again lived together amicably, till the huſband meeting with a woman of ſome fortune who ſeemed to favour his addreſſes, he courted her as a ſingle man. This coming to the knowledge of the *wife*, ſhe put a ſtop to the match, which ſo exaſperated the huſband, that he vowed revenge; cauſed her to be arreſted in her maiden name, and ſwore a debt againſt her of 70l. When in the ſpunging-houſe, an attorney offered her a ſum of money to ſign an inſtrument, renouncing all claim to her huſband, which ſhe abſolutely refuſed; whereupon ſhe was, by order of the attorney, taken to Newgate. During her confinement, the offer was made a ſecond time, and refuſed; the attorney endeavoured to perſuade her to a compliance, by telling her, that a particular friend adviſed her to ſettle the difference by a general renunciation of the title of a wife. But even this ſubterfuge had not the effect; ſhe was in Newgate 12 days, and the ſingular cruelty of the affair being repreſented to a captain with whom the huſband lived, he generouſly directed an attorney to bail the action, and apply to the court for redreſs. Serjeant Davy having commented upon this tranſaction, ſaid he ſhould ſuper-add a clauſe to the rule, for the purpoſe of puniſhing the attorney for proſtituting the proceſs of the court to ſo ſhameful a deſign, evidently calculated to impoſe upon an innocent family, and therefore he moved alſo, that the parties ſhould anſwer.—The court ſeemed ſtruck at the relation, and ſaid, that whether it was in point of law criminal or not, the attorney had acted very unconſcientiouſly, and it would be right to call upon him, and, if poſſible, to puniſh him; they therefore granted the rule as prayed for.

A motion was made in the Court of King's-Bench, 20th, by the Solicitor-General, for an attachment againſt the Under-Sheriff of Surrey, for neglect of his duty, in not preventing the death of the man who ſtood in the pillory at St. Margaret's-Hill. Affidavits were read, ſtating the fact of the man's death, and how it happened, but no charge againſt the Under-Sheriff, that it happened through his neglect. Mr. Dunning ſaid he was inſtructed to defend the Under-Sheriff in the firſt inſtance; and ſaid, that ſo far

far from there being any criminality in the under sheriff, he was instructed to say, that instead of the ordinary assistance of constables from five parishes, he had collected those of eleven parishes, and taken every other means to prevent mischief. The court were for refusing the application, as containing no charge; but at last granted the rule to shew cause, to give the under sheriff an opportunity of having his character perfectly cleared.

26th. The under sheriff of Surrey shewed cause in the Court of King's Bench, against the rule prayed for by the attorney general, on account of the death of the man on the pillory, when he made it appear that the fact did not originate from any neglect of duty, and the rule was discharged.

Mr. Justice Wilmot, prosecuted to conviction by the city of London, for imprisoning a fellowship-porter under the late act for impressing men for his majesty's service, surrendered himself at the bar of the Court of King's Bench, in order to receive sentence. He was fined 100l. and his attorney undertaking to be answerable for that sum, he was immediately discharged.

28th. Mr. Dunning moved the Court of King's Bench for a rule, to shew cause why an information should not be filed against the Rev. Henry Bate, for an infamous libel on the Duke of Richmond, charging him with high-treason. Mr. Dunning produced two affidavits in support of his motion, which proved the Rev. Henry Bate to be the editor, and one of the proprietors of the Morning-Post; that he is, and has been for years past, the director of all matters to be printed in the said paper, and that he revises the several proof papers before they are published, and is allowed by the rest of the proprietors a weekly sum for so doing. That he with his own hand gave the queries to the printer of the paper on the 23d or 24th of February, and told him 'there is the copy for to-morrow,' or words to that effect, by which the printer understood he was to print it, and that he did print it accordingly in the Morning-Post on February the 25th instant.

The court granted the rule, and expressed their indignation at the heinousness of the offence, at the same time passing high encomiums on the Duke of Richmond, and asserting their firm belief of the falsehood of the charges.

Some of the most exceptionable queries, are the following:

'To the Duke of R———.

'Whether a man who at all times has endeavoured to deceive his country, and furnish an avowed enemy with intelligence of the first importance, is not a traitor to his country, and deserving of the most condign punishment?

'Whether, if the minister had taken your advice, you did not mean to give the intelligence to your bosom friend the Duke d'Aiguillon?

'Whether you did not furnish the Court of France with plans of the weakest and most defenceless parts of this island, most liable to invasion, and most contiguous to their own coasts and harbours?'

List of the Capital Convicts condemned during Lent Assizes.

At Northampton three, (two of whom were for murder)—one reprieved.

At Reading one—reprieved.

At Winchester ten, one for murder—five reprieved.

At Salisbury five—all reprieved.

At Stafford four—two reprieved.

At Aylesbury five, one for murder—four reprieved.

At Chelmsford six——two reprieved.

At York three.

At Cambridge two—one for murder.

At Bedford four——three reprieved.

At Maidstone, John Knight, for assisting some smugglers in shooting two dragoons at Whitstable, near Canterbury, the 26th ult. was found guilty, and executed accordingly.

At East Grinstead (for Sussex) one, for murder of his wife, and executed accordingly.

James Burnet, indicted for the wilful murder of Thomas Hewitt, gamekeeper to his Grace the Duke of Richmond, at Goodwood-park, in December last, was found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to be burnt in the hand, and imprisoned twelve months in Horsham jail.

At Lincoln two.

Leghorn, April 6. Letters from Constantinople, dated March 3, mention an earthquake at Tauris, the capital of the province of Aderbigan, in Persia, which has been more fatal than that which happened in 1651. If we are to credit these first accounts, this town, which contained 15,000 houses, and many magazines of commerce, exhibits nothing but a parcel of ruins. Many citizens, they add, are destroyed by this disaster.

Died, at St. Just, Cornwall, Maurice Bengham, a fisherman, aged 116.

At Thatcham, James Walford, aged 104.

At York, Thomas Hume, Esq; aged 115.

In St. Martin's Workhouse, Jane Petit, aged 113.

At Margate, Mrs. Stokes, aged 100.

At Narrowfield, Berks, The. Carter, aged 108.

At Market Harborough, Rev. Rich. Parry, D. D. well known by many learned publications.

At Knightsbridge, John Nourse, Esq; many years bookseller to his majesty. He was himself a man of science, particularly in the mathematical line; in which department a great number of valuable publications have been by him introduced to the world.

M A Y.

A very interesting question was argued and determined in the Court of King's Bench, wherein the inhabitants of Richmond and the city of London were particularly concerned, the former claiming the property of the soil of the river Thames, so far as their jurisdiction reaches, down to low-water mark, had caused the works now carrying on by the latter, under the authority of an act of parliament, to be obstructed, on which the city had commenced a prosecution against the persons employed in that service, and had obtained 3d.

obtained a verdict against them at the last Surry assizes; but the counsel on the opposite side still insisting on their right to the soil, the case came to be argued on that particular point; and after many learned arguments, in which the matter seemed to receive a full investigation, Lord Mansfield and the other judges were unanimously of opinion, that the river being a public navigable river, the inhabitants could have no particular interest in any part of its soil. The decision therefore of this cause entirely removes the general idea, that owners of the adjoining lands have property in the soil of navigable rivers as far as low-water mark.

4th. A respite, till further signification of his majesty's pleasure, was sent to the Marshal of the High Court of Admiralty for John Williams and James Stoneham, convicts in Newgate, for mutiny. They were to have been executed this day.—This respite was in consequence of notice taken of the case in the House of Commons. The captain, it seems, had been concerned in some illicit practices, and they had resisted going into port for fear of being pressed.

This day the royal assent was given to 42 public and private bills by commission. Among the former were the following:

A bill for several additional duties upon wines and vinegar.

—— for several additional duties on advertisements, and receipts for legacies.

—— to protect goods, &c. of the growth of the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, on board neutral vessels bound to neutral ports, during the present hostilities.

—— for allowing a bounty on the exportation of British corn and grain in ships of any kingdom in amity with his majesty.

A petition has been lately presented to his majesty, from Calcutta, signed by 600 Whites, and a great number of Gentoos, stating, in a forcible manner, the various hardships the inhabitants have suffered since the introduction of the English laws amongst them. 6th.

This morning two persons, one a tradesman and the other a sheriff's officer, were brought before the Court of King's Bench, to receive sentence for having some time ago arrested one of the domestics belonging to his Excellency Count de Welderen; Mr. Justice Willes, in a short speech, explained the nature of the offence, observing, at the same time, how necessary it was strictly to adhere to the laws of nations: that the persons now before them, had been guilty of a very high offence against those laws, and which called loudly for an exemplary punishment; the judgment therefore of the court was, that the two persons be immediately taken into the custody of the marshal of this court, and be by him conducted this day, at any hour that may be appointed, to the dwelling-house of Count de Welderen, with a label fastened to each of their breasts, denoting their offence, and that they do then and there ask pardon of his excellency for the crime by them committed. The tradesman to be afterwards imprisoned for 9th.

three months, and the sheriff's officer to pay a fine of 30l. and be committed till he pay the same.

13th. This day the following decision was made respecting bankrupts, by the Earl of Mansfield, which being materially necessary to be known to the practisers in the law, but more especially to those who have concerns in bankruptcy, we here give it to the public. Mr. Isaac, the plaintiff, brought his action against Mr. Harrison, the Sheriff of Sussex, for having returned a warrant, '*Non est inventus*,' in an action, Isaac against Henwood, when in fact the defendant Henwood had been arrested, but the officer had thought proper not to hold his prisoner on his having ben found a bankrupt, and on his producing a summons from the commissioners of bankruptcy, which he considered as a protection from arrests before the day fixed for his final surrender, which the sheriff on the above trial made the ground of his defence. The sheriff produced Mr. Wells, the messenger, to prove the bankruptcy, and that Henwood was in custody, subsequent to the service of the commissioners' summons. Lord Mansfield declared, that a commission of bankruptcy could not prevent the bankrupt from arrest any farther than at the actual time of the bankrupt's going to, staying with, and coming from the commissioners, and directed the jury to find a verdict for the plaintiff with full costs of suit, which they did accordingly. Mr. Dunning and Mr. Morgan, counsel for the plaintiff, the solicitor-general for the defendant.

15th. The sessions at the Old Bailey, which began the preceding Wednesday, ended, when four convicts received sentence of death; James Purse, for a rape on the person of Eliz. Midwinter; Wm. Edwards, for robbing Wm, Randall on the highway, and brutally cutting off two of his fingers; Joseph Biley, for stealing a cow; and Tho. Humphrys, for robbing Wm. Biliany, on the highway near Pancras. At this sessions Albert Lowe was tried for the murder of his wife, and found guilty of manslaughter; to whom the judge made a very moving speech, addressed to the feelings of the criminal, who had been guilty, he said, of the most aggravated instance of manslaughter he had ever remembered to come before any court. He did not arraign the jury for their verdict, but he sentenced the prisoner to 12 months imprisonment in Newgate, which doubles the usual punishment.

19th. A man, who had been taken at an E O table in Guilford, and a pettifogger in the law, were brought before Alderman Wooldridge at Guildhall, on warrants granted in consequence of bills of indictment being found against them the last sessions at the Old Bailey, for an alarming instance of villainy. The former was charged with wilful and corrupt perjury, committed by affidavit sworn to a debt of 1100l. being due to him from a wine merchant at the west end of the town, whom he had never seen or dealt with in any respect; and the other was accused with acting as a willing agent, in the character of an attorney, and issuing the writ, not in his own name, but that of another man. The wine-merchant related

related the following particulars: viz. As a member of a ſociety for the prevention and puniſhment of frauds, he had been very active to counteract a plot formed to ſwindle a French gentleman out of a large ſum of money, which did not ſucceed; the parties who miſcarried in this ſcheme vowed revenge, and the firſt ſtep they took was to endeavour to deſtroy the reputation of the wine merchant by an information at the Board of Exciſe, for defrauding the revenue to a conſiderable amount; but the commiſſioners ſaw through the iniquity of the buſineſs, and ſtopt the proſecution. Soon after which, they put the iniquitous ſcheme in execution, the ſwearing the above falſe debt. They were committed for trial, and the ſociety are to proſecute, that the expence may not fall upon an injured individual.

24th. This day the revived cauſe (on a motion for a new trial laſt term) between a Jew dealer in lace, plaintiff, and two Marſhalmen, Payne and Gates, defendants, came on before the Earl of Mansfield, at Guildhall. The only queſtion was, whether the defendants were juſtified in apprehending the plaintiff on a charge of felony, which, on examination before a magiſtrate, was diſmiſſed? Lord Mansfield, in a very clear and full manner, laid down the law as lately ſettled: his lordſhip ſaid, that on the former trial he had adhered to the doctrine of many old books, and conſidered it neceſſary for the juſtification of a peace officer, that a felony ſhould be committed to warrant the apprehenſion of a ſuppoſed felon; but upon the motion for a new trial, other authorities inclining to a different opinion were quoted, and upon ſolemn deliberation of the bench, it was agreed that it was not abſolutely requiſite a felony ſhould be committed. His lordſhip adverted to the danger and inconvenience of a conſtable being liable to actions, if the charge ſhould turn out to be groundleſs; and ſhewed alſo how the public would be affected, provided a peace officer had no authority to ſecure a man ſuſpected of felony, and of whom he was required, at his peril, to lay hold as a thief. A conſtable's duty was not to enquire, but to bring the offender, or ſuppoſed criminal, before a magiſtrate for him to examine. If the charge was defective, or malicious, the party had a remedy againſt the perſon who employed the officer. At the ſame time the conduct of the conſtable ſhould be pure and incorrupt; he ſhould know of no preconcerted plan of oppreſſion; it ſhould be '*bona fide*' fair, honeſt, and regular in every degree. The jury were to review the behaviour of the marſhalmen, and if there appeared any thing like a job in it, they had exceeded the line of their authority, and were reſponſible.—No ſuch kind of conduct had been imputed to them; there was no proof, nor any colour of evidence to charge them with improper motives; however, if the jury thought they acted in the ſmalleſt degree from combination, and with a knowledge of the falſity of the fact, they would give damages, otherwiſe find for them, which the jury did, and gave only 10l. againſt the principal who made the charge.

26th. This day the royal aſſent, by virtue of a commiſſion from his majeſty, was given to the malt bill, the recruiting bill, the Plymouth dock bill, and ſeveral other public and private bills.

Yeſterday the ſuit brought by the Rev. Mr. Sellon, Miniſter of St. James, Clerkenwell, againſt the Rev. Mr. Haweis, Rector of Aldwinkle, in Northamptonſhire, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Counteſs of Huntingdon, for reading prayers, and preaching in the Pantheon Chapel, in Clerkenwell, commonly called Northampton Chapel, or Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, was determined in favour of Mr. Sellon. Several depoſitions were read, proving, on one ſide, that the chapel was a very large building, ſufficient to hold between two and three thouſand perſons; that fifteen hundred, or two thouſand, often reſorted to it; that it had doors open to the ſtreet; that tickets for admiſſion to it, had been purchaſed of the Rev. Mr. Taylor; and that Mr. Sellon was greatly injured by it in the profits of his living. On the other ſide—That the Counteſs of Huntingdon had taken a leaſe of the houſe and premiſes; that the chapel was her family chapel; and that Mr. Haweis was chaplain to her ladyſhip, and officiated in the ſaid chapel only in that capacity. A depoſition given by the Rev. Mr. Taylor, was read, declaring, that he never ſold any tickets, for admiſſion into the chapel, but that when any perſons ſubſcribed any ſum for the chapel, he gave them tickets for admiſſion, gratis.—The right of peers, and their chaplains, with reſpect to the point in queſtion, was fully argued; and the judge, after having entered into the full merits of the caſe, and pointed out the rule of right, with great preciſion, paſſed ſentence upon Mr. Haweis, admoniſhing him for his fault, forbidding him to preach in the pariſh of Clerkenwell for the future, and condemning him to pay coſts.

The groſs produce of the tolls at Black-friars-bridge, from Michaelmas, 1775, to Michaelmas, 1779, amounts to 26,367l. 13s. 6d.½. The loſs upon bad gold, ſilver, and copper, amounts to 2058l. 12s. 3d. And the ſalaries to tollmen and watchmen, and other incidental expences in that ſpace, amount to no leſs than 3,816l. 16s. 5d.

Died, at Hanſlet, near Leeds, Joſhua Simpſon, Eſq; aged 104.

At Weſthill Farm in Hampſhire, Mr. Thomas Dickens, aged 105. His wife died laſt year aged 98.

At Mortlake, Mrs. Bullock, aged 101.

Robert Walſingham, Eſq; aged 99.

Sir Anthony Buchanan, Bart. aged 96.

JUNE.

1ſt. This day Mr. Lee moved the Court of King's Bench, at the inſtance of Edmund Burke, Eſq; for a rule, obliging the reputed editor of a morning paper to ſhew cauſe, why an information ſhould not be filed againſt him, for having ſuffered to be publiſhed in the paper alluded to, a paragraph on the 13th of April laſt, and another paragraph

graph on the 14th of the ſame month, each groſsly reflecting on Mr. Burke, for the part he had taken in the Houſe of Commons reſpecting the unfortunate wretch who loſt his life in the pillory, at St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, on Tueſday the 11th of April. The rule was granted.

2d. The report was made to his majeſty of the convicts under ſentence of death in Newgate, who were convicted in April ſeſſion, when the following were ordered for execution on Thurſday next, viz. James Early, John Carr, and John Sparrow.

The following were reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure: Thomas Williams, alias Charles Calloway, Francis Thompſon, and Suſannah Flood.

This day the petition of the Proteſtant Aſſociation was preſented to parliament; and in the evening the dreadful riots and conflagrations commenced, which continued, without intermiſſion, to the 8th. See a particular account in the Appendix.

6th. A few days ago was decided a matter in the Court of King's Bench, which had been referred from the aſſizes held in March laſt in Maidſtone, as a point of law to the conſideration of the judges. It was reſpecting the horſes employed on a contract with the Hon. Board of Ordnance for the ſervice of the Royal Artillery, whether from the ſtipulated condition of that contract, which is, that the horſes, conductors, and drivers ſo employed, while in actual ſervice, ſhall be received by the inn-keepers by billet upon their march or duty, and accommodated with quarters at and after the rate of dragoons and their horſes; the Mutiny Act, as it ſtands, has made ample proviſion for ſuch horſes, &c. to be quartered upon the public: when, after a thorough diſcuſſion of the contract, and the principles upon which it is framed, the judges were pleaſed to declare, that the horſes, &c. while employed upon the public ſervice, are ſubject to the regulations and accommodations in general with the army, and comprehended in the 78th article of the Mutiny Bill, and 18th ſection of the articles of war.

8th. A meſſage was ſent from his majeſty to each of the 12 judges, offering them the protection of the military; to which judge Gould returned the following anſwer: "That he had grown old under the protection of the Engliſh laws; that he was perſuaded, however ſome perſons might be miſled, the people in general loved and reſpected the laws; and ſo great was his own attachment to them, that he would rather die under thoſe, than live under the protection of any other laws."

9th. The Earl of Surry and Sir Thomas Gaſcoigne read their recantation from the errors of the Church of Rome, before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, laſt Sunday, and received the ſacrament; and have taken the oaths before Mr. Baron Hotham. His lordſhip is candidate for Carliſle, and Sir Thomas for Beverley, in Yorkſhire.

12th. This day judgment was moved for in the Court of King's Bench againſt the perſon concerned in obſtructing the workmen employed by the city of London in making a horſe towing path at Richmond. Some objec-

tions were made in point of law to the indictment, and over-ruled by the unanimous opinion of the court, which ſet the right of the corporation to improve the navigation of the river in the cleareſt light; for the court ſaid, that the city was authorized by act of parliament to complete the navigation by all ways and means in their diſcretion; but as the city of London meant merely to eſtabliſh their right, and not to inſiſt on exemplary puniſhment, a nominal fine only was inflicted of 6s. 8d.

13th. Dr. John Parſons was, in full convocation, unanimouſly elected Clinical Profeſſor to the Radcliffe Infirmary at Oxford. At the ſame time, was read a letter from Sir Roger Newdigate, dated the firſt inſtant, ſignifying his intention of declining to be the repreſentative of that learned body, at the end of the preſent parliament.

The Clinical Profeſſorſhip in that Univerſity, was founded by the late Chancellor, the Earl of Litchfield, for which purpoſe that nobleman deviſed his houſe and furniture in Hill-ſtreet, Berkeley-ſquare, to be diſpoſed of after the death of the late Counteſs Dowager of Litchfield; the ſame was lately ſold, and produced 4256 l. 8 s. 2 d. clear of all deductions; this ſum, veſted in the three per cent. conſol. purchaſed 7079 l. 8 s. 4 d. ſtock, the intereſt whereof amounts annually to 212 l. 10 s.

15th. This day their Royal Highneſſes the Dukes of Glouceſter and Cumberland went to court, for the firſt time ſince their reſpective marriages.

This day the foreign miniſters, reſident at the Court of London, had private audiences reſpectively of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, in conſequence of his late reconciliation at court. At the ſame time moſt of the nobility and perſons of diſtinction in town attended to pay their compliments on this occaſion.

22d. Came on in the Court of King's Bench, Weſtminſter, before Mr. Juſtice Buller and a Special Jury, the trial between the Duke of Richmond and the Rev. Mr. Bate, as editor of a morning paper, on an information filed againſt the latter, for being acceſſary to the publication of certain queries addreſſed to his grace in that paper of the 25th of Feb. laſt. The evidence adduced in favour of the proſecution were the printer of the ſaid paper (who was firſt proſecuted for the ſaid offence) and the publiſher of it. The former ſwore that the author of the queries was a perſon of Plymouth, whoſe hand-writing he well knew; but that he verily believed he received the ſame through the hands of the editor. The publiſher ſpoke only to his receiving that letter by the poſt, from his friend at Plymouth, and finding it was for the ſaid morning paper, he laid it upon the deſk, but never ſaw it afterwards. The judge having ſummed up the evidence, and left it with the jury to determine what weight the printer's evidence ought to have with them, circumſtanced as he was, they withdrew for about a quarter of an hour, when returning into court, they found a verdict againſt the defendant.

26th. On Thurſday the city remembrancer waited on Mr. Juſtice Gould at his houſe in Lincoln's-

Lincoln's-inn-fields, with the thanks of the common council, when we hear the learned Judge declined accepting the freedom, which was voted him in a gold box.

29th. On Saturday a cauſe was tried in the Court of Common Pleas in London, before Lord Loughborough, and a ſpecial jury of merchants, in which Samuel Lloyd, an eminent tea-dealer, was plaintiff, and Thomas Cooper, a ſurveyor-general of the exciſe, defendant. The action was for ſcandalous and defamatory words ſpoken by the defendant of the plaintiff, by means of which the plaintiff was injured in his character and credit, and many perſons who had been in the habit of dealing with him, refuſed to do ſo any longer. The caſe on the part of the plaintiff was moſt clearly eſtabliſhed, and the learned judge, in his charge to the jury, was very pointedly ſevere on the defendant, whoſe offence, he ſaid, was much aggravated by his ſituation as a revenue officer, having in that capacity a greater opportunity of prejudicing the reputations of thoſe tradeſmen with whoſe affairs his office made him more particularly acquainted. His lordſhip further added, that independent of the damages to be given by the jury to the plaintiff, the commiſſioners of exciſe ought to be informed of the defendant's conduct, with a view of paſſing their cenſure upon it likewiſe.

The jury, without heſitation, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 500l. damages, and coſts of ſuit.

Oxford, June 1. This afternoon we had moſt tremendous and repeated claps of thunder, accompanied with vivid flaſhes of lightning; and about ſix in the evening a ball of fire ſtruck the outſide of the chimney of Mr. Meredith, cutler, of St. Clement's, in the ſuburbs of this city, where having forced through the wall, it entered into the upper room, ſhivered the partition of the ſtair-caſe, broke the maid's box, and did other damages; from thence deſcending to the one-pair-of-ſtairs, in a room where Mrs. Meredith ſat at work, it totally deſtroyed the chimney-piece; and the glaſs over it was reduced to powder, and ſcattered about the room like ſand; ſeveral glazed prints were likewiſe broke and diſperſed about the room; a mahogany cheſt of drawers was penetrated as if it had been fired at with ſmall ſhot; it alſo forced the caſement of the window conſiderably outward. From hence paſſing down to the kitchen, upon the ground floor, where the maid-ſervant was preparing for tea, ſhe was ſtruck to the ground, and received ſeveral ſcratches upon the ſide of her face; whilſt a little girl in the ſame room providentially received no hurt; though a wooden frame round the fire-place was torn away, the china broke, the ſpits, candleſticks, flat-irons, &c. ſcattered about, and a copper coffee-pot, a ſkimmer, a bell-metal mortar, and divers other things, were partially melted. From hence, the door of this room, as well as that of the ſhop, being open, it paſſed into the ſtreet without meeting with any other obſtructions; and its further progreſs could not be aſcertained.

Certain

Certain advice is received from Macao, a ſettlement of the Portugueſe in the river Canton, of the arrival of the Reſolution and Diſcovery in great diſtreſs, and in want of proviſions. Upon the death of capt. Cook, capt. Clerke ſucceeded to the command of the two ſhips, and lieut. Gore to be captain of the Diſcovery; but on the death of capt. Clerke, lieut. King ſucceeded to his place.

Rev. Mr. J. H. Wafer, formerly miniſter of the church of Zurich in Switzerland, was beheaded for having ordered ſome treaſonable pieces to be inſerted in the political correſpondence of M. Scholffer of Gottingen, and for having withheld a document of the 15th century, belonging to the public archives, after being demanded by the town ſecretary.

DIED, At Tynmouth, Cumberland, D. Bennet, aged 107.

At Green-ſtreet, Berks, Mr. Joſiah Morril, a lieutenant in queen Ann's wars, aged 100, within two days.

At Morton, Mr. John Mullet, aged 103.

Thomas Hutchinſon, Eſq; formerly governor of Maſſachuſett's Bay.

JULY.

3d. By virtue of a commiſſion from his majeſty, the royal aſſent was given to the following bills, &c.

The bill for veſting in the Eaſt-India Company their territorial acquiſitions in India. The bill to prevent the carrying copper in ſheets, coaſtways, &c. The poſt-horſe act amendment bill. The ſtarch duty bill. The ſinking-fund bill. The bill to extend and encourage the Greenland fiſhery. The bill for granting to his majeſty one million on a vote of credit. The bill relative to the drawback on the duty on coffee. The bill for appointing commiſſioners to inſpect the public accounts. The bill for granting a reward to perſons diſcovering the longitude. And ſeveral incloſure and private bills.

4th. Was tried before the Right Honourable Earl Mansfield and a ſpecial jury, a cauſe wherein Mr. Schreiber, a merchant, was plaintiff, and Mrs. Frazer, widow of the late Gen. Frazer, who died at Saratoga, defendant. The action was brought for damages on a breach of promiſe of marriage.—Mr. Dunning opened for the plaintiff, and brought witneſſes to prove the promiſes. The firſt and principal was the plaintiff's ſon; who depoſed, that the lady had acknowledged to him her having conſented to marry his father. A man ſervant depoſed, that his miſtreſs had engaged him to go abroad with her to Germany, in caſe of the marriage taking place. Mr. Chriſtie was brought to prove that the plaintiff bought a houſe in Portland-ſquare or Portland-place, at the price of 4100l. and on account of the marriage not taking place, had ſold it again for 3600l.—A horſe-dealer proved he had bought four horſes, at thirty-five guineas each, and ſold them again all four at ſeventy-four guineas. A coach-maker proved he had bought two carriages for 200l. A taylor proved making

making a ſuit of livery, on account of the promiſed marriage.

Mr. Solicitor General pleaded, that his client had no objection to the perſon, character, or fortune of the plaintiff, who is certainly a very reſpectable wealthy merchant, and in every reſpect a very advantageous match for her; that in the courſe of the treaty, ſhe began to think Mr. Schreiber's temper and her's, perhaps none of the beſt, might not agree; in that caſe the match would render both parties extremely unhappy, for which reaſon ſhe thought beſt to retract, though evidently to her own loſs and diſadvantage, his fortune being far ſuperior to her's. Her late huſband had alſo in a dream cautioned her againſt this new engagement.—He further obſerved, that no attempt had been made to prove his client a woman of fortune; therefore it was much below the plaintiff to want to take from her ſmall pittance, and add to his own great abundance. Here he was ſtopped by Mr. Dunning, who adduced proof that the lady's fortune here, in the Eaſt Indies, and America, amounted to 24,000l. or upwards.

Mr. Solicitor-General replied, that the fortune in England might be aſcertained, but that abroad could not; but with regard to fortune, his client had ſuffered moſt by breaking off the match, for ſhe was to have her own fortune at her own diſpoſal, 300l. a year pin-money, 10,000l. ſettled upon her, and the houſe at Forty-Hill, Enfield, or at her option 5000l. inſtead of it, in all 15,000l. in caſe of her ſurvival.

Lord Mansfield, in ſumming up the evidence, obſerved, that the promiſe of marriage was proved; that certainly each party engaged to marry has a right to retract at any time previous to the ceremony, and even before the prieſt, if they apprehended unhappineſs to be the event; but it was under this circumſtance, that the party retracting, if able, ſhould make good the damages ſuſtained by the other, through the treaty:—the plaintiff had proved ſome damages—it was for the jury to aſſeſs the quantum.

The jury, after a conſultation of a few minutes, gave a verdict of 600l. damages, with coſts.

A court of common council was held at Guildhall, when a motion was made by Mr. Pariſh, and ſeconded by Mr. Powell, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, expreſſing the grateful thanks of this court for his majeſty's care and attention to the citizens of London, in granting them ſuch aid as became neceſſary to ſubdue the late dangerous riots, they being too formidable for the controul of the civil authority; which occaſioned very long and great debates. The principal ſpeakers were, the aldermen Townſend, Wilkes, Newnham, and Wooldridge; Mr. deputy Leeky, Mr. Dornford, Mr. Hurford, Mr. Merry, Mr. Thorpe, Mr. Sharpe, and deputy Judd. The previous queſtion was put, whether the above queſtion ſhould be put, which was carried in the negative; but it appeared upon a diviſion, that four aldermen and 61 commoners were for putting the queſtion, and four aldermen and 56 commoners 8th.

commoners againſt it; therefore the queſtion to addreſs was put, and carried in the affirmative.

A few days ago the long depending cauſe of Miſs Butterfield was finally determined in Doctor's Commons, when the will made by the late William Scawen, Eſq; while he was at Mr. Sanxay's, was eſtabliſhed, and all former wills in her favour were ſet aſide. This deciſion was founded in theſe principles: that when the deceaſed made the will in queſtion, he was in his perfect ſenſes, and had time enough to deliberate on the merits of Miſs Butterfield before his death, or even before he annexed the codicil, by which he cancelled all his former wills; and that the laſt will was properly ſigned and atteſted. The judge, before he pronounced this decree, ſtated the evidence with great perſpicuity and candour, and beſtowed many encomiums on the character and conduct of Miſs Butterfield, but obſerved, that it was not his buſineſs to ſay what Mr. Scawen ought to have done, but what he actually did, and what the law requires when a will is executed in proper form.

15th. His majeſty's free pardon hath been granted to James Purſe, a convict of May ſeſſion, under ſentence of death; he was diſcharged by the perſons who broke open and demoliſhed Newgate, but ſurrendered himſelf again into the cuſtody of Mr. Akerman.

There were eighty-five perſons tried for riots at the Old-Bailey, of whom thirty-five were capitally convicted, ſeven convicted of ſingle felony, and forty-three acquitted.—At the commiſſion at St. Margaret's-Hill, fifty were tried for riots, of whom twenty-four were capitally convicted, and twenty-ſix acquitted. So that on the whole one hundred and thirty-five have been tried, and fifty-nine of them convicted.

18th. A court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, when 21 aldermen were preſent. The court reſolved, that as the executions have paſſed with perfect peace and quiet, and there being no appearance of any riots within this city, no further allowance be made to the troops by this city after Saturday next. One very forcible reaſon offered to prove the neceſſity of a compliance with this motion, was, that the average expence of maintaining the ſoldiers, and providing a table for the officers, is 100l. a day; and that the bills already drawn on the chamber, exceed 4000l.

At a meeting of the corporation of York at the Guildhall of that city, a motion was made to addreſs his majeſty on the taking of Charles-Town, and the ſuppreſſion of the late riots, which was carried, and an addreſs drawn up; but on hearing the ſame read, it was, on a diviſion, diſapproved, 28 to 19.

Some few weeks ago, the poſt-boy bringing the mail from Stevenage to Welwyn in Hertfordſhire, was robbed by a man on foot, who at firſt was thought to be a farmer in that neighbourhood, whoſe caſe was ſomewhat ſingular. Soon after the robbery was committed, not being converſant in bank-notes, he had joined the half of one note of 10l. to the half of another of 20l. and had paid the ſame to a tradeſman

in

in Hertford. This being brought to the bank for payment, caused a suspicion, and, on enquiry, the fact was easily traced to the farmer, who, being under no fear of danger, was taken out of his bed without resistance, and carried to Hertford gaol for trial.

26th. At Oxford assizes, a cause was tried between the city and university; the question was, Whether a tradesman, living in the city, but matriculated by the university, was liable to serve the office of constable? which was determined in the affirmative; but the university, it is said, intend to carry the final decision into Westminster-Hall.

30th. It was decided by Lord Chief Baron Skynner, at Bedford, that evidence which declares the assertions of a person since dead, cannot be admitted in point of law, notwithstanding that person did not die till a year and a half after the transaction, and the action at law would not have been brought, had that witness been alive.

DIED, At Leeds, Yorkshire, Mr. Wheatley, clothier, aged 106.

At Ditchley, Sussex, Mr. Isaac Sherman, aged 97.

In the county of Louth, Ireland, Mr. Gernon, aged 125.

In South Wales, Mr. D. Warsam, aged 109.

At Frampton, Hants. Mr. Rob. Pring, aged 103.

Thomas Ellis, shoemaker, aged 104.

At Burton, Hants. John Bennet, esq. near 100 years old. He was page to queen Anne, at the beginning of her reign.

Samuel Musgrave, M.D.F.R.S. and formerly of Corpus Christi College, Oxon, well known to the public by his examination before the House of Commons, relative to the peace of 1762; and to the learned, by his notes and collections on Euripides, which the university purchased, it is said, for 200l. and have inserted in the splendid edition of that poet, in four vols. 4°, 1778. He also published many medical tracts.

AUGUST.

5th. Abraham Darnford and William Newton were examined before the sitting alderman at Guildhall, being charged by William Warts, clerk to Messrs. Smith, Wright and Gray, bankers, with robbing and attempting to murder him. It appeared on their examination, that one of the men had lodged an accepted bill at the banking-house, to be received when due, and the money to be remitted into the country, according to direction. As this pretended bill was directed to an empty house, and had several days to run, the villains in the mean time applied to the persons who had the letting of the house, to take it, had taken it, and got the key, under pretence of getting the house cleaned. The landlord being made acquainted with the haste his new tenants were in to take possession, and not very well liking their description, desired the mistress of the public-house, on the opposite side of the way, to have an eye to their proceedings. Accordingly, on the day when the bill became due, she observed two men enter the house, and open the parlour windows, and presently after, a third man came

came and knocked at the door, was let in, and the door ſhut. Attending to ſee the event, ſhe thought ſhe heard an uncommon noiſe, and ſtepping over the way, and liſtening, was ſtruck with the ſound of murder, pronounced in a hoarſe faint voice, ſucceeded by a kind of groaning, which very much alarmed her; and looking through the key-hole, ſhe ſaw two men dragging the third down the cellar ſtairs, on which ſhe cried out violently *they're murdering a man*; knocked hard at the door, and begged the people in the ſtreet to break it open; but none would interfere. Being enraged at their brutality, ſhe burſt open the window herſelf, and was entering, when one of the villains opened the door, and was running off; but on the cry of "Stop thief," he was inſtantly taken, and the other ſhe ſeized by the throat herſelf, and dragged him to her own houſe, by which this horrid contrivance was brought to light. They had robbed the poor man of his pocket-book, and had nearly throttled him to ſtop his noiſe, till they had got him into the back cellar, where they certainly deſigned to have murdered him, had not the woman by her fortitude providentially interpoſed to ſave his life.

8th. The clerk to the banking-houſe in Lombard-ſtreet was again examined before the lord mayor, with regard to the attempt of a robbery, and the manner of his treatment whilſt in the houſe in Water-lane, Blackfriars; but he refuſed to take an oath, being a quaker. The lord mayor uſed many arguments to induce him to do it, but in vain, whereupon his lordſhip bound him over to proſecute Darnford and Newton at the next ſeſſion at the Old-Bailey. If the evidence of Mrs. Bouchier and her aſſiſtants do not bring the fact home to them, it is feared the two offenders will eſcape.

At the aſſizes for the county of Lincoln was tried a cauſe between the hon. John Manners and alderman Sanſer, for pulling down the market-croſs at Grantham, and converting the ſame to his own uſe. It appeared that this croſs had ſtood beyond memory, and was claimed as part of the manor of Grantham by the plaintiff. The defendant ſet up his right to take it down by a pretended grant from Charles I. or II. which gave to the corporation a market and three fairs; but the jury, which was ſpecial, found for the plaintiff, with 40l. damages.

A moſt dreadful ſtorm 9th. of thunder and lightning killed a man making hay near Swanſea in Glamorganſhire, and ſet fire to the hay on which he was found. The ſwivel of his watch was melted, and a round hole made in the outer caſe, which fixed it to the inner caſe, but no mark appeared on his body, and only a black ſpot on his ſhirt, near to the hole made in his watch.

On the ſame day a horſe and 18 ſheep were ſtruck dead near Uſk, in Monmouthſhire. They had all got together under a pear-tree, to avoid the violence of the tempeſt. Two horſes were alſo killed by the lightning in a ſtable near Pontypool.

At

At the court at St. James's, the 18th of Auguſt, 1780, preſent, the king's moſt excellent majeſty in council.

His majeſty in council was this day pleaſed to order, that the parliament, which ſtands prorogued to Thurſday, the 24th of this inſtant, Auguſt, ſhould be further prorogued to Thurſday the 28th day of September next.

19th. About ſix o'clock in the afternoon, as the phaeton of —— Manners, Eſq; ſon of lord W. Manners, was ſtanding in Arlington-ſtreet, St. James's, the horſes ſuddenly took fright, and ran into Piccadilly at a furious rate, and threw down a man who had a child in his arms. Both the man and child were greatly bruiſed; but it unfortunately happened that the man had a bottle of aqua-fortis in his hand: the bottle was broke in the fall, and great part of the liquid pouring upon the child, occaſioned a moſt ſhocking and terrible ſcene of miſery and diſtreſs; nor had the man much better fortune. The cloaths of both were on fire, their bodies moſt horridly burnt, ſwelled, and their eyes cloſed up, &c. The cries of the child were truly pitiable. At length their cloaths were cut off (for they could not otherwiſe be got off), and they were put into linen furniſhed by the neighbours, and carried to St. George's Hoſpital, without hopes of their recovery.

29th. Came on at the Guild-hall of the city of Briſtol, before juſtice Nares and a ſpecial jury, the trial between Mr. Caton, plaintiff, and a captain and lieutenant in the impreſs ſervice defendants, on an action for illegally impreſſing and impriſoning the plaintiff in July 1779, he having at no time acted in any other capacity than as owner or maſter of a veſſel at ſea; when the jury gave a verdict in his favour with 50l. damages. The damages were laid at 5000l.

Lately was preſented to the lord mayor of York, by his Grace the Duke of Portland, a cluſter of Syrian grapes, the largeſt, it is ſuppoſed, that ever grew in England. Its girt round was five feet nine inches, and its weight 11 pounds 10 ounces.

A ſhocking murder was committed at Milton, near Chriſt-Church, Hants, by a gang of ſmugglers, who went to the houſe of Mr. John Buſſey, officer of cuſtoms, called him up, and fractured his ſkull in ſuch a manner that ſeven pieces were taken from it. He lived in great agony till the 27th, when he expired.

Cambridge, Auguſt 18. On Monday laſt, Anne Jeffrey and Mary Wells, two poor women belonging to Cambridge, who had been in the fields to glean, were found by the road ſide in a kind of ſtupor, by a gentleman who was returning home. On enquiry, it appeared they had been ignorantly eating the berries of the deadly night-ſhade. The gentleman very humanely brought the poor women to Mr. Hoffman, chymiſt, on the Peaſe-hill, who immediately applied proper remedies, and both the women are now perfectly recovered.

Many inſtances might be given of the fatal effects of this plant. Two young Engliſh gentlemen, travelling

travelling in France, and being thirſty, were tempted by the inviting appearance of the berry, of which they imprudently eat, which brought on an immediate ſtupor, and occaſioned their death. Two ſtudents in the botanic garden at Leyden alſo eat of the berries of the nightſhade; one of them died the next day, the other with great difficulty was recovered. About ſeven years ago, a labourer who was at work in Trinity-College, ignorantly eat a plant of the nightſhade by way of ſallad, but fortunately applied to Mr. Hoffman, by whom he was cured. The method of cure, recommended by Mr. Hoffman, is to give a vomit as ſoon as poſſible, then to drink vinegar or lemon juice, about a pint diluted in an equal quantity of water, in the courſe of the day, and to walk the patient about to prevent ſleep, which would be fatal. For the information of our readers, we add a botanical deſcription of the plant.

Belladonna, deadly nightſhade, or dwale: ſtem erect, forked, branched, three or four feet high; leaves oval, entire, large, hairy, ſoft, pointed; flowers dead purple, numerous, on pedicles from the alæ of the leaves, ſingle; fruit, when ripe, a large black gloſſy berry; it grows in woods, hedges, &c. and is ripe in June, July, and Auguſt. The Italians give the name of Belladonna to this plant, becauſe the ladies in Italy make uſe of a water diſtilled from the nightſhade as a coſmetic; and the miniature painters prepare from the fruit a moſt beautiful green colour.

Soon after the accident above-mentioned, five ſoldiers belonging to the Suſſex regiment of militia, quartered near Dorking, Surry, were violently affected by eating of the berries of the nightſhade; but fortunately, after ſix or eight days illneſs, were all recovered.

Poland, Auguſt 7. We have received affecting accounts from Auſtrian Moldavia, that the locuſts, which appeared in autumn laſt in the diſtrict of Herza in that province, having then depoſited their eggs, they now appear in a thouſand times greater number than laſt year, and are two inches long; they are divided into three formidable armies; the firſt extends ſeven leagues in length, and nine in breadth, from Herza to Potuſhan; the ſecond extends from Roman to the Danube, which is about eight leagues; and the third from Jaſſy to Beſſarabia: they have deſtroyed all the graſs, fruit, and even leaves of the foreſt trees, but have not yet touched the vines or the wheat; they are as yet too young to fly, and if, when they riſe, the wind ſets towards Auſtrian Moldavia, that fine country will be ruined.

Leghorn, Auguſt 12. We hear from Rome, that they had a luſtrum (or a numbering of the people) there on the 24th of June, when it appeared there were in that city 155,184 inhabitants; of whom were 36,485 houſe-keepers. In this number were included 3847 monks, 2827 ſecular prieſts, 1910 nuns, 1065 ſtudents, 1470 alms-houſe poor, 7 negroes, and 52 perſons not Romans. The numbers born from June 24, 1779, to June 24, 1780, were 5228, and the burials 7181.

Paris, Auguſt 21. The king, ever attentive to give his ſubjects freſh

freſh proofs of his love and equity, would have his name-day, Auguſt 25, marked by an act of benevolence to his people. In conſequence, his majeſty, of his own proper motion, has aboliſhed on that day, *la queſtion preliminaire*, (the torture) which, according to a barbarous cuſtom, preſerved ſince the ages of ignorance, criminals were put to, a moment before their execution. The edict, ordaining that abolition, will ſoon appear, and the ſovereign courts, who have long lamented that cuſtom, though obliged to put it in execution, will receive the new law with rapture.

Peterſburg, Auguſt 26. This evening, at about eight o'clock, this city was terribly alarmed by a dreadful fire breaking out in the hemp magazine, which raged with ſuch violence, that it was not only impoſſible to ſtop its burning down the warehouſe, but even its communicating to ſeveral veſſels that were loaded and loading with hemp, flax, oil, and cordage, which, being all combuſtible goods, made the conflagration very tremendous; and had not the flames taken another direction, the whole quarter of Waſily-Oſtrow muſt have been burnt. The fire, however, communicated to a magazine which was ſurrounded with water, and contained great part of the laſt crop of tobacco which grew in the Ukraine. The fire burnt three days, and the damage done by it is reckoned at two millions of roubles; the number of people who have loſt their lives is not yet known, but from various circumſtances it is not doubted but it muſt be very great.

DIED, At Simanſton, Mrs. Suſ. Eviſon, aged 108.

At Liverpool, Mr. W. Ellis, aged 130 years and 6 months.

At his ſeat at Antermonie, John Bell, Eſq; who in 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, accompanied, as phyſician and ſurgeon, Peter the Great's embaſſy to Perſia, and in 1719, 1720, 1721, that to China, of which he publiſhed a particular account in 2 vols. 4to. Glaſgow, 1762, ſince reprinted in 2 vols. 12mo.

Sir John Jefferſon, Knt. aged 96.

At Epping, Mr. Ed. Brinton, aged 102.

At Blackwall, Capt. T. Welch, aged 98.

W. Raymond, Eſq; aged 96.

At his houſe in Piccadilly, R. Hutchinſon, Eſq; aged 97.

At Plaiſtow, Capt. W. Montague, aged 97.

Rev. Mr. Richard Dillon, late of the Roman Catholic chapel in Moorfields, where he had reſided for 36 years, till it was deſtroyed by the mob in the late riots; at the ſame time his houſe having been totally pulled down, his books and houſehold furniture burnt, without even a bed being left for him to lie on; the ſhock he received from ſuch barbarous treatment deeply affected his health and ſpirits, and is ſuppoſed to have haſtened his death. He was a younger brother of the ancient family of Preudſton, in the county of Meath, in Ireland; and his character was univerſally reſpected and eſteemed by a numerous acquaintance.

Of convulſions in the ſtomach, occaſioned by eating muſhrooms ſtewed in a bell-metal ſaucepan, Ch. Maitland, Eſq; of Raynham.

SEPTEMBER.

1st. A proclamation was iſſued by the king in council, for diſſolving the preſent parliament, and declaring the calling of another; the writs for which to bear date on Saturday the 2d day of this inſtant September, and to be returnable on Tueſday the 31ſt day of October following.

7th. This day there was a numerous meeting, in the portico of Covent Garden church, in order to elect two proper perſons to repreſent the city of Weſtminſter in the enſuing parliament, when the Right Hon. Lord Lincoln, Sir George Brydges Rodney, bart. and the Hon. Charles Fox, were put in nomination as candidates. The majority of hands being declared in favour of Lord Lincoln and Sir George Rodney, a poll was demanded for Mr. Fox.

8th. A court of huſtings was held at Guildhall, for the election of four members to repreſent this city in the enſuing parliament.

Upon the ſeparate ſhew of hands, the ſheriffs declared the election to have fallen upon Aldermen Hayley, Bull, Sawbridge, and Newnham.

Mr. Alderman Townſend declined any conteſt; but the friends of Aldermen Kirkman and Clarke demanded polls, which commenced at four o'clock.

14th. A county court was held at Brentford, for the election of two members to repreſent the county of Middleſex in the enſuing parliament.

About eleven o'clock the under ſheriff opened the buſineſs upon a temporary huſtings built for that purpoſe; and after reading the writ, and the acts of parliament reſpecting the mode of election, John Wilkes and George Byng, Eſqrs. were propoſed as candidates by Mr. Scott and Mr. Taylor; no other perſon being put in nomination, theſe gentlemen were declared of courſe unanimouſly elected.

This morning about half paſt four o'clock, a duel was fought in Hyde-Park between the Rev. Mr. Bate, of Surrey-ſtreet, and Mr. R. a ſtudent of the law, late of St. John's College, Cambridge. The quarrel aroſe from ſome circumſtances relating to the conduct of the Morning-Poſt, in which they are both engaged. The chance of the firſt fire falling to Mr. B. he diſcharged his piſtol, and hit Mr. R. in the fleſhy part of the right arm; the wound, however, was not ſufficient to incapacitate him from returning the fire, which he did, but without effect. The ſeconds now interpoſed, and the affair was adjuſted.

15th. At three o'clock, the poll finiſhed at Guildhall, for four repreſentatives for this city, when the numbers were: for Alderman

	Fr.	Sat.	M.	T.	W.	Th.	Fr.	Tot.
Hayley	228	424	547	951	731	583	598	4062
Kirkman	160	349	511	911	719	563	591	3804
Bull	151	294	427	698	512	478	590	3150
Newnham	137	272	437	703	577	425	485	3036
Sawbridge	152	280	347	583	492	499	604	2957
Clarke	110	174	239	400	349	241	258	1771

So

Soon after the poll closed, advice was received from Margate that Mr. Alderman Kirkman died on that day at that place.

This day the poll finally closed for the borough of Southwark; the numbers stood as follows:

For Sir Richard Hotham	1177
Mr. Polhill -	1025
Mr. Thrale -	769

16th. The event of yesterday's business is that Mr. Kirkman will be returned, as of course, and there will be a new writ issued for the election of a member in his stead, after the meeting of parliament.

17th. A most alarming tempest of thunder and lightning threw the inhabitants of Eastbourne in Kent into the utmost consternation. A stream of electrical fire fell upon the house occupied by Mr. Adair, next to that in which Prince Edward resided; and just at the close of the storm, when the severity of it was so far subsided as to leave no apprehensions of danger, two of Mr. Adair's servants were going out to view an engagement at sea, when the coachman, who was foremost, was struck instantly dead, and thrown back against the butler, who, without being sensible of the cause, fell likewise to the ground. Upon recovering his surprize, he ran up stairs in answer to the bell which was rung by the housekeeper. The butler's report suggested the necessity of enquiring after the rest of the family. Upon opening the dining-room door, Mr. Adair was found lying on the floor, apparently in a state of insensibility. He had sustained a severe stroke, which affected his whole left side, and particularly his arm, which was at first supposed to have been broken. Amidst the hurry and confusion, the footman's absence was not noticed, who had shared in his fellow-servant's fate; he was found stretched out on the floor in the pantry, and actually dead. Miss Adair was in her room dressing, and, though the wood work of the bed, from which she had just risen, was shivered in pieces, she very happily did not sustain the least personal injury. The house, appendages, and furniture, were much damaged, the chimney split, and partly thrown down, the windows shattered, looking-glasses broken, bell-wires in some of the rooms melted, and cornices displaced. In the room where the footman was found, a large stone, forming a part of the front-wall, was forced out of its place. A seal ring (on Mr. Adair's finger) was cracked round the setting of the stone, and the watch which was in his pocket bore the appearance of being battered. A very extraordinary circumstance regarding the coachman was this; though it was evident, from the livid marks on his breast, that he received the fatal stroke there, the lightning had perforated a round hole in the lower part of his wig behind, which exhibited no signs of being burnt, but looked as if it had been cut with a pinking iron.—None of the neighbouring houses received damage.

20th. This morning the lord mayor held a wardmote at Guildhall for the election of an alderman for the ward of Cheap, in the room of John Kirkman, Esq; deceased, when William Creighton, Esq; a West-India merchant, was chosen without opposition.

21st. The same day the trials ended at the sessions house in the Old-Bailey, when seventeen

prisoners were tried; three of whom were convicted of felony, two of riots, and twelve were acquitted; 14 capital convicts received judgment of death.

22d. At the close of the poll this day for the city and liberty of Westminster, the numbers were as follow:

For Sir G. Bridges Rodney	5298
Hon. Charles Fox	4878
Lord Lincoln	4157

23d. Lord Lincoln having last night given up the contest for Westminster, by declining the poll, this day the high bailiff returned Sir George Rodney, and the Hon. Charles Fox, duly elected. Lord Lincoln then demanded a scrutiny, which is to begin on the 10th of October. Admiral Young, as proxy for Admiral Rodney, and Mr. Fox, were then chaired, and carried in triumph, through different streets to the Duke of Rutland's, Duke of Portland's, and Duke of Devonshire's; after which they were brought back to Covent Garden to the committee room, amidst a numerous crowd of spectators.

Leipsick, Sept. 22. The famous town of Gera, so renowned for its manufactures, is now no more. A most violent fire broke out there on the 18th, which in a very short time made such rapid progress, that it was impossible to extinguish it, particularly as the wind blew very strong, and carried the flakes of fire from one part to another, which, as the houses are mostly covered with wood, cut and placed in the imitation of slates, soon made the conflagration general. In short, one castle, an hospital, and some small houses, which were out of the town, are all that are left out of 744 houses, of which that town was composed; within the walls not one house is standing. The loss in merchandize of various sorts, corn, manufactures, &c. is immense, and a very great number of persons, of all ages, are said to be missing. In short, the desolation of this once flourishing town of Gera is scarce to be equalled in history.

On the 22d ult. arrived at Stromness, the Resolution and Discovery, commanded by Captain Gore and Captain King, after a voyage of four years and four months on discoveries. Their principal object was to search for a North East or North West passage from the sea of Kamskatka to Europe. This they have determined not to exist, at least for any commercial purpose. It is said they have discovered a considerable group of new islands in the South seas, and that they have explored a tract of country on the western coast of America, of the extent of upwards of 20 degrees of latitude.

Last month a violent shock of an earthquake was felt in Flint and Denbigh shires: also in Anglesea and at Caernarvon, but not at Conway; strongly at Llunrwst, across the vale of Clwyd, at Downing and Holiwell, which last place was the furthest it could be traced in Flintshire.

Died, At Inch, in the county of Wexford, Mr. Henry Grosvenor, surveyor of the coast at Blackwater, aged 115 years. He was of French extraction, very sparing in his diet, and used much exercise; no one preserved more what the French call the youth of old age, being

being an agreeable chearful companion, at the age of 100, when he married his laſt wife.

At Winterborne, Hants, Suſan Edmonds, aged 104.

OCTOBER.

2d. At a court of common council held at Guildhall, a motion was made that the chamberlain do immediately lay before the court an account of all monies paid out of the chamber on account of the lord mayor, which was carried in the affirmative.

The chamberlain withdrew, and returned with an account, which being read,

A motion was made that the ſum of 814l. 1s. paid on account of the lord mayor's view of the river and expedition to Windſor, ought not to be defrayed by the city, being totally unneceſſary and highly extravagant. This brought on great debate, which laſted for near an hour and a half, when the previous queſtion was put, and carried in the negative; the firſt queſtion was then put, and reſolved in the affirmative.

In conſequence of its being thrown out in the courſe of the debate, that the audit dinners in general were very extravagant, Mr. Sheriff Sainſbury made a motion that in future the expences at the auditing the city and Bridgehouſe accounts, do not exceed 50l. which was unanimouſly agreed to.

A motion was made, and queſtion put, that the chamberlain do not pay the lord mayor more than the ſum of 352l. 19s. of the balance due to his lordſhip out of the ample allowance given by this city. This cauſed freſh debates, which laſted for a conſiderable time; the lord mayor declined to put the queſtion for ſome time, but having conſented, the queſtion being put, it was reſolved in the affirmative.

Advice was this day received, that the Fairy ſloop of war, and the Veſtal frigate, being cruiſing on the Newfoundland ſtation, they fell in with and took an American packet, on board of which was Mr. Laurens, Preſident of the Congreſs.

As ſoon as Mr. Laurens perceived the Engliſh armed boat make up to the veſſel in which he was, he threw the box that contained the letters overboard; but the lead that was annexed to it proving inſufficient for ſinking it immediately, one of the daring tars belonging to the Veſtal leaped from the boat, and kept it afloat till the reſt aſſiſted him in recovering it.

Mr. Laurens was bound to Holland, with a commiſſion from the Congreſs; and the purport of his buſineſs, it is ſaid, was of ſuch a nature as muſt have produced hoſtilities between this country and the States, if this accident had not intervened. The papers are of conſequence which have been found in the box above-mentioned; they contain an explicit detail of his buſineſs with the States, and a full deſcription of his powers and commiſſion there.

On Friday, October 6th, about twelve o'clock, purſuant to an order for that purpoſe, Mr. Laurens was brought in a hackney-coach to Lord Germaine's Office, accompanied only by Mr. Addington. The Earl of Hillſborough, Lord Viſ-

count Stormont, and Lord George Germaine, three of his majesty's principal Secretaries of State, attended by his majesty's Solicitor-general, being present, Mr. Laurens went under a long examination, which lasted till near six o'clock, when a warrant of commitment was made out, signed by the three Secretaries of State, committing him a close prisoner to the Tower. Mr. Laurens was conveyed privately soon afterwards, as before, in a hackney-coach, accompanied by two military officers, and two messengers, who were likewise named in the warrant. They arrived at the Tower about seven o'clock, and delivered their prisoner into the custody of the governor.

9th. In consequence of an address to his majesty, from the House of Commons, dated the 6th of July last, the claims of a considerable number of sufferers by the late rebellious insurrections, have been laid before the Board of Works, the principal officers of which have made a report thereof to the Lords of the Treasury.

15th. A most violent whirlwind or tornado burst on Hammersmith, Roehampton, Richmond, Kingston, and the environs. The storm seems to have come in one direction from S. to N. it beat open the S. door of Hammersmith church, though a very strong one, and the chandelier becoming a conductor to the lightning, it past directly through the church, and beat out a very large Gothic window on the north side, which was full of strong workmanship both in iron and stone; tore down the fronts of some houses, blew down walls, and tore up large trees by the roots; all the windows on the S. side of the church were broken by tiles from the adjacent houses. The time of its duration at Hammersmith did not exceed four minutes. At Roehampton a barn with some poor people in it was blown down, and seven out of eleven were sent to the hospital; a stable full of horses was likewise destroyed. The effects of the lightning on the ground of the fields, and of the storm on the largest trees, was most astonishing, and still continue to draw a concourse of spectators. It has been said, but we do not vouch it, that the storm carried a large tree clear across the Thames.

The violent storm, which did so much damage in the neighbourhood of London, was still more severely felt at Cherburgh on the coast of France, where several ships were driven out of the bay; the sea rose to an alarming height; at Vologne the convent was struck with the lightning; in the forest of Tour le Ville the trees were set on fire by the flashes, which were incessant for some time: in short, the inhabitants on that part of the coast for many miles were thrown into the utmost consternation.

The council-house at Salisbury, a building erected about 200 years ago, and containing the law courts, was burnt down. It was observed on fire at five in the morning, and extinguished by nine. Happily the charters, pictures, and furniture, were saved.

Mr. Langdale, the distiller, whose houses were destroyed by the rioters the beginning of June last, brought his action against the lord mayor by ar- 17th.

rest,

reſt, for the recovery of 40,000 l. being a loſs ſuſtained by the negligence of the city magiſtrates.

21ſt. The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when the following perſons received ſentence of death, viz. Anne Lavender, for ſtealing a metal watch, a pair of ſtone buckles, a diamond ring, and ſome apparel, the property of Mary Adams, at her houſe in Southampton-ſtreet, Bloomſbury; James Johnſon and Richard Brown, for ſtealing two geldings, the property of James Crow, out of his field at Edinford, in Bedfordſhire; Richard Hapgood, for ſtealing a quantity of wearing apparel, the property of Mr. Adams, in his houſe in Hatton-ſtreet; George Biſhop, a letter-carrier in the General Poſt-Office, for feloniouſly ſecreting a letter ſent by the poſt from Burnley in Lancaſhire, from Mr. Greenwood, directed to Meſſ. Hitchen and Wood, in Chandois-ſtreet, containing a bill of exchange to the value of 30 l. and which was found concealed between two boards in a cellar, part of the apartments of the priſoner, in Jeruſalem-court; Margaret M'Clachlan and Mary Allen, for robbing William Copping, in a dwelling-houſe, whom they ſtabbed in the face, and threatened to dig out his eyes; and Richard Hill, for ſtealing linen to the value of 27 l. in the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Lewis, oppoſite the Manſion-houſe.

A young man was tried at the above ſeſſions on a charge of burglary and robbery; all the facts were ſtrongly againſt him, but a point of law ſaved his life; the breaking and entering was juſt upon the eve of the day, and happened not to be after dark; the recorder therefore obſerved to the jury, that the priſoner was entitled to acquittal for the burglary; but he was found guilty of the felony, and the recorder immediately pronounced ſentence of three years hard labour on the river Thames. The judge obſerved, that it was the nicety of the law queſtion which preſerved him from a capital conviction, and not any mitigation of the real fact charged; that for ſo heinous an offence it was neceſſary to make an example to deter ſuch daring offenders in future.

26th. A court of common-council was held at Guild-hall, when a motion was made and carried to defend the lord mayor and ſheriffs in the ſuit commenced by Mr. Langdale, after a debate, and the opinion of the recorder, which went directly to that end.

A motion to diſcharge an alderman with the coſts of a controverſy between him and his pariſh, as to the right of ſerving church-warden, was adjourned.

The expences of courts of conſervancy were limited to 300 l. in every mayoralty. The vacancies in all committees were ordered to be filled up at a ſecond court.

A motion was made, ſeconded, and reſolved, that the court have inſpection of all bills drawn upon the corporation, and that no money be paid out of the chamber without the ſpecial direction of the court of common-council. Some obſervations upon former accounts were mentioned, which required a nicer enquiry into all future claims, that the juſtice of them may be aſcertained.

31ſt. This day the new parliament met; his majeſty as

uſual aſcended the throne in his royal robes; and being ſeated, Sir Fra. Molineux, gentleman uſher of the black rod, was ſent with a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, commanding their attendance, when his majeſty's pleaſure was ſignified to them by the lord chancellor, that they ſhould return to their Houſe and chuſe a ſpeaker, to be preſented to his majeſty for his royal approbation the next day at two o'clock. They accordingly choſe Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Eſq.

This evening the ceremony of the chriſtening of the young prince was performed in the Great Council-Chamber, by his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. His royal highneſs was named Alfred. The ſponſors were his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, his Royal Highneſs the Prince Biſhop of Oſnaburgh, and her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Royal.

A ſeſſion of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery of the High Court of Admiralty of England, was held before Sir James Marriot, knt. Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and Mr. Juſtice Heath; when James Robinſon was tried for piratically and feloniouſly running away with a merchant brig, called the Hermione, in the Jamaica trade. The jury acquitted the priſoner.

There being no other bills of indictment found by the grand jury, the court was adjourned. There were many other priſoners remanded to priſon till next ſeſſions.

Paris, Oct. 15. M. de Sartine, the miniſter of the marine, is diſmiſſed. On Friday laſt, at two o'clock, M. Amelot, Miniſter and Secretary of State, went to him in the name of the king, and demanded his ſtate papers. It is ſaid, that he delivered to him a letter from the king, who thanked him, in obliging terms, for his ſervices in the marine.

The ſucceſſor in the above important poſt, is M. de Caiſtres, lieutenant-general, and the commandant of the Gendarmerie; and yeſterday morning he went to Marly, where the court is at preſent, and there took the oaths to the king in quality of miniſter of the marine.

DIED. At Staunton, Cumberland, Mrs. M. Smith, aged 104.

At Fintray, Scotland, J. Taylor, aged 108.

At Taunton, James Codrington, Eſq; aged 104.

At Wincheſter, Mrs. Clark, aged 105.

In Bright's Alley, Gray's-Inn-lane, Elizabeth Swanbrook, aged 111.

Mrs. Bradſhaw, formerly of Drury-lane theatre. The circumſtances of her death are worth relating. She had a few years ago adopted a young girl; but the uncommon care which ſhe had taken of her education, and the fatal conſequence which has attended the want of ſucceſs of her adopted, makes it now believed that ſhe was really Mrs. Bradſhaw's own daughter; for, upon her return from France, ſhe was engaged to dance at Plymouth; but whether from the length of the dance, the timidity of the performer, or the ill nature or ignorance of the audience, ſhe was hiſſed. The effect this misfortune had upon Mrs. Bradſhaw was truly tragical. She fell into fits inſtantly, was conveyed

ed home raving mad, and died in a ſhort time after.

NOVEMBER.

1ſt. The loſſes ſuſtained by various perſons during the riots, as delivered to the Board of Works, amounted, previous to the advertiſements from that office, to 130,000l. Since thoſe advertiſements ſeveral other articles have been given in, ſuch as Newgate, a priſon in the Borough, the toll-houſes on Black-Friars-bridge, &c. So that on the preſent liſt the damages amount to about 180, 000l.

Oxford, Nov. 2. Laſt week divers tradeſmen of this city were defrauded of ſums to the amount of upwards of 100l. by a female ſharper of very genteel addreſs and appearance, who had made Oxford her reſidence for about three weeks paſt, in company with a perſon who ſpoke, or affected to ſpeak, broken Engliſh, and whom ſhe called her huſband. This fraud was effected by negociating falſe and counterfeit notes on copper-plate cheques. Thoſe put off here were filled up in an exceeding good hand payable to Robert Pearce or order at a banker's in Lombard-ſtreet, London; the laſt indorſer, A. Clifford; and it ſeems the lady had daily practiſed the art of going from ſhop to ſhop in an affable way, purchaſing trifles with ready money, and telling the people ſhe ſhould be a better cuſtomer hereafter, being come to make a conſiderable ſtay. Having thus made a ſlight acquaintance, the day ſhe left Oxford ſhe went round and took up ſilver and other goods, every where taking change out of her counterfeit notes. The ſeveral articles thus taken up they likewiſe found means to carry off laſt Friday night, aſſiſted by a third perſon, their accomplice, and who went off with them privately after dark in the ſame poſt chaiſe. Upon breaking open the door of the apartment where they lodged, in a large leather trunk (ſuppoſed to contain their wearing apparel, which they alſo left locked) were found only a couple of walking ſticks.

10th. In the Court of King's Bench, the Attorney General preſented a bill of indictment againſt George Gordon, Eſq; commonly called Lord Geo. Gordon, to the grand jury, which they very ſoon returned, finding *a true bill.*

14th. Mr. Dunning obtained a mandamus from the court of King's Bench to transfer ſtock at the bank, which was refuſed by the directors, on pretence that baſtards could not deviſe by will; which was held nugatory.

15th. The report was made to his majeſty in council, of the priſoners under ſentence of death in Newgate, who were convicted laſt September ſeſſions, when the following were ordered for execution on Wedneſday the 22d inſtant, viz. Samuel Baker, Steward Montague, Thomas Cox, Joſeph Freeman, Mary Gardner, Joſeph Carter, Abraham Danford, and William Newton, Benjamin Kinder, and Thomas Humphreys.

The following were reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure, viz. John Harris, Grace Maddocks, George Duffey, and George Watſon.

This evening came on by petition, before the twelve judges at Ser-

Serjeant's-Inn-hall, the caſe of Mr. Hart, againſt the benchers of Gray's-Inn, for refuſing to call him to the bar on account of his having taken the benefit of an Act of Inſolvency; when, after hearing counſel, they were unanimouſly of opinion that the petition be diſmiſſed. All the judges were preſent on the occaſion.

22d. This morning the following malefactors were carried in three carts from Newgate to Tyburn, where they were all executed according to their ſentence, viz. William Edwards, Steward Montague, Samuel Baker, Abraham Danford, William Newton, Thomas Cox, Benjamin Kinder, Mary Gardner, and Joſeph Carter, who was drawn on a ſledge. They all behaved very penitently; particularly Danford, who left the following curious paper in the hands of the ordinary.

Newgate Cells, Nov. 21, 1780.

"Senſible of the injuries I have committed againſt many people who have been defrauded by me, and having nothing before me but the proſpect of a ſpeedy diſſolution, and an ignominious one; as it is not in my power to make any reſtitution to the ſeveral perſons who have been injured by me, but do for their ſatisfaction declare the principal tranſactions I have been guilty of, or concerned in.

The method I chiefly put in practice was forging the poſt-mark of different towns, which I put on a piece of paper made up as a letter, and then went to the inns where the coaches came, and heard the parcels called over; then went to a public-houſe near, and wrote the direction on the letter the ſame as was on the parcel I had fixed on. The book-keepers, ſeeing the direction the ſame, and the poſt-mark on it, they uſually gave me what I aſked for, on paying their demand.

The following are the principal tranſactions I have been concerned in, which I can at preſent recollect:

In September 1777, I got a parcel ſent from Norwich, directed to Smith, Wright, and Gray, which contained bills to the amount of 500l. and upwards; one of them for 216l. 5s. was drawn on Mr. Gauſſen, in St. Helen's, which I carried for acceptance, and prevailed on him to give me the caſh, allowing him the diſcount. I wrote John Watkins on the bill, and likewiſe on the draft, which Mr. Gauſſen paid me; the amount I received in caſh at the Bank of England. Two more of the bills I left for acceptance, and the others I deſtroyed.

In July, 1778, I obtained a box at the Bull and Mouth Inn ſent from Birmingham in the ſame manner. After hearing the ſeveral parcels called over, I fixed on a box directed to Mr. Ford, Lombard-ſtreet; I had a letter in my pocket with the Birmingham poſt-mark on it, and went to a public-houſe juſt by and wrote the ſame direction as on the box. On ſhewing the letter to the book-keeper, he immediately gave me the box, which I carried to Cheapſide, took a coach home, opened it, and found upwards of 100l. in caſh, and ſome bills; ſeveral I negociated, and the others I returned in a cover to Birmingham, to the perſons who ſent them, Meſſ. Whitworth and Yates. Two of theſe bills I negociated at Hazard's for tickets;

tickets; two with Mr. Cox for gold; and one with Mr. Crafton for ſtockings, which his man carried to a box-maker, in Biſhopsgate-ſtreet, where I bought a box to pack them in. I indorſed thoſe bills in the name of Thomas Downer, Tooley-ſtreet, and afterwards conveyed the box to Mr. Ford's houſe, and left it.

Soon after, I obtained a parcel directed to Sir William Lemon and Co. wherein was a letter and account, the ſubſtance of which appeared very much like mine. I copied the ſame in addition, deſiring them to purchaſe 25 lottery tickets, which I afterwards underwrote; I deſired the ſame might be ſent to a perſon who would call for them; I ſent a ticket porter for them, who ſoon returned, and ſaid they would not [illegible]

Soon after I began practiſing the invention of the poſt-mark, I went to the Green Dragon, in Biſhop's-gate-ſtreet, and fixed on a parcel from Lynn, directed, I think, to Meſſ. Boydells, Caſtle-ſtreet, Leiceſter-fields—I produced the letter, and received the parcel; on opening it, I found it contained only a parcel of livery cloaths, and a letter; I found by the letter that Meſſ. Boydells were indebted to the perſon who ſent the cloaths about 30l. (I think his name was Curtis)—I wrote a letter, inſtead of the other, as coming from Mr. Curtis, telling them I had burnt my hand, and that I could not write myſelf, but had got a neighbour to write for me, and I drew a bill at ſight for 25l. which they paid to the porter I ſent for the money. I was afraid it would not ſuit Meſſ. Boydells to pay the bill at ſight; and to deceive them the more, I deſired them in the letter to enquire about a ticket in the State Lottery, which I knew was drawn a 500l. prize a few days before, telling them it was the property of myſelf (meaning Curtis), and if it was a prize, I would ſend it to them to ſell for me.

Another parcel I obtained from the Bell and Crown, Holborn, directed for Mr. Fox, Cheapſide, containing a piece of Iriſh cloth, and ſeveral bills, two of which I negociated; one of them was drawn on Smith, Wright, and Gray, for 50l. which I paid Hornſby and Pearce for lottery tickets; the others, about 20l. I received in caſh. Another parcel I obtained from the King's-arms, Snow-hill, directed to Mr. Bedford, Friday-ſtreet, containing ſome dimity, &c. which I ſold for what I could get.

I alſo obtained a baſket from the Spread Eagle, Gracechurch ſtreet, directed to Mr. Stock, linen-draper, containing a gooſe, and a bill on Mr. Branwaite, which he accepted, and I negociated it at a refiner's, in Caſtle-ſtreet, near Alderſgate-ſtreet.

I was the ſole actor, and had no accomplices, in all the above frauds; and I hope no perſon will ever reflect on my poor wife and children, or ſuppoſe they were in any manner concerned with me. I ſolemnly declare they are perfectly innocent, and were never acquainted with any one fraud I have committed. I make this confeſſion voluntarily, for the ſatisfaction of the many perſons that have been injured by me, and prevent ſuſpicion from being caſt on innocent perſons, having frequently

quently discovered that was the consequence of the frauds I practised. I declare this solemnly to be a true and voluntary confession.

ABRAHAM DANFORD."

Witness, J. VILLETE,
Ordinary of Newgate.

His majesty was pleased to respite Thomas Humphreys and Joseph Freeman, until further signification of the royal pleasure.

Of the convicts under sentence of death, the following are ordered for execution on Wednesday the 29th, viz. George Bishop, Robert Hill, and Margaret M'Lochlan.

The following are respited: Ann Lavender, Rich. Hapgood, James Johnson, and Richard Brown.

27th. This being the day appointed for the election of a representative for this city in parliament, in the room of the late Alderman Kirkman, the drawing of the lottery at Guildhall ceased at ten o'clock. About twelve, near a thousand liverymen were assembled, and the sheriffs, having waited for the lord mayor till near one o'clock, ascended the hustings in his absence, with the Aldermen Townsend, Bull, Wilkes, Sawbridge, Hayley, Thomas, Clarke, Burnell, attended by the city officers. The writ for the election, and the act of parliament against bribery being read, the lord mayor, and all the aldermen not in parliament, were then put in nomination, and distinguished accurately in the popular manner, according to ancient custom; but the whole shew of hands being in favour of Mr. Sawbridge, he was declared by the sheriffs duly elected.

30th. This being St. Andrew's day, the Royal Society held their anniversary meeting at their apartments in Somerset-place, when the President (Mr. Banks) in the name of the society, presented the gold medal (called Sir Godfrey Copley's) to the Rev. Samuel Vince, for his paper, entitled "An Investigation of the Principles of Progressive and Rotatory Motion." The president on this occasion delivered a short but elegant oration on the great utility of Mr. Vince's paper.

DIED, At Boxford, Herts, Thomas Field, a labouring man, aged 102. His father was 104, his uncle 93, his brother 95, and scarce any of the family have died under ninety.

At Ballynakill, in Queen's County, Ireland, Mr. J. Woodworth, aged 112.

At Celbridge, in the county of Kildare, Mrs. Mary M'Kee, aged 110.

Near Stevenage, Mr. J. Thorpe, aged 109.

DECEMBER.

2d. Was tried in the Court of Common-Pleas, Westminster, before Lord Loughborough, by a special jury, a cause between Justice Wilmot, for damages, by the destruction of his house at Bethnal-green and in Worship-street, and damage in his garden, plaintiff, and the inhabitants of the district of Bethnal-green, defendants. After hearing evidence, and the reports of the surveyors employed by both parties, the jury went out, and having staid about half

an

an hour, returned with a verdict for the plaintiff, for the repair of the houſes on Bethnal-green and in Worſhip-ſtreet, 625 l. and ſpecial, in the words of the Act, for furniture deſtroyed by perſons aſſembled, 700 l. alſo for damage done to the garden by the rioters, 30 l.

7th. Thomas Dill was tried at the Old Bailey for the murder of Robert Curſon, a young ſurgeon, pupil to Dr. Ford. The deceaſed was viſiting an old gentleman, who laboured under a violent paralytic complaint. The priſoner was charged with having aſſaulted the deceaſed while he was in the apartment of the old gentleman, in whoſe preſence he was charged with having beat the deceaſed in a very cruel manner; and with having afterwards puſhed him out of the window, three ſtories high into the ſtreet, by which the deceaſed had his ſkull fractured to pieces, and was killed on the ſpot.

There was only one witneſs who could ſpeak poſitively to the fact; and this was the old gentleman, whom the deceaſed was viſiting as a patient, when he was aſſaulted by the priſoner. He was 90 years of age, and ſo deaf, that it was with difficulty he could hear, and at the ſame time he was ſo afflicted with the palſy, that he could barely anſwer by the monoſyllables Yes and No. As therefore it was impoſſible for him to give the court a narrative of the melancholy buſineſs, the counſel for the proſecution were going to put what they called leading queſtions, by which they would have told the particulars themſelves, and would have required only the monoſyllable Yes from the witneſs to confirm the ſuggeſtions contained in their queſtions: but the court would not ſuffer this, as it was totally inconſiſtent with the practice of the courts of juſtice: however, this was an occaſion on which this practice might perhaps have been diſpenſed with, without the leaſt violation of juſtice: particularly as there was ſome ground, from what dropped from ſeveral perſons examined on the trial, that this was the ſecond murther with which the priſoner had been charged. The court, however, was determined; and as the old gentleman was diſabled by infirmities from giving ſuch teſtimony as the court would receive, the priſoner eſcaped from the hands of juſtice, to the viſible mortification of every one in court.

The mother of the deceaſed was in one of the galleries; and when ſhe underſtood that the priſoner was diſcharged, ſhe broke out into the moſt frantick rage, and prayed that the blood of her child might fall upon the heads of both court and jury for ſuffering his murtherer to eſcape with impunity. When ſhe had ſpent her rage in bitter imprecations, ſhe fainted away; and the court feeling no ſpark of reſentment, for what they knew to be extremely natural in an afflicted parent, called out to the people near her, and requeſted that they would kindly take care of her, and ſee that ſhe did not hurt herſelf while out of her ſenſes.

9th. This morning was tried in the Court of King's Bench, before Mr. Juſtice Aſhhurſt, a cauſe wherein Mr. J. Maberley, of Little Queen-ſtreet, was plaintiff, and two gentlemen of the Hundred

Hundred of Offulſton, defendants. The action was brought for the recovery of 903 l. for repairing his houſes and ſhops, and 1159 l. for furniture, ſtock in trade and utenſils, deſtroyed in the late riots. The court after examining ſeveral reſpectable witneſſes, was fully ſatisfied with the juſtneſs of the claims, and the jury gave their verdict accordingly, making it ſpecial for furniture and ſtock in trade.

The ſame day the ſeſſion ended at the Old Bailey, when the following convicts received ſentence of death, viz. Patrick Madan, J. Bailey and William Chetham, for ſtealing in the ſhop of Charles Storer, in Sidney's-alley, Leiceſter-ſquare, four gold watch chains and thirty-eight gold rings; Elizabeth Hylett, for ſtealing four guineas and a half privately from the perſon of James Winſhip; and Tho. Brown, for ſtealing a mare, the property of Barnard Donally; Michael Daniel, for robbing Mr. Lane on the highway near Shepherd's-buſh of two guineas; William Thompſon, alias Bennett, for robbing Mr. William Johnſon of ſome money near Kilburn Wells; Joſeph Cook, for robbing Anne Marſano, in Palſgrave-place, of 7 s. or 8 s. and uſing her very cruelly and indecently; Joſeph Caddie, for breaking open the dwelling houſe of Mary Newſtead, with intent to ſteal her goods, &c. nine were ſentenced to hard labour on the river Thames; 19 to hard labour in the Houſe of Correction; ſix to be privately whipped, and one publickly; and ſix delivered on proclamation.

13th. A motion was made before the Lord Chancellor, in Lincoln's-Inn-Hall, to ſet aſide a late order againſt Mr. Morris, for contempt of court, in not obeying an order to bring the body of Miſs Harford, with whom he had eloped in her infancy. Mr. Erſkine, as council for Mr. Morris, contended, that ſeveral mal-practices had been uſed in the courſe of the late proceedings; that the affidavits were at leaſt irregular, if not falſe; that the bills filed were antedated; and that though he could not undertake to invalidate the accuracy of the Regiſter Offices, yet the plaintiffs ſhould be obliged on oath to prove the authenticity of the dates; his client having left England previous to any proceſs being inſtituted againſt him in Chancery, and conſequently the late order ſhould be ſet aſide. Theſe were the principal facts on which the motion was founded. The Lord Chancellor obſerved, that he could not ſet aſide a motion of his predeceſſor, or ſuppoſe it improvidently granted, upon bare aſſertions only; and that Mr. Morris ſhould have come prepared to contradict the grounds on which the order was made, by well-atteſted affidavits; that he was ready then, or at any other time, to enter into ſuch a hearing, and to receive ſuch teſtimony if it could be produced; but that till ſuch evidence could be fairly brought before him, he could not, in his own opinion, ſet aſide the order. The Lord Chancellor therefore declined giving any judgment, and the motion for diſcharging the order is to be made again *de novo*, and the whole matter re-argued.

The cauſe between Mr. Langdale plaintiff, and the Sun-fire office defendant, came on 15th.

to be tried before Lord Mansfield, when a verdict was given againſt the plaintiff, there being an exception in the policy of aſſurance againſt fires *occaſioned by civil or military commotions*, &c.

17th. Two Jew ladies of eminence were baptized at the King's-chapel, St. James's, by the Rev. Dr. Bailey.

18th. Mr. Morris's adjourned motion in the Court of Chancery, to be releaſed from the order of the late Chancellor for his commitment for a contempt, came to a final deciſion, after many ingenious arguments and eloquent ſpeeches, as well by Mr. Morris's council, Meſſ. Macdonald, Selwyn, and Erſkine, as by the counſel againſt him, who were the Solicitor-general, Mr. Kenyon, and Mr. Jackſon. The buſineſs laſted four hours, and at the end of it, the Chancellor was pleaſed to determine that he would neither ſet aſide the order nor enforce it: ſo Mr. Morris went out of court, and the whole affair is juſt as it was before it began.

A Society of Antiquaries was inſtituted this day at Edinburgh. An aſſociation of this nature has long been a favourite object of the Earl of Buchan. His lordſhip communicated the plan he had formed to ſome of the moſt accompliſhed and reſpectable gentlemen in this country, and was happy to find that it not only received their approbation, but excited the ſtrongeſt wiſhes to ſee an inſtitution, which promiſed ſo much utility to the nation, eſtabliſhed on a firm and permanent baſis. Emboldened by this encouragement, his lordſhip ventured at laſt to invite a number of perſons, whom he thought qualified to be members of ſuch an aſſociation, to meet at his houſe on the 14th of November laſt. To theſe gentlemen he read a diſcourſe, containing a view of the principal objects in the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Scotland, which required elucidation, and of the regulations to be obſerved in the propoſed ſociety; both of which received the unanimous approbation of the members preſent. At a ſubſequent meeting, his lordſhip was prevailed on to permit the diſcourſe to be printed, that the public might have proper ideas concerning an inſtitution ſo intereſting to the nation. It was then agreed, that a meeting ſhould be held on Monday the 14th curt. for the purpoſe of electing office bearers. The members accordingly met, and the buſineſs of election being finiſhed, a paper was read, giving an account of various Roman weapons diſcovered in dragging the Marle from the bottom of Doddingſton Loch; and we learn that the worthy proprietor, Sir Alexander Dick, is to give ſpecimens of them, to be preſerved in the ſociety's muſeum.

The following is a liſt of the Office-Bearers.

"Preſident, the Right Hon. the Earl of Bute; 1ſt vice preſident, the Right Hon. the Earl of Buchan; 2d vice preſident, the Hon. Sir John Dalrymple Hamilton Macgill, Bart. 3d vice preſident, John Swinton, of Swinton, Eſq; 4th vice preſident, Alexander Wright, Eſq; advocate; 5th vice preſident, Wm. Tyler, of Woodhouſlee, Eſq; treaſurer; Sir Wm. Forbes, of Pitſligo, Bart. ſecretary; James Cummyng, Eſq; keeper of the Lyon Records."

DIED,

DIED, At Carrickfergus, in Ireland, Mr. James O'Brien, aged 114. He ſerved as a paymaſter ſerjeant in the wars in Ireland, in the reign of James II.

Near Buxton, Derbyſhire, Sam. Fidler, aged 105. He walked from his own houſe to Buxton, within three days of his death, which is upwards of five miles. He has been for three years paſt a conſtant attendant at St. Anne's Well in Buxton, and was ſupported chiefly by the company who reſorted there to drink the waters.

Mr. Francis Vivares, the celebrated landſcape engraver.

At his houſe in the Cloſe, Saliſbury, in the 72d year of his age, James Harris, Eſq; F. R. S. Truſtee of the Britiſh Muſeum, and member for Chriſtchurch, Hants, which he repreſented in ſeveral ſucceſſive parliaments.—In the year 1763 he was appointed one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and was ſoon after removed to the Board of Treaſury. In 1774 made Secretary and Comptroller to the Queen, which poſt he enjoyed till his death. He was the ſon of James Harris, Eſq; and the Lady Elizabeth Aſhley his wife, third daughter of Anthony, 2d Earl of Shafteſbury, and ſiſter to Anthony, 3d earl, the celebrated author of the Characteriſtics, whoſe elegance and refinement of taſte and manners Mr. Harris inherited. In the theory and practice of muſic he had few equals. He was a native of the Cloſe, and educated there under the Rev. Mr. Hele, in the grammar-ſchool now kept by the Rev. Mr. Skinner, from whence, in the year 1726, he went to Wadham College, in Oxford. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Clarke, Eſq; of Sandford, in Somerſetſhire, by whom he had ſeveral children, three of whom are ſtill living, viz. Sir James Harris, K. B. his Majeſty's Miniſter Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of St. Peterſburg. Katharine Gertrude, and Louiſa Margaret Harris. The world is indebted to him for ſeveral very ingenious and learned publications, particularly three treatiſes, publiſhed in 1745, on Art, Muſic, Painting and Poetry, and Happineſs.—In 1751, he publiſhed a ſecond volume, called Hermes, or a Philoſophical Enquiry concerning Univerſal Grammar. In 1775, his Philoſophical Arrangements made their appearance. It is with great pleaſure that we learn this gentleman had finiſhed, juſt before his death, another ingenious work, entitled Philological Inquiries. His good qualities as a man are well known to a large circle of his friends and acquaintance in this country; and his great abilities as an author acknowledged and eſteemed by the literati throughout Europe.

In Harpur-ſtreet, Dr. John Fothergill, one of the people called Quakers, aged 69. He was born near Richmond, in the county of York, ſtudied at Edinburgh, and came to London about the year 1740, without any other patron than his own merit, which brought him rapidly into a moſt extenſive practice. He was a fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians at Edinburgh, of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies in London, and a member of other learned as well as medical inſtitutions, in this and foreign nations, in which his great reputation as a phyſician is univerſally

fally eſtabliſhed. The exertion of his great abilities was not confined to the practice of medicine and the ſtudy of nature, but was unremittingly employed to the promotion of the general good and happineſs of mankind: and as his extenſive knowledge, public ſpirit, and many virtues, were not leſs eminent than his medical ſkill, he will be deſervedly ranked among the illuſtrious characters of the preſent age.

Near Canterbury, Sir A. Manwaring, aged 96.

Near Elleſmere, Shropſhire, Mrs. Eliz. Dallaſs, aged 103.

In Lincoln's-Inn-fields, Dr. Gilbert Kennedy, F. R. S. many years phyſician to the factory at Liſbon, aged 100.

At Barnes, Mr. Maycock, market-gardener at that place. His death was occaſioned by the ſhock his ſpirits received from the ſtorm in October laſt, during which he went to the ſtables to look after his horſes, attended by his man, who was ſtruck down and killed cloſe to him by a flaſh of lightning, and the ſtable itſelf forced to a conſiderable diſtance from its original ſituation: and, to complete his alarm, part of the room in which his wife was lying-in (having been delivered but a few days) was torn away by the violence of the ſtorm.

General Bill of all the Chriſtenings and Burials, from December 14, 1779, to December 12, 1780.

Chriſtened.		Buried.	
Males	8581	Males	10206
Females	8053	Females	10311
In all	16634	In all	20517

Died under two years of age			6810
Between	2	and 5	1713
	5	and 10	598
	10	and 20	602
	20	and 30	1421
	30	and 40	1833
	40	and 50	2215
	50	and 60	1890
	60	and 70	1715
	70	and 80	1183
	80	and 90	455
	90	and 100	78
	100		2
	100	and 1	1
	100	and 2	0
	100	and 3	1
	100	and 4	0
	100	and 7	0

Increaſed in the Burials this Year 97.

BIRTHS for the Year 1780.

JANUARY.

The lady of Lord Viſc. Galway, a daughter.

Lady of Sir Roger Twiſden, Bt. a daughter.

Lady of Chal. Arcedekne, Eſq; a ſon.

Lady of the Hon. Mr. Fane, a daughter.

Lady of Right Hon. Charles Townſhend, a daughter.

Lady of Sir Harry Tralawney, a ſon and heir.

Lady Bagot, a daughter.

FEBRUARY.

Dutcheſs of Beaufort, a ſon.

Lady of Right Hon. Thomas Townſhend, a ſon.

Lady of Lord Viſcount Mahon, a daughter.

Lady of Sir Guy Carleton, K. B. a ſon.

Lady of Hon. Charles Finch, a ſon and heir.

The Princeſs of Aſturias, of a

prince, since baptized by the names of Charles, Dominico, Eusebius, Raphael, Joseph, Antonio, Johanno, Nepomuceno, Gabriello, Juliaon, Vincent-Ferrer, Andre-Avelin, Louis, Ferdinand, Angelo, Francisco, Pascal, Joachino, Cayetan, Ignacio, Emanuelo, Raymond, Janiverio, Francisco de Paulo.

MARCH.

The Countess of Winterton, a daughter.

The lady of Lord de Ferrars, a son.

The Right Hon. Lady Louisa Manners, a daughter.

Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Cornwallis, Dean of Canterbury, a son.

APRIL.

The lady of the Earl of Warwick, a son.

The lady of the Earl of Harrington, a son and heir.

The lady of the Earl of Stormont, a son.

The Right Hon. Lady Kinnaird, a son and heir.

MAY.

The Dutchess of Portland, a son.

The lady of Sir Matth. White Ridley, Bart. a son and heir.

The lady of —— Wilson, Esq; daughter of Lady Greenwich, a son.

The lady of Sir George Brydges Rodney, Bart. a daughter.

The lady of Sir John Blois, Bart. a daughter.

JUNE.

Countess of Radnor, a son.

Countess of Tankerville, a daughter.

JULY.

Countess of Shelburne, a son.

Countess Percy, a daughter.

The lady of John English Dolben, Esq; a son.

The lady of the Hon. Henry Stawell Bilson Legge, a daughter.

The lady of Sir F. Vincent, Bart. a son.

The lady of Sir Thomas Tancred, Bart. a son.

AUGUST.

Lady of Sir William Lorraine, Bart. a son.

SEPTEMBER.

Lady Porchester, a son.

22d. Her MAJESTY safely delivered of a PRINCE, at Windsor.

Lady Brownlow, a son.

OCTOBER.

Dutchess of Rutland, a son.

Lady of Sir James Pringle, Bart. a daughter.

Her Imperial Highness the Grand Dutchess of Tuscany, a princess.

Lady of Sir W. Williams Wynne, Bart. a daughter.

NOVEMBER.

Countess of Carlisle, a daughter.

Lady of Sir James Cockburn, Bart. a son.

DECEMBER.

Right Hon. Lady Galloway, a daughter.

Dutchess of Buccleugh, a daughter.

Lady of John Coxe Hippisley, Esq; a daughter.

Lady of Sir Thomas Egerton, a son.

MARRIAGES, 1780.

JANUARY.

John Cowper, Esq; to Miss Cope, sister to Sir Charles Cope, Bart.

Colonel Gordon, to Miss Bamfylde, sister of Sir Charles, Bart.

Thomas

Thomas Gage, Esq; only son of Sir Thomas Gage, Bart.

Arthur Earl of Arran, to Miss Underwood.

FEBRUARY.

Richard Aubrey, Esq; youngest son of Sir Thomas Aubrey, Bart. to Miss Digby, daughter of the late Hon. Wriothesly Digby.

Thomas Grimstone, Esq; of Kilnwick, to Miss F. Legard, daughter of the late Sir Digby Legard, Bart.

At the Castle, Dublin, Almar Lowry Corry, Esq; to the Right Hon. Lady Harriet Hobart, eldest daughter of the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

At Rome, J. Coxe Hippisley, Esq; to Miss Margaret Stuart, daughter of Sir John Stuart, Bart. of Allenbank.

MARCH.

At Calcutta, Sir John Doily, Bart. to Mrs. Coates.—And the Hon. Lieut. Austruther, to Miss Donaldson.

APRIL.

Walter James Head, Esq; only son of Sir James Head, Bart. of Langley, Bucks, to the Hon. Miss Jane Pratt, youngest daughter of Lord Camden.

Sir Thomas Mannoch, of Gifford-hall, in the county of Suffolk, Bart. to Miss Anastasia Browne, a near relation of Lord Viscount Montague.

Francis Fortescue Turville, Esq; to Miss Barbara Talbot, niece to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

MAY.

The Hon. Mr. Clifford, eldest son of the Right Hon. Lord Clifford, to the Hon. Miss A. Langdale, daughter of the late Lord Langdale.

Richard Brooke, Esq; to Miss Mary Cunliffe, second daughter of the late Sir Robert Cunliffe, Bart.

Rev. Sandford Harcastle, Rector of Athol in the county of York, to the Dowager Countess of Mexborough.

Major Vyse, to Miss Howard, daughter of Sir George Howard, K. B.

Lord Parker, son to the Earl of Macclesfield, to Miss Drake, of Amersham.

Miss Catherine Grenville, youngest sister of Earl Temple, to Mr. Neville, son of Richard Aldworth Neville, Esq; of Billingbeare, Berkshire.

At Lisbon, the Hon. Robert Walpole, to Miss Diana Grosett, daughter of Walter Grosett, Esq.

Robert Harding, Esq; of Upcott, to Miss Wrey, second daughter of Sir Bouchier Wrey, Bart.

Earl of Balcarras, to Miss Dalrymple.

Sir William Forbes, Bart. to the Hon. Miss Sempel.

JUNE.

Sir H. Dashwood, Bart. to Miss Graham, niece to Lord Newhaven.

Earl of Tyrconnel, to Miss Hussey Delaval.

JULY.

The Hon. Thomas Fitz-William, of Woolstanton, in the county of Stafford, son to the late Lord Viscount Fitz-William, of Mount Meruin, in the kingdom of Ireland, to Miss Agnes Macclesfield, daughter and coheiress of the late —— Macclesfield, of Chesterton, in the said county, Esq.

Edward Knatchbul, Esq; only son of Sir Edward, Bart. to Miss Mary Hugessen.

In Dublin, Dennis Daly, Esq; to Lady Harriet Maxwell.

AUGUST.

Hon. William Ward, to Miſs Boſville.

Right Hon. Lord Grantham, to Lady Mary Grey, daughter of the Marchioneſs Grey and Earl of Hardwicke.

George Thornhill, Eſq; to Miſs Hawkins, daughter to Sir Cæſar, Bart.

Alexander Murray, Eſq; of Ayton, to the Hon. Miſs Mary Ogilvie, daughter to the late Lord Banff.

OCTOBER.

Captain Garrick, to Miſs Leigh, daughter of Sir Gerton Leigh, Bart.

Montagu Burgoyne, Eſq; ſon of Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bart. to Miſs Hervey.

Her Serene Highneſs the Princeſs Auguſta Carolina Frederica Louiſa, eldeſt daughter of his Serene Highneſs the reigning Duke of Brunſwick, to his Serene Highneſs Prince Frederick William Charles of Wirtemberg.

NOVEMBER.

The Right Hon. Lord Duncannon, ſon of the Earl of Beſborough, to the ſecond daughter of Earl Spenſer.

John Peter, Eſq; his majeſty's Conſul at Oſtend, to Miſs Eliz. Herries, ſiſter of Sir Robert Herries, Bart.

DECEMBER.

Right Hon. Lord St. John, of Bletſoe, to Miſs Emma Whitebread, ſecond daughter of the member for Bedford.

Rev. Mr. Tate, to Miſs Moore, daughter of Sir John Moore, Bart.

Right Hon. Lord George Murray, ſecond ſon to the late Duke of Athol, to Miſs Ann Charlotte Grant, daughter of Lieut. General Grant.

His Excellency Baron de Kutzleben, the Heſſian miniſter, to the Hon. Miſs Dorothy Wrotteſley, niece to the Dutcheſs of Bedford, and ſiſter to the Dutcheſs of Grafton and Sir John Wrotteſley.

Sir George Barlow Warren, Bt. to Miſs Caroline Clavering, youngeſt daughter of the late Sir J. Clavering, Bart.

Sir John Wedderburn, Bart. to Miſs Dundaſs.

PROMOTIONS, 1780.

JANUARY.

Brownlow Duke of Ancaſter and Keſteven, to be Lord Lieut. of the county of Lincoln.

Dr. George Chinnery, Biſhop of Killaloe, tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of Cloyne.

Dr. Thomas Barnard, Dean of Derry, promoted to the Biſhoprick of Killaloe.

W. Cecil Perry, M. A. Dean of Derry.

Samuel Raſtal, clerk, Dean of St. Flanan Killaloe.

Frederick Earl of Carliſle, Lord Lieut. of the Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire.

Sir Richard Worſley, Governor of the Iſle of Wight, and ſworn of the privy council.

FEBRUARY.

James Cunninghame, Eſq; Major General of his Majeſty's forces, and Captain General and Governor in Chief of Barbadoes.

Earl of Ayleſbury, Lord Lieut. of Wilts.

Priſcilla Barbara Elizabeth Burrel, the dignity of Baroneſs Willoughby

Willoughby de Eresby, co. Lincoln.

Right Hon. John Scott, the reversion of Clerk of the Common Pleas in the Court of Exchequer in Ireland.

Robert Macqueen, Esq; a Lord of Justiciary in Scotland.

MARCH.

Ralph Bigland, Esq; Clarenceux king of arms, to be a principal king of English arms, and a principal officer of arms of the noble order of the Garter, and also that office which is commonly called Garter; and likewise the name Garter, with the stile, liberties, pre-eminences, and emoluments, belonging and anciently accustomed to the said office, vacant by the death of Thomas Browne, Esq; late Garter.

The Rev. Doctor George Mason, confirmed Bishop of Sodor and Man, and consecrated a Bishop at Whitehall Chapel, by his Grace the Archbishop of York.

John Doddington, Esq; to the office of fourth Port-cullis pursuivant of arms.

Peter Dore, Esq; Richmond herald, to the office of Norroy king of arms, and principal herald of the North parts of England.

The Right Rev. Doctor James Hawkins, Bishop of Dromore, to the Bishoprick of Raphoe.

William Beresford, M. A. to the Bishoprick of Dromore.

APRIL.

Hon. John Trevor, appointed minister plenipotentiary to the Elector Palatine, and minister to the Diet of Ratisbon.

Ralph Bigland the Younger, Esq; Richmond herald.

Richard Pearson, Esq; captain in his majesty's royal navy, received the honour of knighthood.

Rev. Dr. Noel, Dean of Salisbury.

MAY.

The Earl of Dalhousie to be High Commissioner to the Church of Scotland.

Benjamin Pingo, Gent. to the office of Rouge-dragon, Pursuivant of Arms, in the room of Ralph Bigland, Esq; now Richmond herald.

The king has been pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the great seal of Ireland, containing his majesty's grants of the dignity of a baronet of the said kingdom, unto the following gentlemen, and to their heirs male, viz. Frederick Flood, of Newton Ormond, in the county of Kilkenny, Esq; and Robert Waller, of Newport, in the county of Tipperary, Esq.

Lord Rivers, Lord Lieut. of the county of Southampton.

JUNE.

Alexander Wedderburne, Esq; late his Majesty's Attorney-general, to be Lord Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, upon the resignation of the Right Hon. Sir William de Grey, Knt. late Chief Justice thereof; and also one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

The Right Hon. Alexander Wedderburne, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and to his heirs male, the dignity of a Baron of Great Britain, by the name, stile, and title of Lord Loughborough, Baron of Loughborough, in the county of Leicester.

John Campbell, Esq; to be

Governor of Milford Haven, in the county of Pembroke, in the room of Wyrriot Owen, Esq; deceased.

Richard Pepper Arden, Esq; Lloyd Kennyon, Esq; John Lee, Esq; and William Selwyn, Esq; to be of his Majesty's counsel learned in the law.

JULY.

James Wallace, Esq; to be his Majesty's Attorney-General.

James Mansfield, Esq; to be his Majesty's Solicitor-general.

John Heath, Esq; to be one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas.

Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. to be Master of his Majesty's Hospital at Greenwich.

SEPTEMBER.

Sir William Gordon, Knight of the Bath, and Lovel Stanhope, Esq; to be Clerks Comptrollers of the Board of Green Cloth.

John Buller, sen. Esq; to be one of his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer, vice C. W. Cornwall, Esq.

George Darby, Esq; to be one of his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, vice John Buller, Esq.

Benjamin Langlois, Esq; to be one of his Majesty's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, vice Soame Jenyns, Esq.

Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Esq; to the offices of Warden and Chief Justice in Eyre of all his Majesty's forests, parks, chaces, and warrens, beyond Trent.

The Hon. James Cecil, Esq; commonly called Lord Viscount Cranburn, to be Treasurer of his Majesty's Household.

Christopher D'Oyley, Esq; to be Comptroller of the Accounts of his Majesty's Army, vice Thomas Bowlby, Esq.

Thomas Bowlby, Esq; to be Commissary General of the Musters, and chief Muster Master of all his Majesty's Forces, vice Christopher D'Oyley, Esq;

Henry Strachey, Esq; to the office of Keeper of his Majesty's Stores, Ordnance, and Ammunition of War.

John Kenrick, Esq; to the office of Clerk of the Delivery and Deliverance of all manner of artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries whatsoever, appertaining to his Majesty's office of ordnance.

John Ross Mackye, Esq; to be Receiver General of the Stamp Duties.

Archibald Macdonald, Esq; one of his Majesty's counsel, to be his Majesty's justice of the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, &c.

The Right Hon. Lord Onslow, and Lord Bolton, to be Lords of his Majesty's Bedchamber.

Thomas Morgan, Gent. Thomas Morgan, the younger, Gent. his son, and Thomas Kynnersley, Esq; to the office or offices of Prothonotary and Clerk of the Crown in the counties of Denbigh and Montgomery.

William Adam, Esq; Treasurer and Paymaster of his Majesty's Ordnance.

Flag-officers of his Majesty's fleet; Matthew Buckle, Esq; Rob. Mann, Esq; (vice-admirals of the red) to be admirals of the blue; Hugh Pigot, Esq; Right Hon. Molyneux Lord Shuldham, John Vaughan, Esq; (vice-admirals of the white) Rob. Duff, Esq; (vice-admiral of the blue) to be vice-admirals

admirals of the red; John Reynolds, Esq; Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Hon. John Byron, Matthew Barton, Esq; Sir Peter Parker, Knt. Hon. Samuel Barrington, Mariot Arburthnot, Esq; Robert Roddam, Esq; George Darby, Esq; John Campbell, Esq; (vice-admirals of the blue) to be vice-admirals of the white; James Gambier, Esq; William Lloyd, Esq; Fra. William Drake, Esq; Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. Hyde Parker, Esq; (rear-admirals of the red) John Evans, Esq; Mark Milbanke, Esq; (rear-admirals of the white) to be vice-admirals of the blue; Nic. Vincent, Esq; John Storr, Esq; Sir Edward Vernon, Knt. (rear admirals of the white) to be rear-admirals of the red; Joshua Rowley, Esq; Richard Edwards, Esq; Thomas Graves, Esq; Robert Digby, Esq; Sir John Lockhart Ross, Bart. (rear-admirals of the blue) to be rear-admirals of the red. And the following captains were also appointed flag-officers, viz. Charles Webber, Esq; Wm. Langdon, Esq; Benjamin Marlow, Esq; Alexander Hood, Esq; Alexander Innes, Esq; rear-admirals of the white; Sir Chal. Ogle, Knt. Sir Sam. Hood, Bart. Matthew Moore, Esq; Sir Richard Hughes, Bart. Francis Samuel Drake, Esq; Rich. Kempenfelt, Esq; rear-admirals of the blue.

James Earl of Salisbury, Treasurer of the Houshold, sworn of the Privy Council.

Earl Talbot, and his heirs male, the dignity of a Baron of Great Britain, by the name, stile, and title, of Baron Dinevor, of Dinevor in the county of Caermarthen, with remainder to his daughter, Lady Cecil Rice, widow, and her heirs male. Lord Viscount Gage of the kingdom of Ireland, and his heirs male, the dignity of a Baron of Great Britain, by the name, stile, and title, of Baron Gage of Firle in Sussex. The following gentlemen, and their heirs male, the dignity of a Baron of Great Britain, viz. the Hon. James Brudenell, Baron Brudenell, of Deene in the county of Northampton.—The Right Hon. Sir Wm. De Grey, Knt. Baron Walsingham, of Walsingham in Norfolk.—Sir William Bagot, Bart. Baron Bagot, of Bagot's Bromley in Staffordshire.—The Hon. Charles Fitzroy, Lord Southampton, Baron of Southampton in Hants.—Hen. Herbert, Esq; Baron Portchester, of Highclere, in the county of Southampton.

The Right Hon. Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, to be Lieut. Gen. and Governor of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland.

William Eden, Esq; to be principal Secretary to the Lord Lieut. and of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council in the kingdom of Ireland.

Sir Thomas Pye, Lieut. Gen. of Marines.

B. Thompson, Esq; under Secretary of State for the Northern department.

NOVEMBER.

His R. H. Prince Frederick, Bishop of Osnaburg, colonel in the army, by brevet, bearing date the 1st of Nov. 1780.

Lieut. Gen. William Augustus Pitt, colonel of the 10th reg. of dragoons.

Hon. Major General Vaughan, Governor of Berwick.

Right Hon. Charles Wolfran Cornwall, speaker of the House

of Commons, ſworn of the Privy Council.

Thomas Wroughton, Eſq; Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Sweden, to the moſt honourable Order of the Bath.

Sir George Brydges Rodney, Bart. Admiral of the White ſquadron of his Majeſty's fleet, and Commander in Chief of all his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels employed at Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, to the moſt honourable Order of the Bath.

DECEMBER.

The King has been pleaſed to order letters patent to be paſſed under the great ſeal of the kingdom of Ireland, containing his Majeſty's grants of the dignity of a baron of the ſaid kingdom unto the following gentlemen, and their heirs male, by the names, ſtiles, and titles, as under-mentioned, viz. James Dennis, Eſq; Chief Baron of his Majeſty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland, Baron Tracton, of Tracton-Abbey, in the county of Cork.

Sir Robert Tilſon Deane, Bart. Baron Muſkerry, in the county of Cork.

Almar Lowry Corry, Eſq; Baron Belmore, of Caſtlecoole, in the county of Fermanagh.

Thomas Knox, Eſq; Baron Welles, of Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone.

John Baker Holroyd, Eſq; Baron Sheffield, of Dunamore, in the county of Meath.

Alſo like letters patent, containing his Majeſty's grants of the dignity of a viſcount of the ſaid kingdom unto the following noblemen, and their heirs male, by the names, ſtiles, and titles, as undermentioned, viz.

James Baron Lifford, his Majeſty's Chancellor of Ireland, Viſcount Lifford, of Lifford, in the county of Donnegall.

Otway Lord Deſart, Viſcount Deſart, of Deſart, in the county of Kilkenny.

John Baron Erne, Viſcount Erne, of Crum Caſtle, in the county of Fermanagh.

Barry Lord Farnham, Viſcount Farnham, of Farnham, in the county of Cavan.

Simon Lord Irnham, Viſcount Carhampton, of Caſtlehaven, in the county of Cork.

Bernard Lord Bangor, Viſcount Bangor, of Caſtleward, in the county of Downe.

Penyſton Lord Melbourne, Viſcount Melbourne, of Kilmore, in the county of Cavan.

James Lord Clifden, Viſcount Clifden, of Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny.

John Lord Naas, Viſcount Mayo, of Monecrouer.

Alſo like letters patent, containing his Majeſty's grant of the dignities of baron and earl of the ſaid kingdom unto Henry Lord Viſcount Conyngham, and his heirs male, by the name, ſtile, and title of Baron and Earl Conyngham, of Mount Charles, in the county of Donnegall, with remainder of the barony to his nephew Francis Pierpoint Burton, Eſq; and his heirs male.

And the like letters patent, containing his Majeſty's grant of the dignity of an earl of the ſaid kingdom unto Stephen Lord Viſcount Mount Caſhell, and his heirs male, by the name, ſtile, and title of Earl Mount Caſhell, of Caſhell, in the county of Tipperary.

The Earl of Inchiquin, John O'Neil, and Luke Gardiner, Eſqrs. to be of his Majeſty's moſt honour-

able

able Privy Council in the kingdom of Ireland.

The King has been pleaſed to order letters patent to be paſſed under the great ſeal of Ireland, containing his Majeſty's grants of the dignity of a baronet of that kingdom unto the following gentlemen, and their heirs male, viz. John Stuart Hamilton, Eſq; of Dunnamana, in the county of Tyrone; John Tottenham, Eſq; of Tottenham-green, in the county of Wexford; and Neal O'Donnell, Eſq; of Newport, in the county of Mayo.

The Right Hon. Thomas Lord Grantham, Lord Robert Spencer, the Right Hon. William Eden, the Hon. Thomas De Grey, Andrew Stuart, Edward Gibbon, Hans Sloane, and Benjamin Langlois, Eſqrs. to be his Majeſty's Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations.

Charles Middleton, Eſq; Sir John Williams, Knt. Edmund Hunt, George Marſh, Timothy Brett, William Palmer, and William Bateman, Eſqrs; Sir Richard Temple, Bart. Edward Le Cras, Samuel Wallis, Paul Henry Ourry, Henry Martin, and Charles Proby, Eſqrs. and Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, Knt. to be his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, in quality of principal officers of his Majeſty's navy.

The Duke of Montague, to be his Majeſty's Maſter of the horſe.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Ayleſbury, to be Chamberlain of her Majeſty's Houſhold.

DEATHS, 1780.

JANUARY.

Lady Hudſon, relict of Sir Charles, Bart.

Sir Nathaniel Wombwell, Bart.

The Right Hon. Hans Stanley, F. R. S. Cofferer of the Houſhold, Governor of the Iſle of Wight, Treaſurer of the Muſeum, and member for Southampton.

Sir John Moore, Bart. the title extinct.

Lady Head, relict of the Rev. Sir John, Bart.

Chriſt. Blake, Eſq; brother of Sir Patrick, Bart.

Miſs Frances Mackworth, eldeſt daughter of Sir Herbert, Bart.

Dowager Lady Blois, relict of Sir Ralph, Bart.

Lady of Sir James Hereford, Bart.

Sir Thomas Fleetwood, Bart.

Lady Diana Middleton.

Right Hon. Thomas Waite, Secretary, and one of the Privy Council of Ireland.

Right Hon. Lady Jane Boyle, ſiſter to Richard Earl of Burlington.

Miſs Martha Abdy, daughter of Sir Anthony, Bart.

Her Royal Highneſs Louiſa Amelia of Brunſwick, Princeſs Dowager of Pruſſia, and mother to the Hereditary Prince of Pruſſia, and to the ſpouſe of the Prince Stadtholder.

The lady of Sir Alexander Gilmour, Bart. at Alnwick.

Sir William Sharp, Bart. in Great Titchfield-ſtreet, Major General in the Portugueſe ſervice, and Governor of the province of Minho.

FEBRUARY.

Lady Fowlis, relict of Sir William, Bart.

Dr. Richard Richmond, Biſhop of Sodor and Man.

Lady Davers, mother of Sir Charles, Bart.

Lady

Lady Lucy Douglas, daughter of the Duke of Montroſe.

Samuel Egerton, Eſq; of Tatton: he was the only ſurviving ſon of John Egerton, grandſon of John Earl of Bridgewater by Lady Eliz. Cavendiſh, daughter to John Duke of Newcaſtle.

Sir William Blackſtone, Knt. Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

Dowager Counteſs of Kildare.

Lady Catherine Pelham, ranger of Greenwich Park. She was ſiſter of the late Duke of Leeds, and married, 1726, to the late Hon. Henry Pelham, by whom ſhe had two ſons, who died young of an epidemical fever.

Counteſs Dowager of Eglintoun.

Lady Jenkinſon, mother of Sir Banks, Bart.

His Serene Highneſs the Duke of Modena.

His Serene Highneſs the Duke of Brunſwick.

MARCH.

The Right Rev. Doctor John Oſwald, Biſhop of Raphoe.

Right Hon. Lady Mulgrave.

Lord Forteſcue Aland.

Mrs. Gulſton, wife of Joſeph Gulſton, Eſq; and ſiſter of the preſent Sir S. Stepney, Bart.

Miſs Letitia Beauchamp, daughter of Sir W. Beauchamp Proctor, Bart.

General Deſaguliers, of the artillery.

Hon. Topham Beauclerk, only ſon of Lord Sidney Beauclerk.

Charlotte, relict of the late Sir William Sanderſon, Bart. and daughter of Sir R. Gough, of Edgebaſton.

Right Hon. Lady Anne Sophia Egerton, wife of the Biſhop of Durham. Her ladyſhip was the daughter of Henry, late Duke of Kent, by the Lady Sophia Bentinck, daughter of the Earl of Portland.

Lady Gooch, relict of the Right Rev. Sir Thomas Gooch, Bart. late Lord Biſhop of Ely. Her ladyſhip was the daughter of —— Compton, Eſq; and nearly related to the preſent Earl of Northampton.

Sir Francis Blake, Bart.

APRIL.

Lady Iſabella Douglaſs, daughter of William, firſt Earl of March.

Sir Adolphus Oughton, Lieut. Gen. and K. B.

George Earl of Granard, one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council in Ireland, and a Baronet of Nova Scotia; by whoſe death the title and eſtate have devolved on his eldeſt ſon, Lord George Forbes, now Earl of Granard.

Rev. Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart.

Hon. Henry St. John, ſon of the late, and uncle to the preſent, Lord St. John of Bletſoe, captain of the Intrepid man of war, on board which he was killed, with his 1ſt and 2d lieutenants, by the ſame cannon ball, in the fight with the French fleet off Guadaloupe. He married Mary Schuyler of New York, by whom he has left iſſue one ſon Henry.

Lady Anne Hope, daughter of the Earl of Hopetoun.

MAY.

Hon. Thomas Townſhend, one of the oldeſt Tellers of the Exchequer.

Sir Charles Hardy, Admiral of the White, and commander of the fleet.

Hon.

Hon. Richard Naſſau, brother to the Earl of Rochford.

Miſs Elizabeth Eden, daughter of Sir John Eden, Bart.

Lady Sophia Neville, daughter of the late, and ſiſter to the preſent Earl of Gainſborough.

Sir Godfrey Webſter, Bart. of Battle Abbey in Suſſex. His title deſcends to his eldeſt ſon, now Sir Godfrey Webſter, Bart.

Sir Charlton Leighton, Bart. He is ſucceeded by his ſon, now Sir Charlton.

Lady Mary Lyon, daughter of the late Earl of Strathmore.

Sir Hen. Engleſield, Bart.

Sir Anthony Buchannan, Bart.

Sir Thomas Cave, Bart.

Lady Standiſh, mother of Sir Frank, Bart.

JUNE.

Dame Rachael Morgan, relict of Sir William Morgan, of Tredegar, K. B. and daughter of William ſecond Duke of Devonſhire, by Rachael daughter of William Lord Ruſſel.

Lady Jane Strickland.

Sir T. Gerrard, Bart.

Sir John Turner, Bart.

JULY.

In the 71ſt year of his age, at his houſe in Woolwich Warren, William Belford, Eſq; colonel of the 1ſt battalion of the royal reg. of artillery, and a general in the army.

Sir J. Hobby Mill, Bart.

Miſs Frances Blake, youngeſt daughter of Sir Patrick Blake.

Lady Goring, wife of Sir Harry, Bart.

Sir Andrew Middleton, Bart.

John Moreton, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of Cheſter, Attorney-general to the Queen, deputy High-ſteward of the univerſity of Oxford, and member for Wigan in Lancaſhire.

Lady Viſcounteſs Dowager Tyrconnel.

Sir Charles Halford, Bart.

Lady Viſcounteſs Mahon, daughter of the late Earl of Chatham.

The lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of Hillſborough, at his lordſhip's houſe in Hanover-ſquare. Her ladyſhip was only daughter of Edward Stawell, 4th and laſt Lord Stawell, firſt married to the late Right Hon. Henry Bilſon Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was created a peereſs by the title of Baroneſs Stawell, which title deſcends to her ſon, Mr. Legge, now Lord Stawell.

Hon. Lady Suſanna Houſton, relict of Sir Thomas, Bart.

The Hon. Mrs. Page, relict of the late Thomas Page, Eſq; and aunt to Lord Viſcount Howe.

His Royal Highneſs Charles Alexander, Duke of Lorrain and Bar, &c. Grand Maſter of the Teutonic Order, &c. and Governor and Captain-general of the Auſtrian Netherlands.

AUGUST.

The Dowager Counteſs Cowper, third daughter of John Earl Granville, firſt married to the Hon. John Spencer, and mother of the preſent Earl Spencer, afterwards married to the late Earl Cowper, but was not mother of the preſent earl.

At Sudbury, Derbyſhire, George Venables Lord Vernon. His lordſhip was born Feb. 9, 1709, and was created Lord Vernon, and Baron of Kinderton, May 12, 1762. He is ſucceeded in his title by the Hon. George Venables Vernon, born May 9, 1735.

The

The Right Rev. Dr. George Chinnery, Lord Biſhop of Cloyne.

Thomas George Lord Viſcount and Baron Southwell. His lordſhip was born May 4, 1721, and ſucceeded his father in 1760. He married Miſs Hamilton in 1741, by whom he has left iſſue three ſons and a daughter.

At Lyons in France, the Hon. John Roper, ſecond ſon to Lord Teynham.

The Hon. Mrs. Clarges, ſiſter to Lord Barrington, and mother of Sir T. Clarges, Bart.

Right Hon. John Drummond, commonly called Lord Drummond, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Perth.

At Knutsford, Lady Betty Warburton, relict of the late Sir Peter Warburton, and daughter of the late Earl of Derby.

Sir Theod. Boughton, Bart.

Lady Aſhburnham, wife of the Biſhop of Chicheſter.

Lord Viſcount Aſhbrook, of the kingdom of Ireland.

SEPTEMBER.

Hon. Lady Camilla Wallop.

Sir Thomas Dyer, Bart.

Sir John Fielding, Knt. one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the counties of Middleſex, Eſſex, Herts, Kent, Surry, and the city and liberty of Weſtminſter.

Mrs. Wingfield, mother to Lady St. Aubin, and relict of the late William Wingfield, Eſq. She was daughter of the late Sir William Williamſon, and ſiſter to the preſent Sir Hedworth Williamſon, Bart.

Moſt noble the Marchioneſs of Lothian.

Right Hon. Peter Earl of Altamont, Viſcount Weſtport, Baron Mounteagle, &c.

Lieutenant-gen. Skinner, chief engineer of Great Britain.

Right Hon. Lady Widdrington.

OCTOBER.

Right Hon. Lady Hatton Boyle.

Hon. Elizabeth St. John, ſiſter to the late Lord St. John of Bletſoe.

Anth. Chamier, Eſq; under Secretary of State, M. P. and F.R.S.

Miſs Nelthorpe, ſiſter to Sir John, Bart.

Sir John Mordaunt, K. B. general, and colonel of the 14th regiment of dragoons.

NOVEMBER.

Sir George Wombwell, Bart.

Lady Pettus, relict of Sir Horace.

Right Hon. Counteſs of Donegal.

Sir James Stewart Denham, Bt.

Sir Saville Slingſby, Bart.

Her Imperial Majeſty departed this life at Vienna on Nov. 29, about nine o'clock in the evening. Her illneſs, though but of ſhort duration, was exceedingly painful.

The Hon. William Boyd, youngeſt brother to the late Earl of Errol.

Right Hon. Thomas Willoughby, Lord Middleton, and Baronet. His lordſhip was born Jan. 26, 1728, and ſucceeded his brother Francis, the late lord, Dec. 15, 1774. He married April 14, 1770, Miſs Chadwick, by whom he has left no iſſue, on which account the title is ſuppoſed to be extinct.

Mrs. Hellen Duffy, Lady Braco.

DECEMBER.

Right Hon. Counteſs Dowager of Shelburne.

Sir Chriſtopher Traes, Bart. colonel of the Corniſh militia.

Right

Right Hon. Lady Coleraine.
Hon. Lady Mary Leſlie, youngeſt daughter of the Counteſs of Rothes.
Mrs. E. Wynn, ſiſter to the late Sir John, Bart.
Miſs Frances Ewer, daughter of the late Biſhop of Bangor.
Miſs Aſlong, only daughter of the Right Hon. Lady Frances Aſlong.
Sir James Barnaby, Bart.
Right Hon. John Lord Viſcount Downe.
Sir H. Lippincott, Bart.
Sir Thomas Stapylton, Bart.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Account of the late Riots in the Cities of London *and* Weſtminſter.

In the laſt Seſſion of the late Parliament, an Act was paſſed in Favour of the Roman Catholics, intitled, *An Act for relieving his Majeſty's Subjects profeſſing the Popiſh Religion, from certain Penalties and Diſabilities impoſed on them by an Act made in the Eleventh and Twelfth Years of the Reign of King* William *the Third, intituled,* ' *An Act for the further preventing the Growth of Popery*;' of which Act, the following is an Abſtract.

THE preamble recites, that it is expedient to repeal certain proviſions in the act of King William; and the clauſes repealed are as follow:

' That ſo much of the ſaid Act as relates to the apprehending, taking, or proſecuting of Popiſh biſhops, prieſts, or jeſuits; and alſo ſo much of the ſaid act as ſubjects Popiſh biſhops, prieſts or jeſuits, and Papiſts, or perſons profeſſing the Popiſh religion, and keeping ſchool, or taking upon themſelves the education or government or boarding of youth, within this realm, or the dominions thereto belonging, to perpetual impriſonment; and alſo ſo much of the ſaid act as diſables perſons educated in the Popiſh religion, or profeſſing the ſame, under the circumſtances therein mentioned, to inherit or take by deſcent, deviſe, or limitation, in poſſeſſion, reverſion, or remainder, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and gives to the next of kin, being a Proteſtant, a right to have and enjoy ſuch lands, tenements, and hereditaments; and alſo ſo much of the ſaid act as diſables Papiſts, or perſons profeſſing the Popiſh religion, to purchaſe any manors, lands, profits out of lands, tenements, rents, terms, or hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, and makes void all and ſingular eſtates, terms, and other intereſts or profits whatever out of lands, to be made, ſuffered, or done, from and after the day therein mentioned, to or for the uſe or behoof of any ſuch perſon or perſons, or upon any truſt or confidence, mediately or immediately, for the relief of any ſuch perſon or perſons; ſhall be, and the ſame, and every clauſe and matter and thing herein before-mentioned, is and are hereby repealed.

' And

'And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every person and persons having or claiming any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, under titles not hitherto litigated, though derived from any descent, devise, limitation, or purchase, shall have, take, hold, and enjoy the same, as if the said act, or any thing therein contained, had not been made; any thing in the said act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

'Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to affect any action or suit now depending, which shall be prosecuted with effect, and without delay.

'Provided also, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any person or persons but such who shall, within the space of six calendar months after the passing of this act, or of accruing of his, her, or their title, being of the age of twenty-one years, or who, being under the age of twenty-one years, shall, within six months after he or she shall attain the age of twenty-one years, or being of unsound mind, or in prison, or beyond the seas, then within six months after such disability removed, take and subscribe an oath in the words following:

The TEST or OATH.

"I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, and him will defend, to the utmost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traiterous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown in his majesty's family, against any person or persons whatsoever; hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto the person taking upon himself the style and title of Prince of Wales, in the lifetime of his father, and who, since his death, is said to have assumed the style and title of King of Great Britain, by the name of Charles the Third, and to any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms: and I do swear, that I do reject and detest, as an unchristian and impious position, That it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of their being heretics; and also that unchristian and impious principle, That no faith is to be kept with heretics: I further declare, that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, That princes excommunicated by the Pope and council, or by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any person whatsoever; and I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirect-

ly, within this realm. And I do ſolemnly, in the preſence of God, profeſs, teſtify, and declare, That I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary ſenſe of the words of this oath; without any evaſion, equivocation, or mental reſervation whatever, and without any diſpenſation already granted by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, or any perſon whatever; and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or abſolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other perſons or authority whatſoever, ſhall diſpenſe with or annul the ſame, or declare that it was null or void."

It concludes with reciting what courts of judicature the oath is to be taken, ſubſcribed, and regiſtered in; and with an information, that the act ſhould not be conſtrued to extend to any Popiſh biſhop, prieſt, jeſuit, or ſchoolmaſter, who ſhall not have taken and ſubſcribed the above oath, in the above words, before he ſhall have been apprehended, or any proſecution commenced againſt him.

The original motion was made in the Houſe of Commons by Sir George Savile, and received with univerſal approbation, and a bill was accordingly brought in and paſſed both Houſes without a ſingle negative.

An extenſion of the ſame relief to the Catholics of Scotland, was alſo ſaid to have been intended by parliament. The report ſpread an immediate alarm throughout that country; ſocieties were formed for the defence of the Proteſtant faith, committees appointed, books diſperſed, and, in ſhort, every method taken to inflame the zeal of the people. Theſe attempts being totally neglected by government, and but feebly reſiſted by the more liberal minded in that country, produced all their effects. A furious ſpirit of bigotry and perſecution ſoon ſhewed itſelf, and broke out into the moſt outrageous acts of violence and cruelty againſt the Papiſts at Edinburgh, Glaſgow, and elſewhere. As government did not think it adviſable to repreſs this ſpirit by force, the juſt and benevolent intentions of the legiſlature were laid aſide.

The ſucceſsful reſiſtance of the zealots in Scotland to any relaxation of the penal laws againſt Papiſts, ſeems to have given the firſt riſe to the Proteſtant Aſſociation in England: for about the ſame time bills were diſperſed, and adverti ſements inſerted in the newspapers, inviting thoſe who wiſhed well to the cauſe, to unite under that title; and Lord George Gordon, who had been ſo active at the head of the malecontents in Scotland, was choſen their preſident. On Monday, May 29, a meeting was held at Coach-makers-hall, purſuant to public advertiſement, in order to conſider of the mode of preſenting a petition to the Houſe of Commons. Lord George Gordon took the chair, and after a long inflammatory harangue, in which he endeavoured to perſuade his hearers of the rapid and alarming progreſs that Popery was making in this kingdom, he proceeded to obſerve, that the only way to ſtop it was going in a firm, manly, and reſolute manner to the Houſe, and ſhewing their repreſentatives that they were determined to preſerve their religious freedom

freedom with their lives. That, for his part, he would run all hazards with the people; and if the people were too lukewarm to run all hazards with him, when their conſcience and their country call them forth, they might get another preſident; for he would tell them candidly, that he was not a lukewarm man himſelf, and that if they meant to ſpend their time in mock debate and idle oppoſition, they might get another leader. This ſpeech was received with the loudeſt applauſe, and his lordſhip then moved the following reſolution: "That the whole body of the Proteſtant Aſſociation do attend in Saint George's-fields, on Friday next, at ten o'clock in the morning, to accompany his lordſhip to the Houſe of Commons on the delivery of the Proteſtant petition;" which was carried unanimouſly. His lordſhip then informed them, that if leſs than 20,000 of his fellow-citizens attended him on that day, he would not preſent their petition; and for the better obſervance of order, he moved, that they ſhould arrange themſelves in four diviſions; the Proteſtants of the city of London on the right; thoſe of the city of Weſtminſter on the left; the borough of Southwark third; and the people of Scotland reſident in London and its environs to form the laſt diviſion; and that they might know their friends from their enemies, he added, that every real Proteſtant, and friend of the petition, ſhould come with blue cockades in their hats.

Accordingly, on Friday, June 2, at ten in the forenoon, ſeveral thouſands aſſembled at the place appointed, marſhalling themſelves in ranks, and waiting for their leader. About eleven o'clock, Lord George arrived, and gave directions in what manner he would have them proceed, and about twelve, one party was ordered to go round over London-bridge, another over Blackfriars, and a third to follow him over Weſtminſter. A roll of parchment, containing the names of thoſe who had ſigned the petition, was borne before them. They proceeded with great decorum on their route, and the whole body was aſſembled, about half paſt two, before both Houſes of parliament, on which occaſion they gave a general ſhout.

But however peaceable and well diſpoſed ſome of them might be, others ſoon began to exerciſe the moſt arbitrary power over both Lords and Commons, by obliging almoſt all the members to put blue cockades in their hats, and call out, 'No Popery!' Some they compelled to take oaths to vote for the repeal of the obnoxious act, others they inſulted in the moſt indecent and violent manner. They took poſſeſſion of all the avenues up to the very doors of both Houſes of Parliament, which they twice attempted to force open. The Archbiſhop of York was one of the firſt they attacked. As ſoon as his coach was known coming down Parliament-ſtreet, he was ſaluted with hiſſes, groans, and hootings. The Lord Preſident of the Council, Lord Bathurſt, they puſhed about in the rudeſt manner, and kicked violently on the legs. Lord Mansfield had the glaſſes of his carriage broken, the pannels beat in, and narrowly eſcaped with life. The Duke of Northumberland had his pocket pick-

ed of his watch. The Biſhop of Litchfield had his gown torn. The wheels of the Biſhop of Lincoln's carriage were taken off, and his lordſhip eſcaped with life, being obliged to ſeek ſhelter in the houſe of Mr. Atkinſon, an Attorney, where he changed his cloaths, and made his eſcape over the leads of the adjacent houſes.

The Lords Townſhend and Hillſborough came together, and were greatly inſulted, and ſent into the Houſe without their bags, and with their hair hanging looſe on their ſhoulders. The coach of Lord Stormont was broken to pieces, himſelf in the hands of the mob for near half an hour: he was reſcued at laſt by a gentleman, who harangued the mob, and prevailed on them to deſiſt. Lords Aſhburnham and Boſton were treated with the utmoſt indignity, particularly Lord Boſton, who was ſo long in their power that it was propoſed by ſome of the peers to go as a body, and endeavour, by their preſence, to extricate him; but whilſt they were deliberating, his lordſhip eſcaped without any material hurt. Lord Willoughby de Broke, Lord St. John, Lord Dudley, and many others, were perſonally ill treated; and Wellbore Ellis, Eſq; was obliged to take refuge in the Guildhall of Weſtminſter (whither he was purſued) the windows of which were broke, the doors forced, and Juſtice Addington, with all the conſtables, expelled: Mr. Ellis eſcaped with the utmoſt hazard.

Lord George Gordon, during theſe unwarrantable proceedings, came ſeveral times to the top of the gallery ſtairs, whence he harangued the people, and informed them of the bad ſucceſs their petition was like to meet with, and marked out ſuch members as were oppoſing it, particularly Mr. Burke, the member for Briſtol. He told them, at firſt, that it was propoſed to take it into conſideration on Tueſday, in a Committee of the Houſe, but that he did not like delays, for the parliament might be prorogued by that time.

He afterwards came and ſaid, 'Gentlemen, the alarm has gone forth for many miles round the city. You have got a very good prince, who, as ſoon as he ſhall hear the alarm has ſeized ſuch a number of men, will no doubt ſend down private orders to his miniſters to enforce the prayer of your petition.

General Conway, and ſeveral other members, expoſtulated with him very warmly on the miſchiefs that might ariſe from ſuch conduct; and Colonel Gordon, a near relation of his lordſhip's, went up to him, and accoſted him in the following manner: 'My Lord George, do you intend to bring your raſcally adherents into the Houſe of Commons? If you do—the firſt man of them that enters, I will plunge my ſword not into his, but into your body.

While his lordſhip was making his ſecond ſpeech to the mob, another of his relations, General Grant, came behind him, and endeavoured to draw him back into the Houſe, and ſaid to him, 'For God's ſake, Lord George! do not lead theſe poor people into any danger.'—His lordſhip, however, made the general no anſwer, but continued his harangue—

'You see, said he, in this effort to persuade me from my duty, before your eyes, an instance of the difficulties I have to encounter with from such wise men of this world as my honourable friend behind my back.'

Alderman Sawbridge and others endeavoured to persuade the people to clear the lobby, but to no purpose. The Assistant to the Chaplain of the House of Commons likewise addressed them, but gained nothing except curses. Soon after this, a party af horse and foot guards arrived. Justice Addington was at the head of the horse, and was received with hisses; but on his assuring the people that his disposition towards them was peaceable, and that he would order the soldiers away, if they would give their honour to disperse, he gained their good will. Accordingly the cavalry galloped off, and upwards of six hundred of the petitioners, after giving the magistrate three cheers, departed.

The greatest part of the day the attention of the House of Commons had been taken up in debates concerning the mob. When they had obtained some degree of order, Lord George introduced his business with informing them, that he had before him a Petition signed by near one hundred and twenty thousand of his majesty's protestant subjects, praying, 'A repeal of the act passed the last session in favour of the Roman Catholics,' and moved to have the said petition brought up.

Mr. Alderman Bull seconded the motion, and leave was given accordingly.

Having brought up the petition, his Lordship then moved to have it taken into immediate consideration, and was again seconded by Mr. Alderman Bull.

After some debate, the House divided, and there appeared 6 for the petition, and 192 against it. Soon after this the House adjourned, and the mob having dispersed from the avenues of both Houses, the guards were ordered home.

Though order and tranquillity were re-established in this part of the town, it was far otherwise elsewhere. The mob paraded off in different divisions from Palace-yard, and some of them went to the Romish Chapel in Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, others to that in Warwick-street, Golden-square, both of which they in a great measure demolished. The military were sent for, but could not arrive time enough at either to prevent mischief. Thirteen of the rioters were however taken, and the mob, for that night, dispersed.

The riots, which were so alarming on the Friday evening, partly subsided on Saturday; but on Sunday in the afternoon, the rioters assembled again in large bodies, and attacked the chapels and dwelling-houses of the catholics in and about Moorfields. They stript their houses of furniture, and their chapels not only of the ornaments and insignia of religion, but tore up the altars, pulpits, pews, and benches, and made fires of them, leaving nothing but the bare walls.

On Monday the rioters collected again. Some paraded with the reliques of havock, which they collected in Moorfields, as far as Lord George Gordon's house in Welbeck-street, and afterwards

burnt them in the adjacent fields. Another party went to Virginia-lane, Wapping, and a third to Nightingale-lane, East-Smithfield, where they ſeverally deſtroyed the catholic chapels, and committed other outrages. Mr. Rainsforth, tallow-chandler, of Stanhope-ſtreet, Clare-market, and Mr. Maberly, of Little Queen-ſtreet, Lincoln's-inn-fields, who had appeared as evidences on the examination of thoſe who had been committed, had each of them their houſes and ſhops ſtripped, and their contents committed to the flames. Sir George Saville's houſe in Leiceſter-fields, underwent the ſame fate, for preparing and bringing the bill into parliament, in favour of the catholics.

This day alſo, which was held as the anniverſary of the king's birth-day, a proclamation was iſſued, promiſing a reward of 500 l. to thoſe who would make diſcovery of the perſons concerned in demoliſhing and ſetting fire to the Sardinian and Bavarian chapels. The perſons formerly apprehended were re-examined, and ſome were diſcharged; others were ordered to Newgate, and were eſcorted there by a party of the guards, whom, on their return, the mob pelted.

On Tueſday all the military in town were ordered on duty at the Tower, both Houſes of Parliament, St. James's, St. George's Fields, &c. during the day. Notwithſtanding every precaution, Lord Sandwich was wounded in attempting to go down to the Parliament Houſe to attend his duty, his carriage demoliſhed, and himſelf reſcued by the military with difficulty.

About ſix in the evening, one party went to the houſe of Juſtice Hyde, near Leiceſter-fields, which they deſtroyed; another party paraded through Long Acre, down Holborn, &c. till they came to Newgate, and publicly declared they would go and releaſe the confined rioters. When they arrived at the doors of the priſon, they demanded of Mr. Akerman, the keeper, to have their comrades immediately delivered up to them; and upon his perſiſting to do his duty, by refuſing, they began to break the windows, ſome to batter the doors and entrances into the cells, with pick-axes and ſledge-hammers, others with ladders to climb the walls, while ſeveral collected fire-brands, and whatever combuſtibles they could find, and flung into his dwelling-houſe. What contributed to the ſpreading of the flames, was the great quantity of houſhold furniture belonging to Mr. Akerman, which they threw out of the windows, piled up againſt the doors, and ſet fire to; the force of which preſently communicated to the houſe, from the houſe to the chapel, and from thence through the priſon. As ſoon as the flames had deſtroyed Mr. Akerman's houſe, which was part of Newgate, and were communicated to the wards and cells, all the priſoners, to the amount of three hundred, among whom were four under ſentence of death, and ordered for execution on the Thurſday following, were releaſed.

Not ſatiated with the deſtruction of this great building, a party was ſent among the catholics in Devonſhire-ſtreet, Red Lion-ſquare; another to the houſe of Juſtice Cox,

Cox, in Great Queen-ſtreet, which was ſoon deſtroyed; a third broke open the doors of the New Priſon, Clerkenwell, and turned out all the priſoners; a fourth deſtroyed the furniture and effects, writings, &c. of Sir John Fielding; and a fifth deſperate and infernal gang went to the elegant houſe of Lord Mansfield, in Bloomſbury-ſquare, which they, with the moſt unrelenting fury, ſet fire to and conſumed.—They began by breaking down the doors and windows, and from every part of the houſe flung the ſuperb furniture into the ſtreet, where large fires were made to deſtroy it. They then proceeded to his lordſhip's law-library, &c. and deſtroyed ſome thouſand volumes, with many capital manuſcripts, mortgages, papers, and other deeds. The rich wardrobe of wearing apparel, and ſome very capital pictures, were alſo burned; and they afterwards forced their way into his lordſhip's wine-cellars, and plentifully beſtowed it on the populace. A party of guards now arrived, and a magiſtrate read the riot-act, and then was obliged to give orders for a detachment to fire, when about fourteen obeyed, and ſhot ſeveral men and women, and wounded others. They were ordered to fire again, which they did, without effect. This did not intimidate the mob; they began to pull the houſe down, and burn the floors, planks, ſpars, &c. and deſtroyed the out-houſes and ſtables; ſo that in a ſhort time the whole was conſumed.—Lord and Lady Mansfield made their eſcape through a back door, a few minutes before the rioters broke in and took poſſeſſion of the houſe.

It is impoſſible to give any adequate deſcription of the events of Wedneſday. Notice was ſent round to the public priſons of the King's-Bench, Fleet, &c. by the mob, at what time they would come and burn them down. The ſame kind of infernal humanity was exerciſed towards Mr. Langdale, a diſtiller in Holborn, whoſe loſs is ſaid to amount to near 100,000l. and ſeveral other Romiſh individuals. In the afternoon all the ſhops were ſhut, and bits of blue ſilk, by way of flags, hung out at moſt houſes, with the words 'No Popery,' chalked on the doors and window-ſhutters, by way of deprecating the fury of the inſurgents, from which no perſon thought himſelf ſecure.

As ſoon as the day was drawing towards a cloſe, one of the moſt dreadful ſpectacles this country ever beheld was exhibited. Let thoſe, who were not ſpectators of it, judge what the inhabitants felt when they beheld at the ſame inſtant the flames aſcending and rolling in clouds from the King's-Bench and Fleet Priſons, from New Bridewell, from the toll-gates on Black-friars Bridge*, from houſes in every quarter of the town, and particularly from the bottom and middle of Holborn, where the conflagration was horrible beyond deſcription. The houſes that were firſt ſet on fire at this laſt-mentioned place,

* The toll-gates at Black-friars appear to have been burnt for the ſake of plunder: ſome lives were loſt there, and one man, who was ſhot, ran thirty or forty yards before he dropped.

both belonged to Mr. Langdale, an eminent diſtiller, and contained immenſe quantities of ſpirituous liquors.—Six-and-thirty fires, all blazing at one time, and in different quarters of the city, were to be ſeen from one ſpot. —During the whole night men, women, and children, were running up and down with ſuch goods and effects as they wiſhed moſt to preſerve. The tremendous roar of the authors of theſe horrible ſcenes was heard at one inſtant, and at the next, the dreadful reports of ſoldiers muſquets, firing in platoons, and from different quarters: in ſhort, every thing ſerved to impreſs the mind with ideas of univerſal anarchy and approaching deſolation.

Two attempts, in the courſe of the day, were made upon the Bank; but the rioters were ſo much intimidated by the ſtrength with which they beheld it guarded, that their attacks were but feebly conducted, and they were repulſed at the firſt fire from the military. They made an effort to break into the Pay-office likewiſe, and met the ſame fate. Several of them fell in theſe ſkirmiſhes, and many were wounded.

Had the Bank and the public offices been the firſt objects of their fury, inſtead of the houſes of individuals, the chapels, and the priſons, there can be little doubt but they would have ſucceeded in their attempt; and what the conſequences in that caſe would have been, let any rational mind figure to itſelf!

It is impoſſible to aſcertain the number of unhappy wretches who loſt their lives in the courſe of this dreadful night.—Powder and ball was not ſo fatal to them as their own inordinate appetites. Numbers died with inebriation, eſpecially at the diſtilleries of the unfortunate Mr. Langdale, from whoſe veſſels the liquor ran down the middle of the ſtreet, was taken up by pailfuls, and held to the mouths of the deluded multitude; many of whom killed themſelves with drinking non-rectified ſpirits, and were burnt or buried in the ruins.

The regulars and militia had poured in ſo faſt, in conſequence of the expreſſes diſpatched for that purpoſe, that the citizens on Thurſday began to recover from their conſternation. They were, however, ſo thoroughly alarmed, and ſo much affected by the depredations they beheld on every ſide, that the ſhops were univerſally ſhut from Tyburn to Whitechapel, and no buſineſs of any kind, except at the Bank, was tranſacted. —The military were exceedingly active this day; and ſecured great numbers of diſorderly perſons; ſeveral were taken in the cells of Newgate, attempting to rekindle the fire in thoſe parts which had not been totally deſtroyed.

The following is ſaid to be a copy of the return made to Lord Amherſt of the killed and wounded during the diſturbances:

By aſſociation troops and guards	109	killed.
By light horſe	101	killed.
Died in hoſpitals	75	
Priſoners now under cure	173	
	458	

The number of thoſe who periſhed from inebriation, and in the

the ruins of the demoliſhed houſes, is not known, but is conceived to have been very conſiderable.

Friday, at eleven o'clock, a Council was held at Lord Stormont's office in Cleveland-row; in conſequence of which, a warrant was iſſued by his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, directed to Mann and Staley, two of his Majeſty's Meſſengers in ordinary, for the apprehending and taking into ſafe cuſtody, the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon. The meſſengers, on receiving their warrants, inſtantly repaired to his houſe in Welbeck-ſtreet, and, getting admittance, were introduced to his lordſhip, whom they made immediately acquainted with the nature of their viſit:—Lord George only replied,—'If you are ſure it is me you want, I am ready to attend you!'—Upon which, a hackney-coach being previouſly got ready, and a party of light horſe having received orders to attend in an adjacent ſtreet, his lordſhip was conducted ſafely by them, about ſix o'clock, to the Horſe-Guards.—A long examination took place in the War-office, before the Lord Preſident, Lord North, Lord Amherſt, the Secretaries of State, and ſeveral other Lords of the Privy-council; and at half an hour after nine, Lord George Gordon was committed a cloſe priſoner to the Tower. The guards that attended him were by far the greateſt in number ever remembered to guard a ſtate priſoner. A large party of infantry preceded in front, his Lordſhip following in a coach, in which were two officers; two ſoldiers rode behind the coach, and immediately followed General Carpenter's regiment of dragoons; after which came a colonel's guard of the foot guards, beſides a party of the militia, which marched on each ſide of the coach. The cavalcade paſſed over Weſtminſter-bridge, through St. George's Fields, the Borough, and ſo on to the Tower, where his lordſhip alighted about ten o'clock, and reſted that night in the Governor's apartments.—The ſame day Mr. Fiſher, Secretary to the Proteſtant Aſſociation, was taken to the Tower, examined by the Privy-council, and honourably diſmiſſed.

The arrangement of the military, that was made on Thurſday, produced ſo good an effect, that there was no riot or diſturbances in any part of the town, in the courſe of the night, and the next day (Friday) peace and tranquillity were reſtored, and the only uneaſineſs felt, was, that the metropolis was ſubjected to martial law. This very diſagreeable apprehenſion aroſe from the proclamation which was iſſued, declaring that orders were given to the military power to exert their utmoſt endeavours for the reſtoring of peace. In order, however, to diſſipate this idea, the following hand-bill was circulated in every quarter of the town:—

'Whereas ſome ill deſigning and malicious perſons have publiſhed, for the purpoſe of diſquieting the minds of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, that it is intended to try the priſoners, now in cuſtody, by martial law; notice is given, by authority, that no ſuch purpoſe or intention has ever been in the contemplation of Government; but that the ſaid

prisoners will be tried by the due course of law, as expeditiously as may be.'

We must not forget to mention, that attempts were made to create the same disturbances at Hull, Bristol, and Bath. By the care and attention of the civil magistrate they were frustrated; but at Bath not till a chapel and some houses were destroyed.

IN this ample detail of the tumults, which threatened the very existence of the metropolis, it cannot but be remarked, that scarce any attempt appears to have been made either to prevent them, or to check their progress. For six days successively, from Friday the 2d of June to Thursday the 8th, the cities of London and Westminster were delivered up into the hands of an unarmed and nameless mob, to be plundered at its discretion. Much blame on this account has been thrown on the magistrates of the cities, much on the king's ministers; with what justice the following authentic papers will in some measure enable our readers to judge.

Copies of the Letters which passed between the Secretaries of State, the Lord President of the Council, the Commander in Chief, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, *and also of the King's Proclamation, relative to the late Riots.*

St. James's, June 3, 1780.
14 *M. p. Two P. M.*

My Lord,

AS information which I have received gives me reason to apprehend that tumults may arise within your lordship's jurisdiction, I think it my duty to convey to you immediately this information. I cannot too strongly recommend the matter to your lordship's attention, and am confident, from your known activity, that you will not omit any legal exertion of the civil power which may contribute upon this occasion to preserve the public peace.

I have the honour to be,
My lord,
Your lordship's
Most obedient humble servant,
STORMONT.

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of London.

St. James's, June 4, 1780.
25 *M. p. Ten, P. M.*

My Lord,

INFORMATION which I have just received makes me think it my indispensable duty to recommend the contents of the letter which I had the honour to write to your lordship yesterday, to your most serious consideration. I cannot but hope and trust, from your lordship's known zeal and activity, that every effectual legal method will be used by you to preserve the public peace, by guarding it against those dangers to which it stands exposed.

I am, with great respect,
My lord,
Your lordship's
Most obedient humble servant,
STORMONT.

Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

St. James's, June 5, 1780.

My Lord,

WE learnt with pleasure, by your lordship's verbal answer returned to Lord Stormont's letter of

of last night, that you were then using your best endeavours to disperse the tumultuous assembly in Moorfields, and to prevent every outrage. Those endeavours seem to have been in some degree successful for a time; but we have just received intelligence, which gives us equal concern and surprize, that there is actually a riotous meeting at the same place, and that a great number of seditious persons are employed in demolishing different dwelling-houses, and all this is done in broad day, according to our information, without the least interposition of the civil magistrates to preserve the public peace.

Under these considerations we think it our indispensable duty again to call your lordship's attention to such very serious objects, and we cannot but persuade ourselves that you will feel that a constant, uninterrupted exertion of every possible legal endeavour to prevent or quell such outrages, and to preserve or restore the public order and tranquillity, and to seize and secure the principal delinquents, that they may be brought to justice, is an indispensable part of the duty of the high station in which your lordship is placed.

We have the honour to be,
My lord,
Your lordship's most obedient,
and most humble servants,
STORMONT,
HILLSBOROUGH.

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of the city of London.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS a great number of disorderly persons have assembled themselves together in a riotous and tumultuous manner, and have been guilty of many acts of treason and rebellion, having made an assault on the gaol of Newgate, set loose the prisoners confined therein, and set fire to and destroyed the said prison: And whereas houses are now pulling down in several parts of our cities of London and Westminster, and liberties thereof, and fires kindled for consuming the materials and furniture of the same, whereby it is become absolutely necessary to use the most effectual means to quiet such disturbances, to preserve the lives and properties of individuals, and to restore the peace of the country: We, therefore, taking the same into our most serious consideration, have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our royal Proclamation, hereby strictly charging and exhorting all our loving subjects to preserve the peace, and to keep themselves, their servants and apprentices, quietly within their respective dwellings, to the end that all well-disposed persons may avoid those mischiefs which the continuance of such riotous proceedings may bring upon the guilty: And as it is necessary, from the circumstances before-mentioned, to employ the military force, with which we are by law entrusted, for the immediate suppression of such rebellious and traiterous attempts, now making against the peace and dignity of our Crown, and the safety of the lives and properties of our subjects, We have therefore issued the most direct and effectual orders to all our officers, by an immediate

diate exertion of their utmoſt force, to repreſs the ſame, of which all perſons are to take notice.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the ſeventh day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, in the twentieth year of our reign.

God ſave the King.

On the ſame day the following general orders were iſſued to the officers and commanders of all his majeſty's forces in Great-Britain.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Adjutant-general's office, June 7, 1780.

"In obedience to an order of the king in council, the military to act without waiting for directions from the civil magiſtrates, and to uſe force for diſperſing the illegal and tumultuous aſſemblies of the people.

WM. AMHERST, Adjutant-gen."

Several inhabitants of the city of London having propoſed to arm themſelves for their common preſervation, the following letters paſſed on that ſubject.

Whitehall, 12th June, 1780.

SIR,

I HAVE received the favour of your letter of this date, with the ſeveral papers incloſed. If in the printed paper, with the lord mayor's name annexed, firelocks are meant by the words, "*with their arms*," in the firſt article of the paper, I wholly diſapprove of that intention: no perſon can bear arms in this country but under officers having the king's commiſſions.

The inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, thoſe of the pariſh of Covent-garden, and ſome of other pariſhes, have formed themſelves into very uſeful, and at the ſame time unexceptionable aſſociations; and if ſomething of the ſame kind was adopted in the city, there is no doubt but much uſe and great ſecurity would ariſe therefrom; but the uſing of fire-arms is improper, unneceſſary, and cannot be approved.

I have the honour to be,
Sir, &c.
AMHERST.

Lieut. Col. Twiſleton.

Whitehall, 13th June, 1780.

SIR,

I HAVE received the favour of your letter of this date, on the ſubject of the inhabitants of the city being permitted to carry arms, and I cannot ſay more on the general ſubject than I mentioned in my letter to you of yeſterday's date, which was a clear diſapprobation of that part of the lord mayor's plan which regards the arms.

If therefore any arms are found in the hands of perſons, except they are of the city militia, or are perſons authorized by the king to be armed, you will pleaſe to order the arms to be delivered up to you, to be ſafely kept until further order.

I am, SIR,
Your moſt obedient,
and moſt humble ſervant,
AMHERST.

Lieut. Col. Twiſleton.

Whitehall, June 14th, 1780.

SIR,

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter of this day's date,

date, and I have alſo ſeen Lieutenant-Colonel Grinfield. I cannot ſay more regarding the propoſal for putting arms into the hands of the inhabitants of the city, than is contained in my letters to you of Monday's and yeſterday's date, and I fully approve of your conduct upon the whole of this buſineſs.

There can be no doubt that the aldermen in propoſing to arm their wards, mean by way of general defence; but ſuppoſing that the aſſembling the inhabitants under arms was legal, the inconveniencies which you have ſtated to the mayor, &c. as likely to ariſe from the motley appearance of the armed inhabitants in caſe of the rioters aſſembling again, ſhould, I think, be ſufficient to induce the magiſtrates of the city to drop the intention.

I have laid before the king's confidential ſervants all your letters upon this ſubject, together with copies of my anſwers to them; and I am very glad to inform you that your conduct has received their full approbation, as well as that of,

Sir, &c.

AMHERST.

Colonel Twiſleton.

Bridge Ward Within, 15th June, 1780.

MY LORD,

WE are directed, by the unanimous reſolution of a very numerous and reſpectable wardmote, held at Fiſhmongers-hall, this day, before Thomas Wooldridge, Eſq; alderman, to apply to your lordſhip for the king's leave to aſſociate ourſelves, purſuant to the annexed plan, for the preſervation of ourſelves and neighbours, againſt a renewal of the miſchiefs ſo recently experienced from a lawleſs and licentious banditti.

As the ſtrongeſt ſentiments of loyalty and affection to his majeſty and the conſtitution are our governing principles, we rely on your lordſhip's kind recommendation of this meaſure.

We have the honour to be
your lordſhip's, &c.
JAMES SANDERSON,
JAMES DAVIDSON,
JOSEPH HARDCASTLE,
WM. ANDERSON,
JAC. WRENCH,
M. DUKE THOMPSON,
FRAS. GARRET.

Right Hon. Lord Amherſt, &c. &c.

The Plan referred to above.

A battalion company of fifty of the opulent part of the inhabitants, armed, cloathed, and taught the manual and platoon exerciſe, at their own expence, and not to do duty out of Bridge Ward.

Whitehall, 16th June, 1780.

SIR,

HAVING laid before the king the letter of yeſterday's date, ſigned by ſeveral gentlemen of the Ward of Bridge Within, that you put into my hands this morning, wherein it is deſired that a certain number of the inhabitants of the ſaid ward may have leave to form themſelves into a company, and be armed for the purpoſe of preſerving themſelves and neighbours in caſe there ſhould be a renewal of the late miſchiefs in the metropolis, or any aſſembly of a lawleſs and licentious mob; and the ſaid propoſition having been fully taken into conſideration,

consideration, I am to acquaint you that it is not thought expedient that any persons should be permitted to use arms, otherwise than for the immediate defence of their houses, or being under the command of persons receiving commissions from the king.

I am, Sir, &c.

AMHERST.

Mr. Alderman Wooldridge.

In consequence of the orders from the Adjutant-General *and the above letters, the following was sent to the Earl* Bathurst:

Guildhall, 14th June, 1780.

MY LORD,

I AM directed by the court of aldermen to inform your lordship, that, in obedience to your lordship's orders, they have made diligent search in the several wards after those disorderly persons who have been concerned in the late dangerous riots, and have taken to their assistance the house-keepers in each district, who have armed themselves, under the direction of the court, for the purpose of supporting the civil magistrate; but having communicated to the court the inclosed letter from Lord Amherst to Colonel Twisleton, who favoured me with copies of them, the court are desirous that some explanation may be given to those letters, as they now militate against the orders first received from your lordship: they also beg leave to be informed by your lordship whether the order sent to Colonel Twisleton by the Adjutant-general, directing the military to act without waiting for the directions of the civil magistrate, is to continue in force.

I beg leave to subscribe myself, with the greatest respect,

my lord,

your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

B. KENNETT, mayor.

Earl Bathurst.

ANSWER.

Whitehall, Council-chamber, June 15.

MY LORD,

"I HAVE been honoured with your lordship's letter of yesterday's date, and have laid the same before the lords of the privy-council, and am to inform your lordship, that we apprehend Lord Amherst's letter to your lordship of the 13th instant has not been properly understood; for when he speaks of the arms in the hands of the city militia, or other persons authorised by the king to be armed, he certainly includes the arms in the hands of the citizens and housekeepers, who, by virtue of an order of the court of lieutenancy, are required to keep them in their houses; and Colonel Twisleton has put the proper construction on those letters, by only taking arms from suspected persons, or those who could not give a good account of themselves. While the military, necessary for the preservation of the public peace, remain in the city, it will, no doubt, be proper that the order of the Adjutant-general for their acting without waiting for the directing of the civil magistrate should continue in force. The attention paid by the inhabitants, in preserving the peace of the several

veral wards is extremely commendable; yet the greateſt care ſhould be taken that any armed houſekeepers do not expoſe themſelves to the military, who in a tumult might not be able to diſtinguiſh them from the rioters.

I have the honour to be,
my lord,
your lordſhip's moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
BATHURST, P.

Right Hon. Lord Mayor.

To which the following Reply was ſent.

Guildhall, June 17, 1780.

MY LORD,

I AM to acknowledge the honour of your lordſhip's letter of the 15th, which I communicated to the court of aldermen yeſterday, by whom I am directed to repreſent to your lordſhip, that if you will be pleaſed to refer to my letter of the 14th, your lordſhip will find the letters of Lord Amherſt's there mentioned (copies of which were incloſed) were not addreſſed to me, but to Colonel Twiſleton; the ſecond of which ſeems to import an order to him to diſarm all perſons in whoſe hands arms ſhould be found, except the city militia, and perſons authorized by the king to be armed; which order, it is apprehended, would, if literally executed, diſarm thoſe aſſiſtants, without whom it would have been impoſſible to have executed, and will now be impoſſible to proceed in the execution of the order of council of the 9th inſtant; the aſſiſtance which the aldermen of this city judged neceſſary to take with them in the execution of that order, in addition to the peace officers, being bodies of the inhabitants of their reſpective wards, who have armed themſelves under the direction of the court of aldermen (not the court of lieutenancy) for the purpoſe of ſupporting the civil magiſtrate.

The court were the more inclined to fear, that the order in queſtion would be ſo interpreted, as Lord Amherſt had in his letter to Colonel Twiſleton of the twelfth inſtant expreſſed it to be his opinion, that no man can bear arms in this country but under officers having the king's commiſſion; this was what was meant by ſaying that thoſe letters militate againſt the orders firſt received from your lordſhip, and the court deſire to ſubmit to your lordſhip's conſideration whether ſome further explanation may not be neceſſary to prevent a conſtruction, which would leave the civil magiſtrate without power to act at all, for want of neceſſary ſupport, eſpecially if it be thought proper that the Adjutant-general's order for the military to act, without waiting for the direction of the civil magiſtrate, ſhould continue longer in force.

I am further directed by the court to repreſent to your lordſhip, that in forming their opinion upon this ſubject, and requeſting a further explanation of Lord Amherſt's letters, they have not forgotten the undoubted right of all his majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects, as declared by the Firſt of William and Mary, Stat. 2. Chap. 2. to have arms for their defence ſuitable to their

their condition, and as allowed by law.

I beg leave to ſubſcribe myſelf,
with the greateſt reſpect,
my lord,
your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
B. KENNETT, mayor.

Earl Bathurſt.

ANSWER.

Whitehall, Council-chamber, June 20, 1780.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been honoured with your lordſhip's letter of the 17th inſtant, deſiring a further explanation of the letters ſent by Lord Amherſt to Colonel Twiſleton, &c. and have taken the firſt opportunity of laying your lordſhip's ſaid letter before the council; and I am to ſay that it is the opinion of their lordſhips, that the matter has been fully explained in my letter to your lordſhip of the 15th.—But in regard to what your lordſhip intimates of the impracticability of proceeding in the execution of what was required by the letter from the privy-council of the 9th inſtant, without the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants of the ſeveral wards, who have armed themſelves; the council is of opinion, that at a time like this of real danger from riots, tumults, and rebellious inſurrections, a reaſonable number of inhabitants, armed according to the nature and circumſtance of the caſe, may attend the peace officers as aſſiſtants to them, for the preſervation of the public peace, until the danger be over: but although his majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects may have arms for their defence ſuitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law, yet they cannot by law aſſemble in bodies armed, and be muſtered and arrayed without the authority of his majeſty.

I have the honour to be,
my lord,
your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
BATHURST, P.

Right Hon. Lord Mayor.

SECOND REPLY.

Guildhall, June 24, 1780.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour of your lordſhip's letter of the 20th, informing me, "That the council is of opinion that a reaſonable number of inhabitants, armed according to the nature and circumſtance of the caſe, may attend the peace officers as aſſiſtants to them for the preſervation of the peace, until the danger be over," which I have communicated to the court of aldermen, by whoſe directions I am to repreſent to your lordſhip, that they foreſee difficulties likely to ariſe in the execution of their duty, if the military are to act independently of them; and therefore, as well as to quiet the apprehenſions naturally ariſing from a large military force continuing in the capital, and not under the uſual control of the civil magiſtrate, they ſubmit to your lordſhip's conſideration whether the order of the Adjutant-general for them to act without waiting for the directions of the civil magiſtrate ſhould ſtill continue, or whether it would not be more expedient in the preſent ſtate of things to recall that order, and

ſubject

ſubject them as uſual to the civil magiſtrate.

I beg leave to ſubſcribe myſelf,
with the greateſt reſpect,
my lord,
your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
B. KENNETT, mayor.

Earl Bathurſt.

Proceedings at the Old Bailey, *and of the Special Commiſſion at* St. Margaret's-hill, *for the Trial of the Rioters.*

ON Wedneſday, June 28, the ſeſſions began at the Old Bailey, when the following priſoners were tried, and capitally convicted of being concerned in the late riots; Mr. Norton and Mr. Howarth being counſel for the proſecution, when the latter expatiated on the nature of the offence with which the priſoners ſtood charged, ſhewing it to be felony by the ſtatute 1 Geo. I. William Lawrence and Richard Roberts, were firſt put to the bar, and were clearly convicted of having aided and aſſiſted in deſtroying Sir John Fielding's houſe, in Bow-ſtreet, on Tueſday night, June 6. Thomas Taplin was next arraigned, for demanding and taking half-a-crown from Mr. Mahon, apothecary, the corner of Bow-ſtreet, June 7, and convicted, though his counſel attempted to prove him inſane. William Brown was indicted for entering the dwelling-houſe of Francis Deacon, cheeſemonger, and holding a large knife in his hand, making uſe of the following words: "D—n "your eyes, if you do not give "me a ſhilling directly, I'll bring "a mob that will pull down your "houſe about your ears." That accordingly Mr. Deacon threw a ſhilling into his hat. He was found guilty, Death.

June 29, George Kennedy was indicted for deſtroying the dwelling-houſe of Mr. M'Cartney, a baker, in Featherſtone-ſtreet, Bunhill-row. The jury brought him in guilty, but recommended him to mercy. William M'Donald, (a ſoldier with only one arm) for deſtroying the dwelling-houſe of John Lebarry, on the 7th of June, in St. Catherine's-lane, Tower-hill, was found guilty, Death. James Henry, for deſtroying the houſe, &c. of Mr. Thomas Langdale, at Holborn-bridge, June 7, was found guilty; and he being the principal ring-leader upon this occaſion, the Recorder informed him, that from the circumſtances of his caſe, he could not expect mercy. George Barton, for aſſaulting Richard Stowe, in Holborn, and feloniouſly taking from him 6d. in ſilver, ſaying, "Pray "remember the Proteſtant reli-"gion." He was found guilty, but recommended to mercy. John Ellis was indicted for beginning to pull down the houſe of Cornelius Murphy, the Sun, in Golden-lane, June 7, not guilty. Thomas Chambers was indicted for the ſame, and found not guilty.

June 30. William Pateman was indicted for demoliſhing the houſe of Robert Charlton, in Coleman-ſtreet, June 7, and found guilty. The court adjourned till Monday.

July 3. The important trial of Mr. Maſcal, the apothecary, came on. He was indicted for riotouſly and tumultuouſly aſſociating, on the

the 7th of June, with several persons as yet unknown, and beginning to pull down the dwelling-house of the Earl of Mansfield, in Bloomsbury-square.

Richard Ingram deposed, "That he lives in Weymouth-street, and was in Bloomsbury-square at half after one on Wednesday morning the 7th of June. Hearing there was a fire near Queen's-square, and having relations there, he went towards it—He saw a mob at Lord Mansfield's, and four or five fires—that he beheld persons in the house, men, women, and children, bringing out furniture and books. He saw the prisoner (whom he has known personally for some years) standing opposite Lord Mansfield's door with his hands upon a boy's shoulder, who was putting a book in the fire—He saw nothing in his hat at that time; he thought he was encouraging the boy. He saw, at the same time, furniture carrying out, and several books burning; and from the manner in which the prisoner put his hand on the boy's shoulder, it appeared to him to be encouraging, not preventing the boy. He went on to Devonshire-street, but did not stop there, and returned in about a quarter of an hour—it was then about two o' clock. On his return, he saw the prisoner with a blue cockade in his hat, and another person holding his arm: furniture was still throwing out, and books burning; and he observed the mob were going for more books, upon which he said, books could do no harm. A person on his left hand answered, "What, sir!" in a menacing tone: he corrected himself, and said, "Lord George will get this "bill repealed; things are going "too far."

Mr. Mascal, who was on his right hand, next but one, looked over the next man's shoulder, and said, "That's a damned lie, the "bill won't be repealed." Another person then said, "Mascal, "you were always a seditious per-"son." Mascal then said, "That man in the black cockade (meaning the witness) is a spy. He wears a cockade as being on the physical staff, and was surgeon to a regiment of dragoons." The man on his right hand between him and Mascal, seized him by the collar, and cried out "Spies! spies!" The mob, on that, shoved him about; but by applying to a man, he and the mob entered into an altercation, whilst he slipped away and got behind Mr. Mascal. The guard then came up. Mascal said, push forward boys, huzza'd, pulled off his hat, and cried, "No Popery!" The mob pressed close on the guard. The officer pulled off his hat, and said, "I will not hurt a hair of your heads," and desired them to disperse. He soon after saw Mascal again. A party of about twelve came up with a blue flag towards Mascal, urging "where next." — The answer, which he *believes* was from Mascal, was Duke! Duke! He was then two yards from Mascal. He afterwards saw Mascal going towards Russel-street, and saw a man present a paper to Mascal, and ask, "Why do you leave out Peterborough and Bristol?" He went out of, and came again into Russel-street, to the person who held the paper in his hand. Mascal answered, "They are not left out, I have not scratched them out;

out; but do not ſtay long in Devonſhire, but go to the Bank; there is a million of money to pay you for your pains."

Sir Thomas Mills depoſed, "That he was at Lord Mansfield's during the riot, and knows the priſoner by ſight. At half paſt twelve, on the morning of the 7th, he heard the mob coming up the ſquare, being then in Lord Mansfield's houſe. They began by breaking the parlour windows; Lady Mansfield and the ladies came down, and he conducted them to Lincoln's-inn-fields, but inſtantly returned in order to make the guards in the ſquare act to ſave the houſe. He found the officer with his detachment near the houſe, but the officer ſaid, the juſtices of the peace had all run away, and he could not act without a magiſtrate. The mob overhearing this, pulled him about, and dragged him towards the fire to throw him on it. One behind cried out, "Maſcal will protect you; there he is." He was then reſcued, and ſaw the priſoner at ſome diſtance from the mob, who were at that time bringing out Lord Mansfield's gowns and wigs—that Maſcal was huzzaing with others, "No Popery," and had a blue cockade. He afterwards went to ſearch for a juſtice, which took up half an hour; it was then a quarter after one, but finding no juſtice, he returned. The mob had then got into the library—the witneſs at that time was in the ſquare, and ſaw the priſoner upon the upper ſtep of the houſe. He attempted to get up to the ſteps to expoſtulate with the priſoner; three or four well-dreſſed men adviſed him not to go further, leſt he ſhould be thrown into the area, or the fire, for they were determined to proceed. He then left them, and ſaw the priſoner no more that night—he returned before three—he cannot in his conſcience ſay he heard the priſoner *ſay* any thing, ſaw him *do* any thing, or have any thing in his hand, but he appeared active—and proved the houſe to be demoliſhed."

Mr. Maſcal began his defence by obſerving, that the humanity of the Engliſh law conſidered every man innocent, until he was convicted; and that a jury would certainly conſider it neceſſary that an *inducement* ſhould be ſhewn ſufficient to carry away a man of character and independent buſineſs to act in the manner which had been alledged againſt him. He had long lived in credit and reputation, and it could not be preſumed that he would, in the face of his neighbours, head a mob of boys, and banditti of pickpockets.

One circumſtance, he obſerved, deſerved peculiar attention from the jury—Ingram had not given information againſt him from the 7th to the 17th.

He had witneſſes, he ſaid, to contradict every fact ſworn againſt him; and obſerved, how extraordinary it was, that Molloy, who, it appeared by Ingram's evidence, had not departed from him, through the whole courſe of the night, had not been produced againſt him.

As for Sir Thomas Mills, he hoped his attachments, and the motives which might promote his zeal in this cauſe, would have proper weight with the jury. He had

been, on a former occaſion, contradicted by five affidavits againſt his ſingle oath.

Baron Skynner ſaid, that this part of the defence could not be received; he was very ſorry to interrupt Mr. Maſcal, but what he was going into was highly improper.

Mr. Maſcal proceeded, by urging the improbability of the charge againſt a man ſituated in life as he was. He would ſhew by his witneſſes that he did not leave his houſe till one o'clock in the morning, and at a quarter after one he admitted he was in Bloomſbury-ſquare, viewing the fire at Lord Mansfield's houſe. But though he was there, he did not, as had been falſely aſſerted, ſtimulate the mob, but deplored and execrated the miſchief they were perpetrating.

His fortune, his character, his life, he threw upon the verdict of the jury cheerfully: not doubting but their verdict would give ſatisfaction to every one not intereſted in procuring his death.

Mr. Maſcal produced ſeveral creditable witneſſes to his character, and to prove his innocence: among others,

John Cowper, cheeſemonger, in Queen-ſtreet, Bloomſbury, depoſed, he was in Bloomſbury-ſquare at one o'clock, and ſtood about five yards from Bedford-gate. That he was at home at ten minutes paſt two. He ſaw Mr. Maſcal there about five minutes after he came—Maſcal ſtood cloſe behind him, and behaved very quietly, but he loſt ſight of Maſcal about five minutes before he left the ſquare. Did not hear Maſcal ſpeak to any of the mob, nor any of the mob ſpeak to him, but ſaw him ſpeak to ſpectators. Maſcal ſpoke to the witneſs and his wife, when the witneſs ſaid, "Good God! what ſhocking work is here!" And when the furniture was thrown out, Maſcal ſaid, "Good God! what a pity this is!"

Being croſs examined, he ſaid, he did not change his place many yards while he ſtaid—that he ſaw Maſcal go towards Great Ruſſel Street, towards the Muſeum.

Mrs. Wood depoſed ſhe heard Mr. Maſcal lament the loſs of the furniture—that his conduct was as quiet as her own. She corroborated every circumſtance ſworn to by the preceding witneſſes.

John Robinſon depoſed, he was preſent at Bloomſbury at about a quarter paſt one, and ſaw Maſcal—that he was there above an hour, and ſaw him frequently, but could not obſerve him to have any thing to ſay to the fire, or the riot—ſaw none of the mob ſpeak to him, nor he to any of the mob. That he came voluntarily to give his evidence, being convinced, in his conſcience, that Mr. Maſcal was innocent of the charge brought againſt him.

William Crutch depoſed, he was at Lord Mansfield's at twelve o' clock, as he lives near it: he went into the houſe to give aſſiſtance, but he did not ſee Maſcal there, though he ſaw ſeveral others very active; and he was in the ſquare till near five, a few minutes before the military fired.

The jury, without quitting the court, brought in their verdict Not Guilty; upon which, there was a loud clapping, which the judge highly reproved, and ſaid, that if

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the ſame was repeated within his hearing, he would commit the offenders.

Mr. Maſcal, when the jury had given their verdict in his favour, in a ſhort ſpeech addreſſed himſelf to them and the court, returning them thanks for their candour, attention, and patience.

Baron Skynner ſaid in reply, that it was the duty of the court to think no time too much to dedicate to the inveſtigation of truth, let the event go either to the acquittal or to the condemnation of a priſoner. The trial laſted ſeven hours.

Edward Dennis, the hangman, was found guilty of being active in aſſiſting to demoliſh the houſe of Mr. Boggis, in New Turnſtile, Holborn.

Enoch Fleming and John Morris, (a youth about 15) for deſtroying the houſe of Ferdinand Schomberg, in Woodſtock-ſtreet, Oxford Road. Both found guilty; Morris recommended to mercy.

Tueſday, July 4, Mary Roberts and Charlotte Gardiner, a negro, were indicted for aiding in the demolition of Mr. Lebarty's houſe (already mentioned) and were found guilty, death.

John Gray was found guilty, for aiding to deſtroy Lord Mansfield's houſe, but recommended to mercy.

Richard Forſter, guilty, for demoliſhing Mr. Schomberg's houſe.

Wedneſday, July 5, John Gamble was indicted for committing depredations in the houſe of David Wilmot, Eſq; at Bethnal-green. Guilty.

George Staples, for demoliſhing the houſe of Mr. Malo, in Moorfields, June 7. Guilty.

James Bulkeley, for deſtroying the dwelling houſe of Cornelius Murphy, Golden-lane, found guilty, but recommended to mercy.

Benjamin Waters, for the ſame. Guilty.

Samuel Solomons, for demoliſhing the dwelling houſe of Chriſtopher Connor, in Black-horſe-yard, Whitechapel. Guilty.

Joſeph Marquis, for demoliſhing Murphy's houſe, Golden-lane. Guilty, but recommended to mercy.

Suſannah Clarke, for the ſame. Elizabeth Lyons depoſed, that on the night of the riot, ſhe did not ſee Clarke do any thing, but heard her ſay to Walter, one of the mob, "They are Iriſh Catholics; if they are not, why do they keep Iriſh wakes?" Upon which Walter anſwered, "That the houſe ſhall come down;" and the mob immediately forced in, Walter being the firſt man that entered, her huſband being preſent at the time. The Chief Baron in his charge ſaid, "It is a rule of law, that no woman can be charged with any felony committed in the preſence of her huſband, the law preſuming that the wife acts under the direction of her huſband; and Murphy, though not in the preſent caſe, has, in two former trials, ſworn that the huſband joined with her in the fact." She was found not guilty.

Thurſday, July 6, Charles Kent and Letitia Holland, were tried for pulling down Lord Mansfield's houſe, and both found guilty. Holland was an handſome young woman about 18.

William Avery was tried for deſtroying Mr. Cox's houſe in Great Queen-ſtreet, Lincoln's-Inn-fields: he was found guilty;

but having a very good character, was recommended to mercy.

John Cabbridge, for ſtealing ſeveral things in the houſe of Mr. Langdale. Guilty.—Sentenced to five years labour on the Thames.

Sarah Hyde, for ſtealing a quart pot, the property of Mr. Langdale. Sentenced to be privately whipped.

William Vanderbank, and James and Thomas Prior, for ſtealing ſeveral articles, the property of Mr. Langdale. Vanderbank and Thomas Prior guilty, and James Prior not guilty.

Jemima Hall and Margaret Stafford, for ſtealing a feather bed, the property of Chriſtopher Conner. Hall was found guilty of ſingle felony.

Friday, July 7, Benjamin Bouſey, a black, indicted for demoliſhing Mr. Akerman's houſe. Found guilty.

Francis Mockford, for the ſame offence, found guilty; but recommended to mercy.

Thomas Haycock, for the ſame offence. Found guilty.

John Glover, a black, for the ſame offence. Found guilty.

Richard Hyde, for the ſame offence, being proved inſane, was acquitted.

Theophilus Brown and Thomas Baggot, were tried for pulling down the houſe of Mary Crook, of White-ſtreet, Moorfields. The former was found guilty, and the latter acquitted.

Monday, July 10, James Burn, Thomas Price, and John Thompſon, were indicted for pulling down the houſe of John Bradbury, in Golden-lane. The two former were found guilty, and Thompſon was acquitted.

John Burgeſs, a boy about 13, found guilty of pulling down the houſe of John Lynch, but recommended to mercy.

James Jackſon, for being the ringleader, and carrying a flag when Newgate was ſet on fire. Found guilty.

Jonathan Stacey was indicted for pulling down the houſe of Mr. Dillon, in White-ſtreet, Moorfields, and found guilty.

This day the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, in the courſe of which, 85 perſons were tried for riots, of whom, 35 were capitally convicted, and 43 acquitted.

The firſt report was made to the king on Wedneſday, July 5, when the following rioters were ordered for execution, near the ſpots where the felonies they were guilty of had been committed, viz. William M'Donald, Mary Roberts, Charlotte Gardiner, Wm. Brown, Wm. Pateman, Thomas Taplin, Richard Roberts, James Henry, and Enoch Fleming.

The following were reſpited: George Banton, George Kennedy, Wm. Lawrence, Edward Dennis (the hangman), John Morris, Richard Forſter, and John Gray.

The ſecond report was made on Friday July 14, when the following rioters were ordered for execution, viz. John Glover *, James Jackſon, Benjamin Bowſey *, Samuel Solomons, John Gamble, Thomas Prince, Benjamin Waters, Jonathan Stacey, George Staples, Charles Kent, Lætitia Holland *, and John Gray.

* Thoſe marked with an aſteriſk were reſpited afterwards.

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The following were reſpited upon the report, viz. Joſeph Marquis, James Buckley, Wm. Avery, Francis Mockford, Thomas Haycock, John Burgeſs, and Theophilus Brown.

A reward having been offered by Government for the apprehenſion and conviction of any rioters, a queſtion aroſe, Whether perſons *intereſted* in the conviction of the criminals were admiſſible as evidences againſt them? Which queſtion was ſubmitted to the opinion of the twelve judges, who unanimouſly agreed, that the teſtimony of witneſſes claiming reward is admiſſible.

The general rule of law is, not to admit witneſſes to give evidence, who, by the ties of affection, or from the motives of intereſt, are likely to be under undue influence. But, ſay the judges, there are caſes of neceſſity that require a departure from this rule. Thus, in caſes of robbery, where not only reſtitution of goods ſtolen, but the title to the parliamentary reward, depend on the conviction of the criminals, it has never been held that ſuch intereſt ſhould operate to deſtroy the competency of the evidence: if it did, hardly any highwayman could ever be convicted. So witneſſes entitled to rewards from the bank, the poſt-office, and other offices, have univerſally been held competent. Nor can any danger be apprehended to the innocent from this practice, ſo long as the jury are allowed to exerciſe their diſcretion as to the credibility of witneſſes, and may compare their teſtimony with that of others, or with circumſtances attending almoſt every caſe; but it would be dangerous to overturn this long-eſtabliſhed practice.

THE ſpecial commiſſion of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, in and for the county of Surry, for the trial of the rioters, was opened on the 10th of July, at St. Margaret's Hill, before Lord Chief Juſtice Loughborough, Sir Henry Gould, Sir James Eyre, and Francis Buller, Eſq. After the commiſſion was opened, Lord Loughborough delivered his charge to the grand jury, of which the Hon. George Onſlow was foreman.

This charge having been the topic of much converſation, we ſhall ſubmit it to the judgment of our readers. The opinions of men reſpecting the *legal* propriety of it have been various: as a piece of oratory it has been admired; but its tendency to influence and direct the jury, and inflame their paſſions againſt men, who ought all to have been ſuppoſed innocent till found guilty by their country, has been generally ſpoken of in terms of indignation, by thoſe who are jealous of the rights of humanity.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

IF you are come here totally ſtrangers to the tranſactions which have lately paſſed in this neighbourhood, or if it were poſſible for any of you, who were not witneſſes of them, not to have heard of the devaſtations that have been committed, the remnants of the flames which have been lately blazing in ſo many parts of the metropolis, and which muſt have

preſented themſelves to you, in your way to this place, will have ſufficiently declared the occaſion for which you are called together.

His majeſty's paternal care for the welfare of all his ſubjects, would not permit him to ſuffer offences ſo daring and ſo enormous to remain longer unexamined, than was legally neceſſary to convene a jury to enter upon the enquiry.

The commiſſion under which you are aſſembled extends only to crimes of high treaſon, or of felony, charged upon perſons now detained in the common gaol of this county, or who ſhall be detained therein between the preſent time and the period at which the commiſſion will expire. It was not thought proper to blend the common buſineſs of an aſſize, and the examination of thoſe offences, to the commiſſion of which the frailty of human nature is but too liable, with crimes of ſo deep a guilt, and ſo much above the ordinary pitch of human wickedneſs as thoſe which will come under your conſideration.

The general circumſtances under which thoſe crimes were committed, are of too great and ſhameful notoriety, to require a minute deſcription; but for your information, Gentlemen, whoſe duty it will be to conſider the nature and quality of the charges imputed to ſuch offenders as will be brought before you, it will be neceſſary to conſider the ſeveral parts of thoſe charges, and to obſerve the connection of thoſe parts with the whole, always applying the circumſtances to the particular caſe under conſideration.

I therefore think it an eſſential part of my duty to lay before you, in one general view, a ſhort account of thoſe dangers from which *this kingdom* has been lately delivered. I uſe this expreſſion, becauſe it will clearly appear that the miſchief deviſed was—not the deſtruction of the lives or fortunes of individuals, or of any deſcription of men—no partial evil—but that the blow, which it has pleaſed Providence to avert, was aimed at the credit, the government, and the very being and conſtitution of this ſtate.

The firſt remarkable circumſtance to be attended to, and which naturally demands our notice earlieſt of any, is a vaſt concourſe of perſons aſſembled in St. George's Fields on the 2d of June, called together by a public advertiſement, (ſigned in the name of a perſon calling himſelf the Preſident of an Aſſociation) not only inviting many thouſands to attend, but appointing their enſign of diſtinction, and preſcribing the order and diſtribution of their march in different columns to the place of their deſtination. Charity induces one to believe, that in ſuch a number, there were many went unwarily, and unconſcious of any evil intended; but credulity in the extreme can ſcarcely induce any man to doubt, that ſome there were who foreſaw, who intended, and who had practiſed to accompliſh the purpoſes which enſued.

A very ſhort time diſcloſed that one of the purpoſes which this multitude was collected to effectuate,

fectuate, was to overawe the legiſlature, to influence their deliberations, and obtain the alteration of a law, by force and numbers.

A petition was to be preſented to the Houſe of Commons, for the repeal of an act, in which the petitioners had no ſpecial intereſt.

[His lordſhip here laid down the right of the ſubject to petition. His doctrine upon this head was liberal and manly, his language clear, ſtrong, and emphatical.]

To petition for the paſſing or repeal of any act (ſaid his lordſhip) *is the undoubted inherent birthright of every Britiſh ſubject*; but under the name and colour of petitioning, to aſſume command, and to dictate to the legiſlature, is the annihilation of all order and government. Fatal experience had ſhewn the miſchief of tumultuous petitioning, in the courſe of that conteſt, in the reign of Charles the Firſt, which ended in the overthrow of the monarchy, and the deſtruction of the conſtitution; and one of the firſt laws after the reſtoration of legal government, was a ſtatute paſſed in the 13th year of Charles II. ch. 5, enacting, that no petition to the king, or either houſe of parliament, for alteration of matters eſtabliſhed by law in church or ſtate, (unleſs the matter thereof be approved by three juſtices, or the grand jury of the county) ſhall be ſigned by more than twenty names, or delivered by more than ten perſons.

In oppoſition to this law, the petition in queſtion was ſigned and delivered by many thouſands; and in defiance of principles more antient and more important than any poſitive regulations upon the ſubject of petitioning, the deſire of that petition was to be effected by the terror of the multitude that accompanied it through the ſtreets, claſſed, arranged, and diſtinguiſhed as directed by the advertiſement.

How the leaders of that multitude demeaned themſelves, what was the conduct of the crowd to the members of both houſes of parliament, it is not my intention to ſtate. I purpoſely avoid ſtating theſe things, becauſe at the ſame time that I point out the general complexion of the tranſaction, and relate general facts that are unfortunately too public and notorious, I chooſe to avoid every circumſtance that may have a direct and immediate relation to particular perſons. My purpoſe is to inform, not to prejudice or inflame. For this reaſon I feel myſelf obliged to paſs over in ſilence all ſuch circumſtances as cannot, and as ought not to be treated of or expreſſed but in ſtronger language, and in more indignant terms than I chooſe at preſent to employ. Towards the evening, the two houſes of parliament were releaſed from the ſtate in which they had been held for ſeveral hours. The crowd ſeemed to diſperſe. Many of the perſons ſo aſſembled, it is not to be doubted, retired to their dwellings, but ſome more deſperate and active remained to convince the legiſlature, that the menaces with which they had invaded the ears of all who met them in the ſtreets, were not fruitleſs; that they had not abandoned their purpoſe, but meant to carry it into full execution. When night fell,

the houſes of two foreign miniſters, in amity with his majeſty, were attacked, and their chapels plundered and ſet on fire.

If ſuch an outrage had been committed on one of our public miniſters, reſident in any of thoſe countries the moſt ſuperſtitious and bigotted to its eſtabliſhed religion, what reproach would it not have caſt upon that country? What indignation and abhorrence would it not have juſtly excited in our breaſts? Upon this tolerant and enlightened land, has that reproach been brought!

Upon the 3d of June there was a ſeeming quiet, *a very memorable circumſtance!* for ſudden tumults when they ſubſide are over. To revive a tumult, evinces ſomething of a ſettled influence, and ſomething ſo like deſign, that it is impoſſible for the moſt candid mind not to conceive that there lies at the bottom a preconcerted, ſettled plan of operation. Sunday, the next day, a day ſet apart by the laws of God and man as a day of reſt, and as a day not to be violated even by the labours of honeſt induſtry; in broad ſun-ſhine, buildings and private houſes in Moorfields were attacked and entered, and the furniture deliberately brought out and conſumed by bonfires. *And all this was done in the view of patient magiſtrates!*

Some magiſtrates and ſome individuals had indeed in the beginning of the diſturbances exerted themſelves, and ſeveral who had been active in the demolition of the ambaſſadors houſes had been committed. On Monday the mob, who had not been reſiſted, but had proceeded with a ſucceſs which had increaſed their impetuoſity, thought it neceſſary to ſhew that the law ſhould not be exerciſed with impunity on delinquents like themſelves. It was the buſineſs of Monday to deſtroy the houſes of the magiſtrates, and other perſons who had been inſtrumental in apprehending them: but theſe outrages, great as they were, fell far ſhort of thoſe committed on the Tueſday and Wedneſday, which will ever remain a ſtain on our annals. Freſh inſults of the moſt daring and aggravated nature, were offered to parliament, and every one, who was in London at the time, muſt remember, that it bore the appearance of a town taken by ſtorm; every quarter was alarmed; neither age, nor ſex, nor eminence of ſtation, nor ſanctity of character, nor even an humble though honeſt obſcurity, were any protection againſt the malevolent fury and deſtructive rage of the loweſt and worſt of men.

But it was not againſt individuals alone, that their operations were now directed. What has ever been in all ages, and in all countries, the laſt effort of the moſt deſperate conſpirators, was now their object. The jails were attacked, the felons releaſed—men whoſe lives their crimes had forfeited to the juſtice of the law, were ſet looſe to join their impious hands in the work.

The city was fired in different parts. The flames were kindled in the houſes moſt likely to ſpread the conflagration to diſtant quarters, the diſtillers, and other places, where the inſtruments of trade

trade upon the premiſes were ſure to afford the largeſt quantity of combuſtible matter! And in the midſt of this horror and confuſion, in order more effectually to prevent the extinguiſhing of the flames, an attempt to cut off the New River water, and an attack on the credit of the kingdom, by an attempt againſt the Bank of England, were made. Both theſe attempts were defeated, providentially defeated; but they were made under circumſtances which evince that they were intended to be effectual, and which increaſe the ſatisfaction and the gratitude to Providence that every man muſt feel, when he recollects the fortunate circumſtance of their having been deferred till that ſtage of the buſineſs.

In four days, by the incredible activity of this band of furies parading the ſtreets of the metropolis with flaming torches, ſeventy-two private houſes and four public gaols were deſtroyed, one of them the county gaol, and that built in ſuch a manner as to juſtify the idea, that it was impregnable to an armed force. Religion, the ſacred name of religion, and of that pureſt and moſt peaceable ſyſtem of chriſtianity, the PROTESTANT CHURCH, was made the profane pretext for aſſaulting the government, trampling upon the laws of the country, and violating the firſt great precept of their duty to God and to their neighbour,——the pretext only; for there is not, I am ſure, in Europe, a man ſo weak, ſo uncandid, or ſo unjuſt to the character of the reformed church, as to believe, that any religious motive could by any perverſion of human reaſon induce men to attack the magiſtrates, releaſe felons, deſtroy the ſource of public credit, and lay in aſhes the *capital of the* PROTESTANT FAITH!

I have now related to you the riſe and progreſs of that calamity from which, by the bleſſing of Providence upon his Majeſty's efforts for our preſervation, this kingdom hath been delivered—a ſituation unparalleled in the hiſtory of our country—no commotion ever having had a more deſperate and more fatal intention. It now remains to ſtate to you what parts of this ſubject will more directly call for your attention; and as it is evident from what I have ſaid, that among the number of perſons whoſe caſes will be ſubmitted to your conſideration, there may be ſome who are accuſed with the guilt of high treaſon, it will be neceſſary and proper to ſtate the law with reſpect to thoſe ſpecies of treaſon under which ſome of the caſes may probably fall. There are two ſpecies of treaſon applicable. To imagine or compaſs the death of our ſovereign lord the king, is high treaſon. To levy war againſt the king within the realm, is alſo high treaſon.

The firſt, that of compaſſing the death of the king, muſt be demonſtrated by ſome overt act, as the means to effect the purpoſe of the heart; the fact of levying war is an overt act of this ſpecies of treaſon, but it is alſo a diſtinct ſpecies of treaſon. And as the preſent occaſion calls more immediately for it, I muſt ſtate to you more fully, in what that treaſon may conſiſt.

I am

I am peculiarly happy, that I am enabled to ſtate the law on the ſubject, not from any reaſonings or deductions of my own, which are liable to error, and in which a change or inaccuracy of expreſſion might be productive of much miſchief, but from the firſt authority, from which my mouth only will be employed in pronouncing the law. I ſhall ſtate it to you in the words of that great, able, and learned judge, Mr. Juſtice Foſter, that true friend to the liberties of his country.

"Every inſurrection which in judgment of law is intended againſt the perſon of the king, be it to dethrone or impriſon him, or to oblige him to alter his meaſures of government, or to remove evil counſellors from about him,—theſe riſings all amount to levying war within the ſtatute, whether attended with the pomp and circumſtances of open war or not. And every conſpiracy to levy war for theſe purpoſes, though not treaſon within the clauſe of levying war, is yet an overt-act within the other clauſe of compaſſing the king's death.

"Inſurrections in order to throw down *all* incloſures, to alter the eſtabliſhed law, or change religion, to inhance the price of *all* labour, or to open *all* priſons—all riſings in order to effect theſe innovations of a *public and a general armed force*, are, in conſtruction of law, high treaſon, within the clauſe of levying war. For though they are not levelled at the perſon of the king, they are againſt *his royal majeſty*; and beſides, they have a direct tendency to diſſolve all the bonds of ſociety, and to deſtroy all property and government too, by numbers and an armed force. Inſurrections likewiſe for redreſſing *national* grievances, or for the expulſion of foreigners in general, or indeed of any ſingle nation living here under the protection of the king, or for the reformation of real or imaginary evils *of a public nature, and in which the inſurgents have no ſpecial intereſt*,—riſings to effect theſe ends by force and numbers, are, by conſtruction of law, within the clauſe of levying war. For they are levelled at the king's crown and royal dignity."

In order fully to explain this, it will be only neceſſary to collect, repeat, and enforce the ſeveral paſſages in Mr. Juſtice Foſter, relative to this ſubject. It may occur that in ſeveral places mention is made of an armed force. In the very ſame chapter, from which I have read an extract, the learned judge mentions two remarkable caſes in the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne.

"In the caſes of *Damaree* and *Purchaſe*, which are the laſt *printed* caſes which have come in judgment on the point of conſtructive levying war, there was nothing *given in evidence* of the uſual pageantry of war, no military weapons, no banners or drums, nor any regular conſultation previous to the riſing; and yet the want of theſe circumſtances weighed nothing with the court, though the priſoners' counſel inſiſted on that matter. The number of the inſurgents ſupplied the want of military weapons; and they were provided with axes, crows, and other tools of the like nature, proper

proper for the miſchief they intended to effect."

It is remarkable, that the men who were the leaders, or ſet on as part of that mob, likewiſe aſſembled under pretence of religion, and the falſe and wicked cry then was, that *the church of England was in danger*, on account of the juſt and humane indulgence, which, from the happy period of the Revolution, had been granted to diſſenters.

"Upon the trial of Demaree, the caſes referred to before, were cited at the bar, and all the judges preſent were of opinion that the priſoner was guilty of the high treaſon charged upon him in the indictment. For here was a riſing with an avowed intention to demoliſh all meeting-houſes in general; and this intent they carried into execution as far as they were able. If the meeting-houſes of Proteſtant diſſenters had been erected and ſupported in defiance of all law, a riſing in order to deſtroy ſuch houſes in general, would have fallen under the rule laid down in Keiling, with regard to the demoliſhing all bawdy-houſes. But ſince the meeting-houſes of Proteſtant diſſenters are by the toleration act taken under the protection of the law, the inſurrection in the preſent caſe was to be conſidered as a public declaration by the rabble againſt that act, and an attempt to render it ineffectual by numbers and open force."

The objects of their attack were the meeting-houſes of the diſſenters; they were conſidered by the judges to have declared themſelves againſt the act by which the indulgences were granted, and as attempting to render it ineffectual by numbers and open force, and on that ground Mr. Juſtice Foſter declares the judgment to be proper: all the judges concurred in it at the time, it has been reſpected by poſterity, and its principle is neceſſary for the preſervation of the conſtitution, which we cannot but have felt the value of, in that moment when we have ſeen it threatened with, and in imminent danger of, immediate diſſolution.

The calendar points out a number of priſoners who may be indicted (as appears from their commitments) for burning and pulling down, or beginning to ſet fire to, and pull down, the King's Bench Priſon, the Houſe of Correction, and nine dwelling-houſes within the county; others may be charged with breaking open the gaols, and releaſing the priſoners; others again may be charged with extorting money from individuals, under terror of the mob, which is clearly and incontrovertibly a robbery. As ſome of you, Gentlemen, are by your profeſſions, and all of you undoubtedly from your rank and ſtation, acquainted with the ordinary adminiſtration of criminal juſtice, it is unneceſſary for me to enlarge on the ſubject of theſe felonies.

Burning a houſe, or out-houſe, being parcel of a dwelling-houſe, though not contiguous, nor under the ſame roof, was a felony at the common law, and by ſtatute, the benefit of clergy was taken away.

To ſet fire to any houſe, or out houſe, though it is not burnt, is made a capital felony, by 9 Geo. I. chap. 22. And by ſtatute

1 Geo.

1 Geo. I. chap. 5, called *The Riot Act*, the offence of beginning to pull down buildings, by twelve, or more perſons, is made a capital felony. And having mentioned the riot act, let me ſay a few words upon it.

The two caſes which I have ſtated, were very near this period, and the ſame pernicious principles which had been inſtilled into the minds of the loweſt orders of the people, were kept alive by the arts of faction.

It is not leſs true than remarkable, that the ſame ſeditious ſpirit which had artfully been inſtilled into the people in the latter end of Queen Anne's time, had been continued to this time (the acceſſion), and what a few years before had been miſcalled a *Proteſtant Mob*, was now a mob trained, excited, and actually employed to defeat the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. In every mug-houſe, in every dark alley, and lurking corner of ſedition, in this great town, artful and deſigning men were engaged in exciting this mob to the deſtruction of the conſtitution; and therefore this act was framed to make the beginning of miſchief dangerous to the perpetrators of it. To begin to pull down any place of religious worſhip, certified and regiſtered by the act of toleration, or any dwelling-houſe or out-houſe, was made a capital felony. And any perſons, to the number of twelve or more, unlawfully, riotouſly, and tumultuouſly aſſembled, being commanded or required to diſperſe by the magiſtrate, and continuing together for one hour after ſuch command, are declared guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy.

But here I take this public opportunity of mentioning a fatal miſtake into which many perſons have fallen. It has been imagined, becauſe the law allows an hour for the diſperſion of a mob to whom the riot act has been read by the magiſtrate, the better to ſupport the civil authority, that during that period of time, the civil power and the magiſtracy are diſarmed, and the king's ſubjects, whoſe duty it is at all times to ſuppreſs riots, are to remain quiet and paſſive. No ſuch meaning was within the view of the legiſlature; nor does the operation of the act warrant any ſuch effect. The civil magiſtrates are left in poſſeſſion of thoſe powers which the law had given them before; if the mob collectively, or a part of it, or any individual, within and before the expiration of that hour, attempts or begins to perpetrate an outrage amounting to felony, to pull down a houſe, or by any other act to violate the laws, it is the duty of all preſent, of whatever deſcription they may be, to endeavour to ſtop the miſchief, and to apprehend the offender. I mention this, rather for general information, than for the particular inſtruction of the Gentlemen whom I have now the honour of addreſſing, becauſe the riot act I do not believe will come immediately under your conſideration: Fame has not reported that it was any where, or at any time, read during the late diſturbances.

In all caſes of burning or pulling down buildings, the being preſent, aiding, abetting, and encouraging the actual actors, though there be no act proved to

be

be done by the party himſelf, is a capital felony. This is a doctrine ſolemnly delivered lately by the judges, and I believe will never be doubted.

Taking goods or money againſt the will, under the terror of a mob, is felony.

Of all theſe offences you are to enquire, and true preſentments make.

The character and eſteem in which the Gentlemen I have now the honour of addreſſing are juſtly held by their country, render any admonition from me on the ſubject of your duty ſuperfluous; in you it has long placed a confidence, nor will it, I am perſuaded, on this occaſion, have reaſon to repent it.

I have to remind you, that it is your duty only to enquire, whether the party accuſed is charged with ſuch probable circumſtances as to juſtify you in ſending him to another jury, who are appointed by law to hear the evidence on both ſides, and to ſay, whether the perſon charged be guilty or not of the crime imputed to him in the indictment; and if upon ſuch trial, any advantage can be derived from the nicety or caution of the law, or any favourable circumſtances appear, it will be as much the inclination, as it is the duty of the learned and reverend judges with whom I have the honour of being in commiſſion, to ſtate ſuch circumſtances.

And if the laws declare them guilty, the offenders may ſtill have recourſe to that fountain of mercy, the royal breaſt, where juſtice is always tempered with clemency.

Such is the ineſtimable bleſſing of a government founded on law, that it extends its benefits to all alike, to the guilty and the innocent. To the latter the law is a protection and a ſafe-guard; to the former it is not a protection, but it may be conſidered as a houſe of refuge: indeed there cannot be a greater proof of the excellence of that conſtitution, than by adminiſtering its benefits to all men indifferently.

Proceedings of the Commiſſion at St. Margaret's-Hill.

Tueſday, July 11th, Joſeph Lovell and Robert Lovell, were indicted for deſtroying the houſe of Thomas Conolly, and were found guilty. They were gypſies.

William Heyter, for deſtroying the dwelling-houſe of Alexander French, in Eaſt-lane, June 7th, and found guilty, but recommended to mercy; but Baron Eyre did not approve of this recommendation.

Charles King and Ambroſe Long, for deſtroying Conolly's houſe. King was found guilty; Long acquitted.

Wedneſday, July 12. This day nine priſoners were tried, ſeven of whom were capitally convicted, viz. Edward Dorman, Thomas Murray, Henry Wadham, Mary Cooke, Suſannah Howard, Samuel Lyman, and John Hyde, for deſtroying the houſe of Paul Pemary, of Kent-ſtreet.

William Smith (late a brandy-merchant) was tried for heading the mob who deſtroyed Conolly's houſe.

Mr. Attorney-general informed the jury, that the priſoner had formerly been in buſineſs, but

having met with misfortunes, was now out of buſineſs; that from his appearance it might be concluded, he would not himſelf be active in the work, while better inſtruments might be found; but that it would be proved that he was, in fact, the leader and exciter of the rioters.

Robert Chafers, of Tooley-ſtreet, about ten doors from Conolly's, depoſed, that the mob came there about half paſt one on the 8th of June; they demoliſhed the houſe, and threw out the furniture, afterwards put it in two carts, carried it away, and burnt it; that he knows the priſoner, ſaw him oppoſite the houſe with his hat in his hand, and rather exulting when any particular act was done, ſuch as pulling down part of the front; ſaw him twice whirl his hat, but did not obſerve him there above ten minutes; ſaw him afterwards at the Ram's Head tavern; about half paſt three ſomebody ſaid, "Soldiers were coming, and the mob would ſoon be diſperſed." The priſoner ſaid, "Five hundred priſoners had been releaſed from the King's-Bench, and were coming from the Halfpenny Hatch (about three minutes walk) to join them." The priſoner and moſt of the rioters had blue cockades.

On his croſs examination, he ſaid it was about an hour after the beginning of the miſchief when he ſaw the priſoner; that the priſoner, when in buſineſs, lived very near the ſpot; when he was in the Ram's Head tavern he ſeemed in liquor, but did not, in the leaſt, ſee the priſoner give any advice or direction to the mob. At the public-houſe his behaviour was decent and ſober.

William Smith, Mr. Scott, Mr. Bolton, of the Green Park coffee-houſe, and ſeveral others, appeared to the priſoner's character. The jury found him not guilty.

Thurſday, July 13, eleven priſoners were tried, nine of whom were capitally convicted, viz. Benj. Rowland, George Fletcher, William Imbeſt, Samuel Jordan, Oliver Johnſon, Robert Lovel, Richard Millar, James Palmer, and Elizabeth Collins, for riotouſly and tumultuouſly aſſembling, and feloniouſly beginning to pull down the dwelling-houſe of Laurence Walſh.

Friday, July 14, ſeven priſoners were tried, five of whom were capitally convicted, viz.—John Davis, and Theodore Atkinſon, for pulling down the houſe of Margaret Cooper, in Kent-ſtreet, on the 9th of June.—John Barton, for pulling down the houſe of Edward Dodd, in Lombard-ſtreet, in the Mint; recommended to mercy.—Henry Penny and John Bridport, for demoliſhing the houſe of M. Cooper; the latter recommended to mercy.

Saturday, July 15, Lord Chief Juſtice Loughborough paſſed ſentence on thoſe priſoners who had been convicted.

After which, Joſeph Haynes, for deſtroying Conolly's houſe, was found guilty, but recommended to mercy. Six other priſoners were tried, and acquitted.

Monday, July 17, five priſoners were tried for demoliſhing the houſe of Benjamin Thomas, Eſq; commonly called the King's-Bench priſon. Not guilty.

Tueſday, July 18, William Smith was a ſecond time indicted, for

for that he, with divers others, did begin to demoliſh and pull down the houſe of Mr. Matthew Caſey, Eaſt-lane, Tooley-ſtreet, on the 7th of June laſt. He was acquitted.

Lord Loughborough afterwards addreſſed the convicts in a very affecting manner. Two of the priſoners, he ſaid, had been recommended to mercy, but there was one of them (Bridport) who, having been found guilty of a capital crime, ought not to expect any mercy. The part of his duty, which he would execute with the greateſt pleaſure, would be, he ſaid, to repreſent at the foot of the throne, ſuch favourable circumſtances as had appeared in the trials. But he obſerved, as in compaſſion and juſtice to all the people of the kingdom, it was impoſſible to ſhew mercy to all that had been condemned, he adviſed each convict to look upon himſelf as one of thoſe who were not to experience any mercy.

Remarkable Actions at Sea.

Admiralty-office, July 22, 1780.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable Captain Waldegrave, of his Majeſty's Ship La Prudente, to Mr. Stephens, dated Spithead, July 18, 1780.

ON the 4th inſtant, being on a cruize with the Licorne in company, at ten o'clock A. M. Cape Ortugal then bearing ſouth by weſt, diſtance 24 leagues, the Licorne made the ſignal for ſeeing a ſail to the N. W. and a thick fog then diſperſing, we diſcovered a large ſhip bearing down to us: I immediately made the ſignal to chace, ſoon after which the Chace hauling her wind, being then only ſix miles diſtance from us, we clearly diſcovered her to be a large frigate, which from her conſtruction we concluded to be French.

As we had light winds and calms the whole day, it was half paſt eleven P. M. ere I found myſelf within cloſe piſtol ſhot of her. The ſignals ſhe now made, both with rockets and lights, convincing me that ſhe was an enemy, I immediately began to engage her; and at half paſt four A. M. ſhe hauled down her colours to his majeſty's ſhips La Prudente and Licorne.

She proved to be La Capricieuſe, a French frigate, eight days from L'Orient, pierced for 44 guns, but mounting only 32; complement 308 men. She was launched in March laſt, meaſured 1100 tons, and was one of the fineſt frigates I ever ſaw.

I am very ſorry to ſay, that the condition of the prize was ſuch (as their lordſhips may obſerve from the report of the ſurvey) as rendered it impracticable to eſcort her to England. Indeed the very heavy loſs I have ſuſtained in the action, and unfortunately having 20 ſick on ſhore and many on board, made it abſolutely impoſſible for me to give her the neceſſary aſſiſtance for that purpoſe; I therefore, after removing the priſoners, ſet her on fire.

Finding from the condition of my ſhip the utter impoſſibility of executing my orders, I have therefore given directions to Captain Cadogan,

Cadogan, the commander of his majeſty's ſhip Licorne, to put them into immediate execution.

Notwithſtanding our ſeeming ſuperiority, I hope the return of the killed and wounded will ſufficiently evince, that my officers and ſhip's company have acquitted themſelves in the moſt gallant and ſpirited manner. Indeed I feel 'tis impoſſible to do juſtice to their merits.

In juſtice to Lieutenant Banks of the marines, I muſt beg leave to obſerve to their lordſhips, that his party behaved with the utmoſt ſteadineſs and bravery, keeping up a regular and conſtant fire from the beginning of the action, till neceſſity called them to the great guns, where they ſhewed an equal ſhare of ſpirit and good order.

But while I am thus giving thoſe well-deſerved encomiums to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, I ſhould feel myſelf in honour bound to give his enemies, on this occaſion, the merits they are ſo truly deſerving, did not the condition of the ſhip, and the heavy loſs they have ſuſtained, ſufficiently ſpeak their praiſes. I muſt beg leave to add, in honour to M. de Cheavel, who commanded La Capricieuſe at the time ſhe ſurrendered, that the colours were not hauled down till the ſhip had five feet water in her hold.

Monſ. de Ranſanne and Monſ. de Fontaine, the firſt and ſecond captains, both fell in the action; but as to their farther loſs, we are as yet ignorant, being unacquainted with the number of priſoners on board the Licorne; but from a rough calculation of their officers, they muſt have at leaſt 100 killed and wounded.

It is with infinite concern that I acquaint their lordſhips, that Lieutenant Elliſon ſtands foremoſt on the liſt of the wounded, having been very ſeverely bruiſed in the back, and his right arm carried off by a ſhot. I muſt beg leave to recommend his misfortunes, and the great intrepidity he ſhewed during the action, to their lordſhips moſt particular attention.

A liſt of the killed and wounded on board his majeſty's ſhip La Prudente.

	Killed.
Mr. John Diſmond, Mr. Richard Montgomery, Mr. Thomas England, Mr. William Diſmond, Midſhipmen	4
Seamen	12
Marine	1
Total	17

	Wounded.
Mr. Joſeph Elliſon, ſecond lieutenant	1
Mr. William M'Carty, midſhipman	1
Seamen	25
Marines	4
Total	31

	Since dead of their wounds.
Seamen	2
Marine	1
Total killed and wounded	48

LICORNE.
3 killed; 7 wounded.

I am, &c.
WM. WALDEGRAVE.

Purſuant

Purſuant to an order from the Hon. William Waldegrave, Commander of his majeſty's ſhip La Prudente, of this day's date, to us directed, we whoſe names are under-mentioned, have been on board the prize frigate La Capricieuſe, and have there taken a ſtrict and careful ſurvey on her, and find as follows, viz.

The fore-maſt wounded in ſeveral places.

The foretop-maſt over the ſide.

The main-maſt laying fore and aft the deck, being gone about ten feet above the main deck.

The mizen-maſt ſhot in ſeveral places.

The mizen-top-maſt the ſame.

All her ſpare yards and top maſts rendered unſerviceable with ſhot.

A number of ſhot-holes betwixt wind and water.

Many other damages about the ſhip, and, when we left her, ſix feet water in the hold.

And we do declare we have made and taken this ſurvey with ſuch care and equity, that, if required, we are ready to make oath to the impartiality of our proceedings.

Given under our hands, on board the prize frigate La Capricieuſe, at ſea, this 6th of July, 1780.

JOHN RICHARDSON, Carpenter.
JOHN SPASBATT, Carpenter.

SIR James Wallace, Captain of his majeſty's ſhip Nonſuch, in a letter to Mr. Stephens, dated at Falmouth, the 1ſt inſt. gives an account that while his boats were employed in burning the frigate off the Loire, he obſerved three ſail in the N. W. making ſignals to each other, to which he immediately gave chaſe, and about midnight came up with and cloſely engaged one of them; that after a defence of more than two hours ſhe ſtruck, and proved to be La Belle Poule, mounted with 32 guns, twelve pounders, commanded by the Chevalier Kergariou, and 275 men; that the captain and 24 men were killed, the ſecond captain, with ſeveral officers and men, to the amount of 50, were wounded; and that the Nonſuch had three men killed and ten wounded, two of whom have ſince died.

Copy of a Letter from Captain William Peer Williams, *of his Majeſty's Ship* Flora, *to Mr.* Stephens, *dated* Falmouth, *the 15th of Auguſt*, 1780.

SIR,

I BEG you will communicate to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty the following particulars, which I have the pleaſure of tranſmitting to you from this port, where contrary winds have obliged me to put in.

On Thurſday the 10th inſtant, at half paſt four in the afternoon, ſtanding in under Uſhant, in queſt of the fleet, the wind at that time about E. N. E. we diſcovered through the haze a ſquare rigged veſſel and cutter under our lee, lying-to with their heads to the northward, diſtant from us about four miles; whereupon we made ſail, beat to quarters, and edged towards them, which the ſhip perceiving, wore, hauled to the wind, backed her mizen top-ſail, and

waited our approach, the cutter working off and on. At ten minutes paſt five we got abreaſt of her, and, within two cables length, upon ſhewing our colours, received her fire, which we inſtantly returned, and continued briſkly on both ſides for about an hour, gradually nearing each other; when our wheel being ſhot away, our ſhrouds, back ſtays, and running rigging much cut, we dropped on board of her, and continued the engagement in that poſition about 15 minutes; the enemy then deſerted their great guns, attempted to board us, but were inſtantly repulſed with loſs. Our people boarded them in return, ſword in hand, ſtruck their colours, and in a ſhort time took poſſeſſion of the ſhip, which proved to be a French frigate, called La Nymphe, commanded by the Chevalier Du Remain, who died the ſame evening of the wounds he received in the action. She is four years old, is copper-bottomed, mounts 32 guns, though pierced for 40, and her complement conſiſted of 291 men. She had been only four days out of Breſt, and was employed upon reconnoitring ſervice off that port.

Before I conclude my letter I beg leave to add, that my officers and people in general ſhewed the greateſt coolneſs and intrepidity on this occaſion, and indeed merit more encomiums than I can find words to expreſs; their conduct will, I flatter myſelf, meet with their lordſhips approbation, and recommend them to their future favour.

I am, &c.

W. P. WILLIAMS.

Return of Killed and Wounded on board the Flora.

Killed. Mr. Biſſet, Midſhipman 1. Seamen 6. Marines 2. Total killed 9.

Wounded. Mr. Creed, maſter 1. Seamen 13. Marines 4. Total killed and wounded 27.

Seamen ſince dead 1. Marines 2.

N. B. The Flora mounted 36 guns, and had on board when the action began 259 men.

On board the La Nymphe. Killed. Firſt captain, ſecond ditto, firſt lieutenant, 3. Other officers, ſeamen, and marines, 60. Killed 63.

Wounded. The ſecond lieutenant, two officers of marines, two volunteers, five other officers, ſeamen, and marines, 63. Total killed and wounded 131.

Admiralty-office, Auguſt 26, 1780.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Macbride, *of his Majeſty's Ship* Bienfaiſant, *to Mr.* Stephens, *dated at Sea, Auguſt* 13, 1780.

SIR,

I WROTE to you, for the information of their lordſhips, on my arrival at Cork, the intelligence I had received, and the ſteps I intended to take in conſequence. The Charon arrived on the 11th inſtant. I ſailed with the convoy next day, having the Charon, Licorne, and Huſſar in company. As many of the convoy ſtill remained, I ordered the Licorne and Huſſar to keep off the harbour's mouth to haſten them, whilſt the Bienfaiſant and Charon lay-to with thoſe that were out. At day-light we had drove down as far as the Old Head of Kinſale, when I obſerved a large ſail in the

the south-east in chase of some of the convoy; he was soon chased in turn, the Charon in company; the other two frigates were out of sight of Cork. About half past seven we came up with her. It is something singular, that the action on both sides began with musquetry; he hoisted English colours, and kept his fire: I determined to do the same: as we ranged within pistol-shot, some conversation passed between us. In this mode we got so forward on his bow, that neither his bow or our quarter guns would bear. Being certain what the ship was, I then ordered the small arms on the poop to begin; she returned it, and hoisted her proper colours. It was some little time before I could regulate my sail, and place my ship: they had determined to board us, and acted so to favour the design. It was a daring, though unsuccessful attempt. After an hour and ten minutes smart action, her rigging and sails cut to pieces, twenty-one men killed and thirty-five men wounded, she struck, and proved to be the Comte d'Artois, of 64 guns, upwards of 644 men, a private ship of war, commanded by the Chevalier Clonard, a Lieutenant de Vaisseaux, who is slightly wounded in the action. His brothers, the one a colonel, the other colonel en second, in the Irish legion of that name, are on board; likewise a Lieutenant Perry of the Monarch; and the people who were taken on board the Margaritta prize. The Bienfaisant had three killed, and twenty-two wounded; furniture cut of course; but the masts and yards not materially injured. There was one man slightly wounded in the Charon. I brought to, to refit; and the convoy of 99 sail proceeded on with a very fresh and fair wind. The Licorne is in company; the steady gallantry of my officers and men did them honour. I beg in particular to recommend my first lieutenant Sir Thomas Lewis to their lordships notice.

I am, &c.
JOHN MACBRIDE.

Extract of a Letter from Nathaniel Davidson, *Esq; his Majesty's Consul General at* Algiers, *to the Earl of* Hillsborough, *one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; dated* Algiers, *September* 8, 1780, *received October* 11.

THE conduct and success of Captain Edward Moor, commanding the Fame private ship of war, of Dublin, on a late occasion, will, I doubt not, be esteemed sufficiently remarkable for my troubling your lordship with the following particulars:

He sailed from Mahon the 20th of last month, and receiving advice soon after of the departure of five French vessels, all letters of marque, from Marseilles, bound for the West-Indies, determined to go in quest of them. On the 25th he descried five sail near the Spanish coast, which corresponded with his intelligence; but as they were at a distance, and the day was far spent, he judged it prudent not to make a shew of pursuing them, that he might have a better chance to succeed in getting betwixt them and the land at night, which he had the good fortune to effect. He found himself

ſelf at day-light next morning off Cape de Gat, and about two leagues from the five ſhips, that were together, and formed in a line to receive him. At half paſt ſix, when he was within gun-ſhot, they hoiſted French colours, and diſcharged their broadſides. Captain Moor bore down upon them, and though they continued their fire without interruption, reſerved his till he was within piſtol-ſhot of the largeſt, which ſtruck after an engagement of three quarters of an hour. Without ſtopping to ſend any of his people on board, he proceeded to engage the ſecond, and took her, after a ſhort reſiſtance. He left an officer and ſeven men in this prize, with orders to look after the former, till he returned from purſuing the three remaining veſſels, which he obſerved were making ſail to get away. He came up with and took two of them; the other eſcaped. The largeſt ſhip is called Les Deux Freres, pierced for twenty guns, mounting fourteen ſix pounders, and fifty-five men, (fifteen of whom got off in a boat); the ſecond, L'Univers, (the captain of which was killed) pierced for eighteen guns, carries twelve four pounders, and forty-one men, little inferior in ſize to the Deux Freres; the third, the Zephyr, (formerly his majeſty's ſloop) pierced for fourteen guns, mounting ten three pounders, and thirty-two men; the fourth, the Nancy, a pink of two ſix pounders, two two pounders, and eighteen men. They all got ſafe into this bay on the 29th of laſt month, about ten o'clock at night.

Captain Moor's gallant behaviour has been taken great notice of by the officers of this regency, and his humane and generous treatment of his priſoners been admired by every body; indeed ſo much, that Monſ. de la Valleé, French Conſul General here, thought it incumbent on him to write a line to me to expreſs his ſenſe of it, in the ſtrongeſt terms of encomium and gratitude.

The Fame mounts twenty guns, ſix pounders, on one deck, and four upon her quarter deck, viz. two four pounders, and two three pounders, and 108 men.

Short Account of the Deſolation made in ſeveral of the Weſt India *Iſlands by the late Hurricanes.*

ON the 3d of October laſt, a moſt dreadful convulſion of nature, almoſt overwhelmed the little ſea-port town of Savannah-la-Mer on the iſland of Jamaica, with the adjacent country. About one o'clock in the afternoon, the gale began from the S. E. and continued increaſing with accumulated violence until four, when it veered to the ſouth, and became a perfect tempeſt, which laſted in full force till near eight; it then abated. The ſea, during the laſt period, exhibited a moſt awful ſcene; the waves, ſwelled to an amazing height, ruſhed with an impetuoſity not to be deſcribed on the land, and in a few minutes determined the fate of all the houſes on the bay. Thoſe whoſe ſtrength, or preſence of mind, enabled them to ſeek their ſafety in the Savannah, took refuge in the miſerable remains of the habitations there, moſt of which were

† blown

blown down, or ſo much damaged by the ſtorm, as to be hardly capable of affording a comfortable ſhelter to the wretched ſufferers.—In the Court-houſe, 40 perſons, whites, and of colour, ſought an aſylum, but miſerably periſhed by the preſſure of the roof and ſides, which fell upon them. Numbers were ſaved in that part of the houſe of Mr. Finlayſon, that luckily withſtood the violence of the tempeſt,—himſelf, and another gentleman had left it, when the wind forced open the door, and carried away the whole lee ſide of it, and ſought their ſafety under the wall of an old kitchen, but finding they muſt inevitably periſh in that ſituation, they returned to the houſe, determined to ſubmit to their fate. About ten the waters began to abate, and at that time a ſmart ſhock of an earthquake was felt. All the ſmall veſſels in the bay were driven on ſhore, and daſhed to pieces. The ſhips Princeſs Royal, Capt. Ruthwin; Henry, Richardſon; and Auſtin-Hall, Auſtin; were forced from their anchors, and carried ſo far into the moraſs that they will never be got off. The earthquake lifted the Princeſs Royal from her beam ends, righted her, and fixed her in a firm bed; this circumſtance has been of great uſe to the ſurviving inhabitants, for whoſe accommodation ſhe now ſerves as a houſe.

The morning uſhered in a ſcene too ſhocking for deſcription.—Bodies of the dead and dying, ſcattered about where the town ſtood, preſented themſelves to the agonizing view of thoſe whoſe charity led them in queſt of the remains of their unhappy fellow-creatures! The number who have periſhed is not yet preciſely aſcertained, but it is imagined 50 whites, and 150 perſons of colour, are loſt.—Amongſt them are numbered Doctor King, his wife, and four children, his partner, Mr. Neſbit, a carpenter, and 24 negroes, all in one houſe.—Dr. Lightfoot, and Mr. Antrobus, were found dead in the ſtreets. In the whole pariſh, it is ſaid, there are not five dwelling-houſes, and not one ſet of works remaining; the plantain walks are all deſtroyed; every cane piece levelled; ſeveral white people, and ſome hundreds of negroes, killed.

In the adjoining pariſh of St. Elizabeth, although the face of the country wore a leſs horrible aſpect than at Weſtmoreland, much damage was done, and ſeveral lives loſt.

Our accounts from Lucea, though not particular, are terrible.—The town, except two houſes, thoſe of Meſſrs. Campbell, and the adjoining tenement of Mr. Lyons, is levelled to the ground; many lives loſt, and in the whole pariſh of Hanover but three houſes ſtanding—not a tree, buſh, or cane to be ſeen—univerſal deſolation prevails! Of the perſons loſt, we can only as yet name Meſſrs. Aaron and Solomon Dias Fernandes, two antient gentlemen of the Jewiſh nation, one aged 81, and the other 80, of reſpectable and venerable characters.—Three young ladies, Miſſes Samuels, at Green Iſland.—The elegant houſe of John Campbell, Eſq; at Salt-ſpring; Kendall and Campbell-town; and that of Mr. Chambers, at Batchelor's-hall.—Capt. Darling, Mrs.

Darling, and Mr. Moxham, were dragged out, barely alive, from the ruins of an arch that supported a flight of steps, under which they had sheltered themselves.—Fourteen or fifteen people of colour were buried in a store that fell in upon them.

At Montego-bay, the tempest increased (accompanied with incessant rain) to such an amazing degree, as, about dark, to threaten general ruin and destruction. The darkness of the night added fresh horror to the general apprehensions, and a circumstance which, on ordinary occasions, would be considered as peculiarly terrifying—the immense and prodigious flashes of lightning which regularly succeeded each other, was an alleviation to the general consternation, and the only security to the very few whose particular situation permitted or inclined them to venture through the streets, and afford comfort and relief to the distresses of their neighbours. From 12 o'clock, from the best of our information, and our own recollection, the storm began to abate; but the many instances of desolation and distress which even then presented themselves to our view, and which we began to be apprized of from different quarters of the town, afforded suggestions to the mind, which rendered the approach of the morning truly horrible.

It is impossible at present to recount the particular losses of every individual; many houses in this town have been destroyed; among the principal sufferers are, Mr. Vincent, Dr. Muttersbed, the estate of James Lugg, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Asthert, and the barracks at Fort Frederick. The darkness of the night rendered it impossible to attend to the fate of the ships Ladras, Adventurer, and Lenox, which were in the harbour when the storm commenced; the most probable and favourable conjecture which could be made upon their being missed in the morning, was their having put to sea in the night, and no symptoms of wrecks having yet appeared to discredit this conjecture, we are in hourly and impatient expectation of seeing them, or hearing of their being safe. All the smaller craft in the harbour, together with the ship Petersfield, which had been preserved and repaired after the shipwreck of last February, are all totally lost; and the brigantine Jane, which had gone down a few days before to Great River, as a place of apparent safety, has been driven ashore, but we are informed will be got off with very little damage.

Our informations from the country are truly alarming; few estates in this parish have escaped without some damage, many sets of works and dwelling-houses are thrown down, the canes in general have suffered much, but the loss of all the plantain works without exception is an aggravation of the general calamity which cannot fail of exciting sentiments of compassion and regret for the condition of our fellow-creatures, who may suffer for the loss of the most essential part of their support. What we have recited falls far short of accounts which we hourly receive of the damage done in Hanover and Westmoreland; at Lucea-bay only two houses remain, and his majesty's sloop Badger,

Badger, lying in that harbour, has loſt all her maſts and run on ſhore.

Another furious Tempeſt, not leſs violent than the former, happened on the 10th, and laid waſte ſeveral of the Leeward Iſlands.

The following is the Journal of what paſſed at Barbadoes *from the 9th of October until the 16th.*

THE evening preceding the hurricane, the 9th of October, was remarkably calm, but the ſky ſurpriſingly red and fiery; during the night much rain fell. On the morning of the 10th, much rain and wind from N. W. By ten o'clock it increaſed very much; by one, the ſhips in the bay drove; by four o'clock, the Albemarle frigate (the only man of war then here) parted her anchors and went to ſea, as did all the other veſſels in the harbour. Soon after, by ſix o'clock, the wind had torn up and blown down many trees, and foreboded a moſt violent tempeſt. At the Government Houſe every precaution was taken to guard againſt what might happen; the doors and windows were barricadoed up, but it availed little. By ten o'clock the wind forced itſelf a paſſage through the houſe from the N. N. W. and the tempeſt increaſing every minute, the family took to the center of the building, imagining from the prodigious ſtrength of the walls, they being three feet thick, and from its circular form, it would have withſtood the wind's utmoſt rage: however, by half after eleven o'clock, they were obliged to retreat to the cellar, the wind having forced its way into every part, and torn off moſt of the roof. From this aſylum they were ſoon driven out; the water being ſtopped in its paſſage, having found itſelf a courſe into the cellar, they knew not where to go; the water had roſe four feet, and the ruins were falling from all quarters. To continue in the cellar was impoſſible; to return to the houſe equally ſo; the only chance left was making for the fields, which at that time appeared equally dangerous: it was however attempted, and the family were ſo fortunate as to get to the ruins of the foundation of the flag ſtaff, which ſoon after giving way, every one endeavoured to find a retreat for himſelf; the governor, and the few that remained, were thrown down, and it was with great difficulty they gained the cannon, under the carriage of which they took ſhelter: their ſituation here was highly deplorable; many of the cannon were moved, and they had reaſon to fear that under which they ſat might be diſmounted, and cruſh them by its fall, or that ſome of the ruins that were flying about would put an end to their exiſtence; and to render the ſcene ſtill more dreadful, they had much to fear from the powder magazine, near which they were; the armoury was level with the ground, and the arms, &c. ſcattered about. Anxiouſly did they wait the break of day, flattering themſelves, that with the light they would ſee a ceſſation of the ſtorm; yet when it appeared, the tempeſt was little abated, and the day ſerved but to exhibit the moſt melancholy proſpect imaginable; nothing can be compared with

the terrible devaſtation that preſented itſelf on all ſides; not a building ſtanding; the trees, if not torn up by their roots, deprived of their leaves and branches; and the moſt luxuriant ſpring changed in this one night to the dreareſt winter. In vain was it to look round for ſhelter; houſes, that from their ſituation it was imagined would have been in a degree protected, were all flat with the earth, and the miſerable owners, if they were ſo fortunate as to eſcape with their lives, were left without a covering for themſelves and family.

General Vaughan was early obliged to evacuate his houſe; in eſcaping he was very much bruiſed; his ſecretary was ſo unfortunate as to break his thigh. Nothing has ever happened that has cauſed ſuch univerſal deſolation. No one houſe in the iſland is exempt from damage. Very few buildings are left ſtanding on the eſtates. The devaſtation amongſt the negroes and cattle, particularly of the horned kind, is very great, which muſt, more eſpecially in theſe times, be a cauſe of great diſtreſs to the planters. It is as yet impoſſible to make any accurate calculation of the number of ſouls that have periſhed in this dreadful calamity; whites and blacks together, it is imagined to exceed ſome thouſands. Many were buried in the ruins of the houſes and buildings. Many fell victims to the violence of the ſtorm and inclemency of the weather, and great numbers were driven into the ſea, and there periſhed. The troops have ſuffered inconſiderably, though both the barracks and hoſpital were early blown down. Alarming conſequences were dreaded from the number of dead bodies that lay uninterred, and from the quantity of fiſh the ſea threw up, which however are happily ſubſided. What few public buildings there were, are fallen in the general wreck; the fortifications have ſuffered very conſiderably. The buildings were all demoliſhed; for ſo violent was the ſtorm here, when aſſiſted by the ſea, that a twelve-pound gun was carried from the ſouth to the north battery, a diſtance of 140 yards. The loſs to this country is immenſe, many years will be required to retrieve it.

General Vaughan's attention to the inhabitants of Bridgetown has been very great. On the 12th of October ſuch orders were iſſued to the troops, and obeyed with ſuch alacrity, that every thing was kept quiet in the town, which would otherwiſe have been in great danger of being plundered by the priſoners of war, &c. who were liberated by the demolition of the priſons, and are now, to the number of above 800, diſperſed over the town and country; they, however, under this controul, behaved tolerably well, and have been of much ſervice to the inhabitants, who have given them employment.

On the 13th of October the governor went to Bridgetown, iſſued a proclamation, and took ſuch ſteps as appeared of utility to the inhabitants. The merchants, &c. formed an aſſociation, and appointed committees for the interment of the dead, the care and diſtribution of the proviſions, &c. They

They voted their thanks to General Vaughan and the troops; to whom they propoſed, as a reward for the ſervice they had been of in protecting their property, to give them a ſix-pence per diem; to which Mr. Shirley, purveyor to the navy, promiſed another ſix-pence. A ſloop was on the 16th diſpatched to St. Lucia to Commodore Hotham, with the melancholy tidings of the dreadful calamity that has befallen the iſland, requeſting of him to ſend a frigate to England with the news.

The above is the account ſent to Lieut. Gen. Vaughan, commander in chief of the Leeward Iſlands, and by him tranſmitted to Lord G. Germaine.

Authentic Accounts from other Iſlands are as follow:

At Antigua they felt no bad effects from this hurricane.

At St. Chriſtopher's many veſſels were forced on ſhore.

At St. Lucia all the barracks and huts for his majeſty's troops, and other buildings in the iſland, were blown down, and the ſhips were driven to ſea; his majeſty's ſhip the Amazon, Captain Finch, moſt miraculouſly eſcaped foundering; ſhe was on her beam-ends for many hours; ſhe lay down ſo far that her windward guns were in the water; had many men waſhed over-board, others drowned on her decks; was obliged to cut away all her maſts and bowſprit, but, under jury-maſts, ſafely arrived at Engliſh harbour. The Albemarle blown out of Barbadoes, cut away her maſts, and alſo put into Engliſh harbour. The Venus cut away her foremaſt, loſt her bowſprit, and is arrived at Engliſh harbour.

At Dominica they have greatly ſuffered. Every building in St. Vincent blown down, and the town deſtroyed. The Juno, a new French frigute of 40 guns, drove on ſhore, and daſhed all to pieces. At Grenada, great devaſtation on ſhore; nineteen ſail of loaded Dutch ſhips ſtranded and beat to pieces.

At Martinique, all the ſhips were blown off the iſland that were bringing troops and proviſions.

On the 12th four ſhips foundered in Fort Royal Bay, and every ſoul periſhed; the other ſhips were blown out of the Roads, and many muſt of courſe be loſt.

In the noble town of St. Pierre every houſe is down, and more than 1000 people periſhed; at Fort royal town the cathedral, the ſeven churches, and other noble and religious edifices, the governor's houſe, the record-office, ſenate-houſe, priſons, hoſpitals, barracks, ſtore-houſes of government and merchants, and upwards of 1400 other houſes, were blown down, and an incredible number of perſons loſt their lives; the new hoſpital of Notre Dame, the moſt convenient and elegant in the Weſt-Indies, in which were 1600 ſick and wounded patients, was blown down, and the greateſt part of them, with the matrons, nurſes, and attendants, &c. buried in the ruins. Every ſtore-houſe in the dock-yard is blown down, and filled with ruins; the ſick-houſe of the ſhip-wrights, &c. belonging to the yard, ſhared the fate of that of Notre Dame, and about 100 periſhed.

By

By the reports of the day, the number ſuppoſed to have periſhed upon the iſland, including negroes, is computed at upwards of 9000, and the damage at upwards of 700,000 louis d'ors.

The accounts from St. Euſtatia, a Dutch ſettlement, are (if poſſible) ſtill more affecting. On the 10th, at eleven in the morning, the ſky on a ſudden blackened all around; it looked as diſmal as night, attended with the moſt violent rains, thunder, lightning, and wind, ever before known. In the afternoon the gale increaſed. Seven ſhips were driven on ſhore near North-Point, and daſhed to pieces on the rocks; they were bound for Europe, and every ſoul, officers and men, periſhed. Nineteen other ſhips cut their cables, and ſtood to ſea; only one of which is returned, in a moſt diſmal condition. In the night every houſe to the northward and ſouthward was blown down, or waſhed away, with the inhabitants, into the ſea; ſome few only eſcaping, who crawled up the mountains, and hid themſelves in large holes. The houſes to the eaſt and weſt were not ſo much hurt, till the afternoon of the 11th, when the wind on a ſudden ſhifted to the eaſtward, and at night it blew with redoubled fury, and ſwept away every houſe. The principal edifices left ſtanding are the new and old fort, the States barracks and hoſpital, with the cathedral, and four other churches. The deſtruction of people on this melancholy event is reputed (whites and blacks) to be between 4 and 5000. The pecuniary loſs cannot be computed.

Copies of Letters between Lord Hillſborough, *and the Earl of* Pembroke, *on the Diſmiſſion of the latter from the Office of Lord Lieutenant of the County of* Wilts.

St. James's, Feb. 14, 1780.

My Lord,

I AM much concerned that it falls to my lot to obey the king's commands, by acquainting your lordſhip that his majeſty has no farther occaſion for your ſervice in the offices of Lord-lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Wilts; and your lordſhip will, I hope, believe me, when I aſſure you I ſhould be glad of a more agreeable opportunity of expreſſing the reſpect, with which I have the honour to be,

my lord,
your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
HILLSBOROUGH.

To the Earl of Pembroke, &c. &c.

Privy Garden, Monday Night, Feb. 14, 1780.

My Lord,

I HAD the honour to receive your lordſhip's letter to-day, in which your lordſhip ſignifies his majeſty commands to you to let me know he had no farther occaſion for my ſervice in the offices of Lord-lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Wilts. I am much obliged to you for the concern you are ſo good as to expreſs upon the occaſion. Your lordſhip will, I flatter myſelf, excuſe me, if, conſcious as I am of my never-failing duty, attachment

ment and affection to his majesty, I am under the necessity of imputing this mark of the king's displeasure to his ministers, on account of a vote I gave as a free man, upon a public question.

I have the honour to be,
my lord,
your lordship's most obedient,
and most humble servant,
PEMBROKE.

To the Earl of Hillsborough, &c.

Proceedings in the Case of Mr. Pizzoni, *the* Venetian *Resident.*

ON Thursday the 3d of February, the Lord Chancellor and Earl Mansfield met in Lincoln's-inn-hall, to try a cause, as extraordinary as it was novel. The court itself was the first of the kind that ever sat in this kingdom; its jurisdiction was established by an act passed in the 5th of Queen Ann, which empowers the chancellor, and the two chief justices of the King's-Bench and Common Pleas, or any two of them, to take cognizance of illegal attacks on the privileges of ambassadors, and to judge of them in a summary way. This accounts for Lord Thurlow and Lord Mansfield meeting on the same bench. The cause brought before them was on the complaint of the Attorney-general against a Mr. Reilly, an upholsterer, for suing out a writ against Mr. Pizzoni, the late resident from the republic of Venice; Mr. Gapper, an attorney, for having signed it; and one Cawdron, a sheriff's-officer, for having executed it, at a time when Pizzoni was entitled to the privileges of an ambassador. The Attorney-general, assisted by the Solicitor-general, barely stated the case in a mild manner, and prayed that the court would, for the sake of example, inflict a punishment on the defendants.

It was pleaded in favour of the defendants, that Mr. Pizzoni having had his audience of leave, and his successor having been introduced to their majesties, it was very natural to suppose, that the former was no longer vested with a public character, which could protect him from arrests; and that, as the expression in the act of parliament, which allows to foreign ministers a *reasonable* time to withdraw from the kingdom, was vague and indeterminate, it was not to be wondered at, that they thought eight days a reasonable time. The counsel, therefore, hoped, that if the defendants deserved any punishment at all, it ought to be the lightest that the court could possibly inflict.

The Lord Chancellor did not appear inclined to severity. He asked if the defendants had offered to make any submission. It was replied, that the attorney and officer had; but that Reilly could not, being, at the time of the arrest, himself a close prisoner in the King's-bench for the debt due to him from Pizzoni.

The Attorney-general, after having heard the defence, prayed, that, for example sake, the court would punish the defendants; but did by no means wish to overturn any thing that had been said by way of mitigation.

The Lord Chancellor observed, that the question, being a question between

between nation and nation, was by no means a fit ſubject for ſpeculation. The time allowed for ambaſſadors to depart the kingdom could not, and indeed ought not, to be defined; nor ſhould their privileges be invaded, even after they have diſcharged their embaſſy, unleſs it ſhould appear that they intended to ſink into the rank of common ſubjects, by taking up their reſidence in this country. As to the puniſhment, the affair, he ſaid, was of a delicate nature, and required ſome time for deliberation before judgment ſhould be pronounced. Of the ſame opinion was Lord Mansfield.

Breviate of Mr. Burke's *Bill for 'the better Regulation of his Majeſty's Civil Eſtabliſhment, and of certain public Offices; for the Limitation of Penſions, and the Suppreſſion of ſundry uſeleſs, expenſive, and inconvenient Places; and for applying the Monies ſaved thereby to the public Service.'*

The Bill ſets forth,

THAT large aids having been granted to his majeſty in ſupport of the preſent war, have cauſed a conſiderable increaſe of the public debt, and ſubjected the people of this realm to many burthens and inconveniences.

That farther grants and burthens may be ſtill neceſſary; and it is the duty of the repreſentatives of the commons of the land that due care ſhould be taken, by a reduction of unneceſſary charges, by introducing a better order into the management of the expences of his majeſty's civil eſtabliſhment, by rendering the public accounts more eaſy, by a farther ſecurity for the independence of parliament, and by applying the monies, which are not now ſo properly huſbanded, to the public ſervice; to afford all poſſible relief to the people of this realm, thereby adding ſtrength to his majeſty's government.

And therefore enacts,

That the office of third ſecretary of ſtate, or ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies, and the board of trade and plantations, ſhall be aboliſhed.

There are clauſes,

Declaring by whom the duties of ſuch offices ſhall be performed.

The bill further ſets forth,

That the conſtitution of his majeſty's court and houſhold being in many particulars inconvenient, and having a tendency to create expence,

Therefore the bill enacts,

That the offices of treaſurer of the chamber, the treaſurer of the houſhold, and the ſeveral other offices of his majeſty's houſhold therein mentioned, with their dependencies, ſhall be aboliſhed.

There are clauſes,

For transferring the juriſdiction of the Green-cloth to other perſons, and for providing for the tables of his majeſty's houſhold by contract—for aboliſhing the offices of the great wardrobe, removing wardrobe, and other offices therein mentioned, with their dependencies—for aboliſhing the board of works, and for appointing a ſurveyor or comptroller of his majeſty's buildings and gardens, and for providing for the expences attending

tending the ſame by contract—for declaring that all ſalaries and charges of his majeſty's houſhold ſhall be paid at the Exchequer—that furniture and moveables of his majeſty's houſhold ſhall be purchaſed by contract—for declaring that his majeſty's ſtables ſhall be ſupplied by contract—that the offices of maſter of the buck-hounds, fox-hounds, and harriers, be aboliſhed, and the duty performed by the ſenior equerry, and to be provided for by contract—for making regulations in the body of yeomen of the guards, and band of gentlemen-penſioners—for aboliſhing the office of paymaſter of the penſions, directing that all penſions ſhall hereafter be paid at the Exchequer—for limiting the ſum to be appropriated to the penſion liſt—for regulating the private liſts of penſions—to limit the ſum of money to be iſſued for ſecret ſervice in one year—for regulating the iſſuing of money for foreign and ſecret ſervice—for regulating the method of iſſuing money for the purpoſe of ſpecial ſervice—for claſſing the order of payments of his majeſty's civil eſtabliſhment, and for applying the balance of ſuch accounts.

The bill ſets forth,

That there having been great delays in paſſing the accounts of paymaſter-general and treaſurer of the navy;

The bill directs

The method of iſſuing the money for the uſe of thoſe offices reſpectively to the Bank of England.

There are clauſes,

Directing the method and times of making up their accounts, and for compelling the payment of balances.

The bill alſo ſets forth,

In order that no reformation made by this act ſhould operate as a retroſpective penalty, and to put an end to ſuits between the public and private perſons:

Therefore the bill enacts,

That commiſſioners may be appointed by his majeſty, to call before them ſeveral accountants, againſt whom balances are returned, in order to examine and to proceed in ſuch manner as in the bill is mentioned.

The bill further ſets forth,

That ſeveral of the chief offices in the Exchequer being held for life, and having been granted as an honourable proviſion for the perſons or families of thoſe who have ſerved the ſtate, and which the law of the land hath inſured to them, and that it is equally expedient that the crown ſhould not in future be debarred from the means of making an honourable proviſion for thoſe who ſerved the ſtate.

The bill ſets forth,

That the board of ordnance is properly a military concern, and at preſent attended with great expence to the public.

Therefore the bill enacts,

That the civil branch of the ſaid board ſhall be ſuppreſſed.

There are clauſes,

Directing in what manner the ſaid office ſhall be executed, both for the land and naval ſervice—for appointing a commiſſion directed to certain commiſſioners, who are to regulate all things relative to the ſaid ordnance, and to bring the ſame to a more perfect

fect conformity to military purpoſes.

There are alſo clauſes

For carrying the ſalaries, fees, and other ſums of money, ſaved by virtue of this act, to the ſinking fund—to declare that no office ſhall be created in the nature, or for the purpoſes of thoſe aboliſhed by this act—for appointing commiſſioners to hear the repreſentations of perſons aggrieved by this act; and for giving perſons diſplaced by this act a right to the ſucceſſion to vacant offices.

Therefore the bill enacts

What ſhall be the ſalary of certain offices of the Exchequer, after the lives of the preſent poſſeſſors and grantees in reverſion.

The bill ſets forth,

That the conſtitution of the Mint is expenſive, and that the coinage ought to be of none or little expence to the nation;

Therefore the bill enacts,

That the office of the Mint ſhall be aboliſhed.

There are clauſes

For paying ſalaries to the preſent officers of the Mint, who ſhall be removed—that the Treaſury ſhall contract with the Bank for coinage—that the Bank ſhall undertake the remittance of all money for the uſe of his majeſty's forces in foreign parts, declaring what perſons ſhall hereafter be deputy-paymaſter or army agents.

Extract from the Edicts lately publiſhed by the King of France, *on the Subject of national Oeconomy, quoted by Mr.* Burke, *in his Speech on the Neceſſity of Reformation in the Adminiſtration of the public Finances.*

LOUIS, &c. Being wholly occupied in eſtabliſhing order and œconomy in the expences of our houſhold, in as great a degree as conſiſts with the dignity of our crown, we have conſidered, that it will be conducive to this end to re-unite to us all the offices of our private houſhold, part of which had been alienated by the kings our predeceſſors, under the titles of caſual revenues, and had thereby become a heavy charge to the crown; as we ſhall therefore become alone intereſted in the number and value of theſe offices, we ſhall be more at liberty to aboliſh ſuch as appear to be uſeleſs, to determine the emolument, to conſult only, in theſe arrangements, our general views of adminiſtration. We ſhall refer to ourſelves to examine in our juſtice what diſadvantages may enſue to our chief officers, and thoſe of the queen, our deareſt wife and companion, from the deprivation of thoſe caſual revenues, which add nothing in ſplendor equal to their immenſe charge. We will beſides preſerve to them their various privileges, and they always ſhall be, as they at preſent are, eminently diſtinguiſhed by the rank and dignity of the perſons to whom they are entruſted.

'For theſe cauſes, &c.'

This Edict is compoſed of three articles.

Extract from the King's Edict for the Suppreſſion of the Charge of Comptroller general of the King's Houſhold, and the Money Chamber,

ber, the Lieutenant Comptroller-General of the Furniture belonging to the Crown; the Office of Comptroller-General of the Stables, of Lieutenant Comptroller-General of the Plate, Houſhold Amuſements, and Affairs of the King's Chamber; and of the two Offices of Comptroller-General of the Queen's Houſhold; with the Eſtabliſhment of a General Office for the Expence of the Houſhold. Given at Verſailles, *in the Month of January*, 1780.

LOUIS, &c. Having reflected, that, without eſſential alterations in the direction of the expences of our houſhold, we ſhould hardly be able to eſtabliſh a permanent improvement in the conducting of them, we have begun by reducing the great number of coffers and treaſuries to one only. We have, by our Edict of this day, united all the offices of our houſhold with the caſual revenues; and now, to render the plan we have preſcribed to ourſelves more complete, we have thought proper to ſuppreſs the offices of Comptroller-general of our houſehold, and of the Money Chamber; that of the Lieutenant Comptroller-general of the furniture belonging to the crown; the offices of Lieutenants and Comptrollers-general of our Stables; thoſe of Lieutenants and Comptrollers-general of the plate, the houſhold amuſements, and affairs of our chamber; the two offices of Comptrollers-general to the queen's houſhold, our deareſt wife and companion; and we will that all theſe offices ſhall be paid in ready money after their liquidation. At the ſame time we have thought proper to eſtabliſh a general office for the expences of our houſhold, which ſhall be compoſed of two Magiſtrates taken from our Chamber of Accounts, and five Commiſſioners-general which ſhall be thrown out by this arrangement, and who, in uniting their different knowledge, will be very capable of conducting, with ſpirit and uniformity, the whole expences of our houſhold. This office is to be immediately employed in a full examination of every part of it, in order to produce the greateſt perſpicuity, for the purpoſe of introducing all the improvements of every kind, which the buſineſs is capable of; and ſhall render an exact account of their operations both to the miniſter of our houſhold, and that of finances, for the better introducing in this eſtabliſhment every alteration which ſhall be found uſeful, and to the execution of which there yet remains every obſtacle; that they may thus be immediately known and removed, and that our general adminiſtration being thus drawn into one common office, may receive all the lights neceſſary for accompliſhing the plan we have approved. We keep our high and chief officers in the honourable ſituation of receiving our orders immediately from us, tranſmitting them, and watching that they are put into execution.—But they being called out on our ſervice in our provinces and armies, and not having time to ſpare in inſpecting the particulars of finance and œconomy, which require continual aſſiduity and watchfulneſs, we imagine they will behold,

hold, without pain, this part of our adminiſtration ſeparated from their noble offices near our perſon; and we have too much experienced their zeal and attachment not to be convinced that they will eagerly ſecond the general plan for the eſtabliſhment of regularity in our finances, and to prove more and more to our faithful ſubjects, how much it is our deſire to avoid having recourſe to new taxes, till we have eſtimated all the reſources ariſing from this ſyſtem of order and œconomy.

'For theſe cauſes, &c.'

This Edict conſiſts of 16 articles.

The

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended the 5th of* January, 1781.

EXPORTED.

1780.	Britiſh Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat	63,240	7,067	
Wheat Flour	136,939	932	
Rye	6,305	Nil	70,483 13 5¾ Bo.
Barley	32,956	2,407	
Malt	135,077	Nil	
Oats	8,904	8,726	29 17 1 Dr.
Oatmeal	916	449	
Beans	12,554	2,357	
Peaſe	3,517	3,131	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	773		
Wheat Flour	15,101		
Barley and Bear	18,706		
Malt	2,415		
Oats	3,330	------	7,232 3 6½ Bo.
Oatmeal	4,696		
Peaſe and Beans	1,380		
	cwt. qr. lb.		
Biſcuit	12,613:1:23		

IMPORTED.

1780.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat	1,662	
Wheat Flour	1,378	
Barley	352	
Oats	189,964	1,067 0 11
Oatmeal	612	
Beans	7,406	
Peaſe	17,719	
SCOTLAND.		
Wheat Flour	873	
Oats	4,667	60 11 0½
	cwt. qr. lb.	
Biſcuit	284 — 17	

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter buſhel, for the year 1780.

Wheat		Rye		Barley		Oats		Beans	
s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
4	5½	2	9¼	2	1½	1	7¼	2	9¼

N. B. The prices of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES

PRICES of STOCK, for the YEAR 1780.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

		Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Consol.	3 pr Ct. B. 1726	3 pr Ct. An. 1751	3 pr Ct. B. 1758	4 pr Ct. 1762.	4 pr Ct. 1777.	S. Sea Stock.	S. Sea old An.	S. Sea new An.	India Stock	3 pr Ct. Ind. An.	India Bonds	Long Ann.	Ann. 1778.	Navy Bills.	Unani Prem.
Jan.		110¼	60¾	60¼	60½	61⅞	61¼	61⅛	78¾	71½	60¼	60⅞	141½	57⅛	1	18	11⅝	11⅜	7
		113	61½	60½				61⅞	78¾		61		141¾	58½	1	17⅞	11⅛	11	7⅛
Feb.		—	62	60	—	59⅜	62	62¼	79½	—	60¾	60⅝	—	—	7	17⅞	—	11⅜	7⅛
		114¾	61½	61	—	60	60¼	60¼	80	69¾	61¼	59¾	159¼	59¼	—	17⅜	11⅛	11⅜	7¼
Mar.		—	62	59⅝	—	59½	60¼	61⅜	—	—	60¼	60⅜	154⅞	59⅜	0	16	—	11⅞	7⅜
		114½	61⅝	61⅛	—	60	60¾	61¼	—	—	60⅝	60¾	156¾	58	0	17¼	11⅛	11⅜	7⅝
Apr.		112	—	60⅝	—	59⅜	60⅝	61⅜	73¼	—	—	59½	—	—	0	16½	11⅝	10⅜	7⅞
		112¾	—	61	—	59	60¾	60	73¼	—	—	59¾	—	—	1	16	—	—	8
May		112	59¾	60⅝	—	59⅜	60⅝	—	—	—	—	59⅜	—	—	1	9	—	11⅜	8¼
		111¾	60	60¼	—	59½	60¼	59⅛	—	—	—	59¾	156½	59⅜	1	16	11⅝	11⅝	8¾
June		111¾	59¼	59¼	—	59	59¼	59	73¾	—	58⅛	58⅜	151	58⅜	1	16	11⅜	11⅜	8
		114¾	59¾	59¾	—	59	61	59⅝	73¾	—	58¼	58⅝	150¾	58⅝	1	16	11⅝	11⅝	8
July		110	60	60	—	59⅜	61	60	74	59½	59	59¼	148	57⅝	1	16	11⅜	11⅜	8
		113¼	60¼	60¼	—	59⅝	61	60⅜	74⅜	60⅛	60⅛	60⅛	151½	58⅜	1	16	11⅝	11⅝	8
Aug.		113¼	61⅛	61	—	59⅝	61	61	75	61	60¾	61	152	59	1	16	11⅝	11⅝	8
		116½	62	61⅛	—	60	61⅜	62⅛	75⅛	62⅛	61¼	61¼	150¼	59⅜	1	16	11⅝	11⅝	8
Sept.		114	61⅛	61	—	59¾	61¼	61⅞	75⅝	61⅞	61⅛	61⅛	149¼	58⅞	1	15	11⅝	11⅝	8
		114¼	61¼	61	—	59⅞	61¾	62⅛	75¾	62⅛	61⅞	61⅞	149¾	59	1	16	11⅝	11⅝	8
Oct.		115	61⅞	61⅛	—	59⅞	61⅞	62⅛	75	62⅛	61⅞	61⅞	149¾	59	1	16	11⅝	11⅝	8
		111¼	61	61	—	59⅜	61	61⅞	74⅞	61⅞	61⅛	61⅛	149¼	58⅞	1	15	11⅝	11⅝	8
Nov.		111¼	61⅜	61	—	59⅜	61	61⅞	74⅞	61⅞	61⅛	61⅛	149¼	58⅞	1	15	11⅝	11⅝	8
		111½	61⅝	61⅛	—	59⅝	61⅛	61⅞	75	61⅞	61⅛	61⅛	149¾	59	1	16	11⅝	11⅝	8
Dec.		110¾	58	60⅝	—	59⅛	60⅝	61⅛	74⅛	61⅛	60⅜	60⅜	148¼	58⅛	1	15	11⅝	11⅝	8
		111½	59¼	61	—	59⅝	61	61⅞	74⅞	61⅞	61⅛	61⅛	149¼	58⅞	1	16	11⅝	11⅝	8
		111½	59¼	62	—	59⅝	61⅝	62⅛	75⅛	62⅛	61⅞	61⅞	149¾	59	1	16	11⅝	11⅝	8
		109½	58⅝	60½	—	58	60	60⅛	73	60⅛	59⅜	59⅜	147	57½	1	14	11⅜	11	7⅞

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1780.

NAVY.

DECEMBER 2, 1779.

1. THAT 85,000 men be employed for the ſea ſervice, for the year 1780, including 18,779 marines.

2. That a ſum, not exceeding 4l. per month per man, be allowed for maintaining the ſaid 85,000 men, for 13 months, including ordnance for ſea ſervice 4,420,000 0 0

FEBRUARY 24, 1780.

1. For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to the ſea and marine officers, for the year 1780 - 85,381 7 6

2. Towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of ſhips of war in his majeſty's yards, and other extraordinary works, over and above what are propoſed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear in ordinary, for the year 1780 — — — 697,903 0 0

MAY 18.

Towards paying off and diſcharging the debt of the navy — — — 1,500,000 0 0

7,003,284 7 6

ARMY.

DECEMBER 9.

1. That a number of land forces, including 4,213 invalids, amounting to 35,005 effective men, commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned officers included, be employed for the ſervice of the year 1780 —

2. For defraying the charge of 35,005 effective men for guards, garriſons, and other his Majeſty's forces in Great-Britain, Jerſey, and Guernſey, for the year 1780 — — — 946,176 3 5

3. For the pay of the general and general ſtaff officers in Great-Britain, for the year 1780 — — 44,875 8 3

4. For maintaining his Majeſty's forces and garriſons in the plantations and Africa, including thoſe in

garriſon

garriſon in Minorca and Gibraltar; and for proviſions for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, the Ceded Iſlands, and Africa, for the year 1780 — — — 1,418,059 1 2

5. For defraying the charge of five Hanoverian regiments of foot at Gibraltar and Minorca, and for proviſions for the three battalions of the ſaid troops at Gibraltar, for the year 1780 — 56,228 11 11½

6. For defraying the charge of 13,472 men of the troops of the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, in the pay of Great-Britain, together with the ſubſidy, purſuant to treaty, for the year 1780 — 367,892 19 4

7. For defraying the charge of two regiments of Hanau, in the pay of Great-Britain, together with the ſubſidy, purſuant to treaty with the hereditary Prince of Heſſe Caſſel, for the year 1780 — 35,510 19 9

8. For defraying the charge of a regiment of foot of Waldeck, in the pay of Great-Britain, together with the ſubſidy, purſuant to treaty with the reigning Prince of Waldeck, for the year 1780 — 17,529 11 9

9. For defraying the charge of 4300 men, the troops of the reigning Duke of Brunſwick, in the pay of Great-Britain, together with the ſubſidy, for the year 1780 — — 94,173 12 4½

10. For defraying the charge of 1447 men, the troops of the Margrave of Brandeburgh Anſpach, in the pay of Great-Britain, together with the ſubſidy for the year 1780 — — 39,718 18 1½

11. For defraying the charge of a corps of foot of Anhalt Zerbſt, in the pay of Great-Britain, together with the ſubſidy, purſuant to treaty with the reigning Prince of Anhalt Zerbſt, for the year 1780 — 16,661 6 4½

12. For defraying the charge of proviſions for the foreign troops ſerving in North America, in the pay of Great-Britain, for the year 1780 — 48,801 10 6

13. For defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops in the pay of Great-Britain, purſuant to treaties, for the year 1780 — 27,741 10 0

14. For defraying the charge of the embodied militia of the ſeveral counties of South Britain, and of four regiments of fencible men in North Britain, for the year 1780 — — 653,926 2 0

15. For defraying the charge of the cloathing for the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year 1780 - 96,183 4 2

16. For defraying the charge of additional companies and additionals to the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year 1778 — — 8,943 13 8

17. For defraying the charge of the new levies ordered to be raiſed, for the year 1780	258,206	18	0
APRIL 11.			
1. For defraying the charge of Lieut. Colonel Fullarton's corps, from the 24th day of February, 1780, to the 24th day of December following, both incluſive, being 305 days	8,623	17	6
2. For defraying the charge of one additional troop, with a lieutenant-colonel, to Lieut. Colonel Holroyd's corps of light dragoons, from the 25th day of December, 1779, to the 24th day of December 1780, both incluſive, being 366 days	3,179	12	6
3. For defraying the charge of Major General Rainsford's regiment of foot, from the 24th day of February, 1780, to the 24th day of December following, both incluſive, being 305 days	12,929	9	2
4. For defraying the charge of Lieut. Colonel Humberſtone's corps, from the 24th day of February, 1780, to the 24th day of December following, both incluſive, being 305 days	8,623	17	6
5. Towards defraying the charge of the out-penſioners of Chelſea-Hoſpital, for the year 1780	87,718	0	0
MAY 18.			
1. For defraying the charges of additional companies and additionals to the embodied militia in South Britain, including cloathing, for the year 1780	11,712	9	6
2. To make good the deficiency on the pay of additional companies and additionals to the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year 1779	468	15	8
3. For defraying the charge of the new levies, from the commencement of their reſpective eſtabliſhments to the 24th day of December, 1779	30,296	16	8
MAY 22.			
1. On account of the reduced officers of his Majeſty's land forces and marines, for the year 1780	82,905	2	0
2. For defraying the charge for allowances to ſeveral private gentlemen of the two troops of horſe guards reduced, and to the ſuperannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horſe guards, for the year 1780	608	6	6
MAY 23.			
Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his Majeſty's land forces, and other ſervices incurred, between the 31ſt Jan. 1779, and the 1ſt Feb. 1780, and not provided for by parliament	2,418	18	11½
	6,797,506	18	9

ORDNANCE.

ORDNANCE.

DECEMBER 15, 1778.

1. For the charge of the office of Ordnance for the land service, for the year 1780 — — —	458,136	9	11
2. For defraying the expence of services performed by the office of Ordnance for land service, and not provided for by parliament in the year 1779 —	591,466	0	11
	1,049,602	10	10

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

DECEMBER 20, 1779.

To be paid to William Smith, Doctor of Physic, in recompence for his constant and humane attendance upon the sick and diseased prisoners in the several gaols in the county of Middlesex, city of Westminster, and borough of Southwark, for near four years last past, and for repaying the said William Smith the several sums of money by him expended in purchasing proper medicines for such sick and diseased prisoners	1,200	0	0

DECEMBER 21.

To be advanced to the governor and company of the merchants of England, trading into the Levant sea, to be applied in assisting the said company in carrying on their trade — —	10,000	0	0
For the expences of the new roads of communication, and building bridges, in the Highlands of North-Britain, in the year 1780 — —	6,997	4	3

MARCH 7, 1780.

Towards enabling the Trustees of the British Museum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in them by Parliament — —	3,500	0	0

MAY 18.

1. To make good the like sum issued by his Majesty's orders in pursuance of the addresses of the House — — —	15,700	0	0
2. To replace the sum issued by his Majesty's orders to Mr. Duncan Campbell, for the expence of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts on the River Thames — — —	14,348	2	9

MAY 30.

1. To make good the sum issued by his Majesty's orders, to be applied for the relief and benefit of sundry American civil officers, and others who have suffered on account of their attachment to his Majesty's government — — —	57,910	12	0

JUNE 1.

1. For defraying expences attending general surveys of his Majesty's dominions in North America, for the year 1780 — — —	1,832	5	0

2. For defraying the charges of the following civil eſtabliſhments in America, and other incidental expences attending the ſame, for the year 1780:

1. His Majeſty's iſland of St. John's	3150l.			
2. His Majeſty's colony of Georgia	2966l.			
3. His Majeſty's colony of Nova Scotia	4796l.			
4. His Majeſty's colony of Eaſt Florida	3950l.			
5. His Majeſty's colony of Weſt Florida	3900l.			
		18,662	0	0
3. For repairing, maintaining, and ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, for the year 1780 — — —		13,000	0	0
4. Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerſet Houſe, for 1780 — — —		25,000	0	0
		168,149	19	9

LOANS DISCHARGED.

April 4, 1780.

1. For paying off and diſcharging the Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intitled, "An act for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe the ſum of one million, for the uſes and purpoſes therein mentioned," and charged on the firſt aids to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament — — — 1,000,000 0 0

2. For paying off and diſcharging the Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intitled, "An act for raiſing a certain ſum of money by loans or Exchequer bills, for the ſervive of the year 1779," and charged on the firſt aids to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament — — — — 1,500,000 0 0

3. For paying off and diſcharging the Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intitled, "An act for raiſing a farther ſum of money, by loans or Exchequer bills, for the ſervice of the year 1779" — 1,900,000 0 0

4. For diſcharging and paying off the prizes of the lottery of the year 1779 — — 490,000 0 0

4,890,000 0 0

DEFICIENCIES.

May 23.

1. To replace to the ſinking fund, the like ſum paid out of the ſame, to make good the deficiency on the 5th July, 1779, of the fund eſtabliſhed for paying annuities, granted by an act made in the 31ſt year of his late Majeſty, toward the ſupply granted for the year 1758 — — 37,372 18 9½

2. To

2. To replace to the ſinking fund, the like ſum paid out of the ſame, to make good the deficiency on the 5th July, 1779, of the fund eſtabliſhed for paying annuities, granted by an act made in the 18th year of his preſent Majeſty, towards the ſupply granted for the year 1778 — —	332,856	4	5½
3. To replace to the ſinking fund, the like ſum paid out of the ſame, to make good the deficiency on the 5th July, 1779, of the fund eſtabliſhed for paying annuities, granted by an act made in the 18th year of his preſent Majeſty, towards the ſupply granted for the year 1778 —	167,036	14	1½
4. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the ſervice of the year 1779 —	300,687	0	7
To make good the deficiency of the land tax —	250,000	0	0
To make good the deficiency of the malt tax —	200,000	0	0
	1,287,952	17	11½
Total of ſupplies — —	21,196,496	12	9½

WAYS *and* MEANS *for raiſing the above Supplies, granted to his Majeſty, for the Service of the Year* 1780.

DECEMBER 4, 1779.

1. That the ſum of four ſhillings in the pound, and no more, be raiſed within the ſpace of one year, from the twenty-fifth day of March, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, penſions, offices, and perſonal eſtates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed: and that a proportionable ceſs, according to the ninth article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland — —	2,000,000	0	0
2. That the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, which, by an act of parliament of the nineteenth year of his preſent Majeſty's reign, have continuance to the twenty-fourth day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, be further continued, and charged upon all malt which ſhall be made, and all mum which ſhall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry which ſhall be made for ſale, within the kingdom of Great Britain, from the twenty-third day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, to the twenty-fourth day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one —	705,000	0	0

MARCH 7, 1780.

That towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, the ſum of twelve millions be raiſed by annuities,

nuities, and the further ſum of four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds by a lottery, in manner following; that is to ſay,

That every contributor towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of twelve millions ſhall, for every one hundred pounds contributed and paid, be entitled to an annuity of four pounds, to continue for a certain term of ſeven years and one quarter, to commence from the fifth day of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, ſubject to redemption by parliament after the expiration of the ſaid term, and not ſooner; and alſo be entitled, in reſpect of every ſuch one hundred pounds ſo contributed, to a further annuity of one pound ſixteen ſhillings and three-pence, to continue for a certain term of eighty years, from the ſaid fifth day of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, and then to ceaſe: the ſaid annuity of four pounds to be paid at the Bank of England, for one quarter of a year from the ſaid fifth day of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, to the fifth day of April following, and from that time ſhall be added to, and made one joint ſtock with, certain annuities, after the rate of four pounds *per centum per annum*, which were eſtabliſhed by an act of the ſeventeenth year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, and from thenceforth ſhall be paid and payable at the Bank of England, on the 10th day of October, and the fifth day of April, in every year: and the ſaid annuity of one pound ſixteen ſhillings and three-pence *per centum*, to be payable in reſpect of every one hundred pounds to be contributed as aforeſaid, ſhall be added to, and made one joint ſtock with, certain annuities payable at the Bank of England, which were granted for ninety-nine and ninety-eight years, and were conſolidated and made one joint ſtock by an act of the fourth year of the reign of his ſaid preſent Majeſty, and ſhall be paid and payable half yearly at the Bank of England, on the fifth day of July, and the fifth day of January, in every year:

That the ſaid annuities, ſo to be payable on the ſaid twelve millions, ſhall be charged, and chargeable upon, and payable out of, a fund to be eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the ſinking fund ſhall be a collateral ſecurity:

That every contributor towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of twelve millions ſhall, for every one thouſand

pounds

pounds contributed, be entitled to four tickets, in a lottery to conſiſt of forty-eight thouſand tickets, amounting to four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, upon payment of the further ſum of ten pounds for each ticket, the ſaid four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds to be diſtributed into prizes, for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the ſaid lottery, which ſhall be paid in money at the Bank of England to ſuch proprietors, upon demand, as ſoon after the firſt day of March, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one, as certificates can be prepared, without any deduction whatſoever:

That every contributor ſhall, on or before the eleventh day of this inſtant March, make a depoſit of fifteen pounds *per centum* on ſuch ſum as he or ſhe ſhall chuſe to ſubſcribe towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of twelve millions, with the chief caſhier or caſhiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England; and alſo, a depoſit of fifteen pounds *per centum* with the ſaid caſhier or caſhiers, in part of the monies to be contributed towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds by a lottery, as a ſecurity for making the future payments reſpectively, on or before the days or times hereinafter limited; that is to ſay,

On £. 12,000,000 to be raiſed by annuities,

£. 10 *per centum* on or before the 28th day of April next.
£. 10 *per centum* on or before the 26th day of May next.
£. 10 *per centum* on or before the 23d day of June next.
£. 10 *per centum* on or before the 28th day of July next.
£. 15 *per centum* on or before the 29th day of Auguſt next.
£. 10 *per centum* on or before the 26th day of September next.
£. 10 *per centum* on or before the 24th day of October next.
£. 10 *per centum* on or before the 24th day of November next.

On the lottery for £. 480,000.

£. 10 *per centum* on or before the 12th day of May next.
£. 25 *per centum* on or before the 14th day of July next.
£. 20 *per centum* on or before the 12th day of September next.
£. 20 *per centum* on or before the 10th day of October next.

That all the monies ſo to be received by the ſaid chief caſhier or caſhiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England ſhall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to ſuch ſervices as ſhall then have been voted by this Houſe in this ſeſſion of parliament:

That every contributor who ſhall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money towards the ſum of

twelve

twelve millions, to be contributed for annuities as aforeſaid, at any time before the twenty-third day of October next, or on account of his or her ſhare in the ſaid lottery, on or before the eleventh day of September next, ſhall be allowed an intereſt by way of diſcount, after the rate of three pounds *per Centum per Annum*, on the ſum ſo compleating his or her contribution reſpectively, to be computed from the day of compleating the ſame to the twenty-fourth day of November next, in regard to the ſum to be paid for the ſaid annuities, and to the tenth day of October next, in reſpect of the ſum to be paid on account of the ſaid lottery; and that all ſuch perſons as ſhall make their full payments on the ſaid lottery ſhall have their tickets delivered as ſoon as they can conveniently be made out. — 12,480,000 0 0

APRIL 13.

1. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſeven pounds, eighteen ſhillings, and one farthing, remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1780, for the diſpoſition of parliament, of the monies which had then ariſen of the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, or overplus monies, and other revenues, compoſing the fund commonly called the ſinking fund — — — 650,457 18 0¼

2. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be applied the ſum of 25,560 pounds remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer on the 5th day of April, of the deduction of ſixpence in the pound out of all monies paid upon all ſalaries, penſions and annuities, and other payments from the crown — — — 25,560 0 0

3. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be applied the ſum of three thouſand ſeven hundred ſixty-one pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence half-penny, remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer on the fifth day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, ſubject to the diſpoſition of parliament, excluſive of the ſurplus monies then remaining of the ſinking fund — 3,761 13 4½

MAY 18.

That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſum of one million five hundred thouſand pounds be raiſed by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament; ſuch Exchequer bills, if

not discharged, with interest thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1781, to be exchanged and received in payment, in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment — — — 1,500,000 0 0

JUNE 1.

1. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of one million eight hundred forty-nine thousand five hundred and forty-two pounds, one shilling, and eleven pence three farthings, out of such monies as have arisen, or shall or may arise, of the surpluses, exceſſes, or overplus monies, and other revenues composing the fund commonly called the sinking fund — — — — 1,849,542 1 11¾

2. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the further sum of one million nine hundred thousand pounds be raised, by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; and such Exchequer bills, if not discharged with interest thereupon on or before the fifth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, to be exchanged and received in payment in such manner as Exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment — — — 1,900,000 0 0

3. That a sum, not exceeding fourteen thousand four hundred and five pounds, eighteen shillings, and six-pence, being the amount of several sums arising from stoppages for provisions for the detachment of artillery serving in North America, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the thirty-first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, and the first day of February, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and not provided for by parliament — 14,405 18 6

4. That a sum, not exceeding twenty thousand seven hundred and seventeen pounds, seven shillings, and four-pence, out of the monies or savings remaining of the grant in this session of parliament, for the charge of the new levies ordered to be raised for the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services, incurred between the thirty-first day of January,

nuary, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, and the firſt day of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, and not provided for by parliament — — — 20,717 7 4

5. That a ſum, not exceeding one hundred and thirteen thouſand nine hundred and ninety-eight pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and four-pence, ariſing from the ſavings of the ſums voted by parliament for the penſions of Widows of officers of the army, in the years one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight, and one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, be applied towards making good the ſupply granted to his majeſty towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majeſty's land forces, and other ſervices incurred, between the thirty firſt day of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, and the firſt day of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, and not provided for by parliament — — — 113,998 7 4

6. That a ſum, not exceeding ten thouſand pounds, out of the ſavings (occaſioned by death and promotions) of the half pay of reduced officers of the army, from the twenty-fifth day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſeven, to the twenty-fourth day of December, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, be applied towards making good the ſupply granted to his majeſty towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majeſty's land forces, and other ſervices incurred between the thirty-firſt day of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, and the firſt day of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, and not provided for by parliament — 10,000 0 0

7. That a ſum, not exceeding forty-eight thouſand three hundred pounds, being the amount of the ſums ordered to be reſerved in the hands of the Paymaſter-general of his majeſty's forces, out of the monies voted for the ſubſiſtence of an augmentation to ſundry regiments of foot in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, purſuant to his majeſty's warrant of the twentieth of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, authorizing ſuch deductions, be applied towards making good the ſupply granted to his majeſty towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majeſty's land

forces,

forces, and other ſervices incurred between the thirty-firſt day of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, and the firſt day of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, and not provided for by parliament — — 48,300 0 0

8. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be applied the ſum of ten thouſand five hundred and ſix pounds, five ſhillings, and two-pence farthing, remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer of the ſum granted out of the ſupplies for the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty, towards making good the deficiency of the grants for the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-nine, being part of the ſum provided for paying the arrears of the marine regiments that were diſbanded in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty eight — — — 10,506 5 2¾

9. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be applied the ſum of five thouſand pounds remaining in the receipt of the exchequer, which, by an act of the fifth year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, was granted for building a Lazaret — — — 5,000 0 0

10. That ſuch of the monies as ſhall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer after the fifth day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, and on or before the fifth day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one, of the produce of the duties charged by two acts made in the fifth and fourteenth years of his preſent majeſty's reign upon the importation and exportation of Gum Senega and Gum Arabic, be applied towards making good the ſupply granted to his majeſty

Total of ways and means — — 21,382,249 11 8¼

Exceſs of ways and means — — 185,752 18 11¼

Note, *A vote of credit of one million was alſo granted this ſeſſion, and is charged on the next aids.*

The additional public debt funded and provided for this year, amounts to twelve millions; the intereſt of which, at 4 per cent, per ann. is — 480,000 0 0

The annuity for eighty years, of 11. 16s. 3d. per cent. per ann. — — — 216,150 0 0

In all per ann. — — — 696,150 0 0

This

This ſum (by acts paſſed in purſuance of different reſolutions) is propoſed to be raiſed in the following manner:

Additional duty on malt of 6d. per buſhel —	310,000	0	0
Ditto, on low wines of 1d. per gallon — —	20,617	0	0
Do. on ſpirits of 3d. per Ditto — —	34,557	0	0
Do. on brandy of 1s. per Do. — —	35,310	0	0
Do. on rum of 1s. per Do. — —	70,958	0	0
Do. on foreign wines of 4l. per ton on Portugal wines, and of 8l. per ton on French wines —	72,000	0	0
A duty on coals exported of 4s. per Newcaſtle chaldron — — — —	12,899	0	0
Additional duty of 5l. per cent. on the above duties — — — —	46,193	0	0
Additional duty of 1s. 10d. per buſhel on ſalt —	69,000	0	0
Do. on advertiſements of 6d. each —	9,000	0	0
A ſtamp duty on the receipt for any legacy, or for any ſhare of a perſonal eſtate divided under the ſtatute of diſtributions, or the cuſtom of any province or place of 2s. 6d. if the value ſhall not exceed 20l. and of 5s. if above 20l. and not amounting to 100l. and of 20s. if 100l. or upwards — — — —	12,000	0	0
On dealers in coffee, tea, and chocolate, for a licence 5s. annually — — —	9,000	0	0
In all — — — —	701,534	0	0
Exceſs of taxes — — —	5,384	0	0

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament. Thurſday the 25th of November, 1779.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I MEET you in parliament at a time when we are called upon by every principle of duty, and every conſideration of intereſt, to exert our united efforts in the ſupport and defence of our country, attacked by an unjuſt and unprovoked war, and contending with one of the moſt dangerous confederacies that ever was formed againſt the crown and people of Great Britain.

The deſigns and attempts of our enemies to invade this kingdom, have, by the bleſſing of Providence, been hitherto fruſtrated and diſappointed. They ſtill menace us with great armaments and preparations; but we are, I truſt, on our part, well prepared to meet every attack and repel every inſult. I know the character of my brave people: the menaces of their enemies, and the approach of danger, have no other effect on their minds, but to animate their courage, and to call forth that national ſpirit, which has ſo often checked, and defeated, the projects of ambition and injuſtice, and enabled the Britiſh fleets and armies to protect their own country, to vindicate their own rights, and at the ſame time to uphold, and preſerve, the liberties of Europe, from the reſtleſs and encroaching power of the Houſe of Bourbon.

In the midſt of my care and ſolicitude for the ſafety and welfare of this country, I have not been inattentive to the ſtate of my loyal and faithful kingdom of Ireland. I have, in conſequence of your addreſſes, preſented to me in the laſt ſeſſion, ordered ſuch papers to be collected and laid before you, as may aſſiſt your deliberations, on this important buſineſs; and I recommend it to you to conſider what further benefits and advantages may be extended to that kingdom, by ſuch regulations, and ſuch methods, as may, moſt effectually, promote the common ſtrength, wealth, and intereſts of all my dominions.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

The proper eſtimates ſhall, in due time, be laid before you. I ſee, with extreme concern, that the neceſſary eſtabliſhments of my naval and military forces, and the various ſervices and operations of the enſuing year, muſt inevitably be attended with great and heavy

expences; but I rely on your wiſdom and public ſpirit for ſuch ſupplies, as the circumſtances and exigencies of our affairs ſhall be found to require.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have great ſatisfaction in renewing the aſſurances of my entire approbation of the good conduct and diſcipline of the militia, and of their ſteady perſeverance in their duty; and I return my cordial thanks to all ranks of my loyal ſubjects who have ſtood forth in this arduous conjuncture, and by their zeal, their influence, and their perſonal ſervice, have given confidence as well as ſtrength to the national defence. Truſting in the Divine Providence, and in the juſtice of my cauſe, I am firmly reſolved to proſecute the war with vigour, and to make every exertion in order to compel our enemies to liſten to equitable terms of peace and accommodation.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

The juſt ſenſe we have of the bleſſings under your majeſty's government, and the indignation we feel at the unprovoked and unwarrantable aggreſſion of our enemies, who ſeek to deprive us of thoſe bleſſings, and threaten your majeſty's kingdoms with invaſion, will continue to animate our reſolutions, and redouble our efforts in the national defence. We truſt, that thoſe efforts, ſeconded by the zeal of a faithful and loyal people, will, under the Providence of God, be fully ſufficient to repel every attack, to fruſtrate the hopes, and defeat the deſigns, of any confederacy that may be formed againſt your majeſty's crown and dominions.

In ſuch a criſis, the approach of danger can ſerve only to call forth that national ſpirit, which always riſes with the occaſion that demands it, but never diſplayed itſelf in a more important conjuncture, though it has ſo often protected the liberties of theſe kingdoms, and of Europe in general, and has enabled the Britiſh fleets and armies to withſtand, and defeat, the deſigns of that reſtleſs and aſpiring ambition, which has ſo frequently diſturbed the peace and invaded the rights of mankind.

We are deeply ſenſible of your majeſty's paternal goodneſs, which does not confine itſelf to one part of your dominions, but is anxious for the proſperity of the whole, and, in the midſt of your care and ſolicitude for the ſafety and welfare of this country, has led your attention to the ſtate of your loyal and faithful kingdom of Ireland. Guided by the ſame ſentiments which prompted the humble addreſs we preſented to your majeſty the laſt ſeſſion, we will continue our attention to thoſe important objects your majeſty's wiſdom recommends, and after deliberately weighing the whole, will conſider, what further benefits may be extended to that kingdom, by ſuch regulations, and ſuch methods, as

may moſt effectually promote the common ſtrength, wealth, and intereſts of all your majeſty's dominions.

Your majeſty's approbation of the good conduct and diſcipline of the militia, and of their ſteady perſeverance in their duty, and the ſatisfaction your majeſty expreſſes in the conduct of your loyal ſubjects of all ranks, who have ſtood forth in this arduous conjuncture, muſt redouble that zeal, extend that influence, and increaſe thoſe perſonal exertions, which have given confidence as well as ſtrength to the national defence.

We ſee, with great ſatisfaction, that your majeſty, truſting in the Divine Providence, and in the juſtice of your cauſe, is firmly reſolved to proſecute the war with vigour, and to make every exertion, in order to compel our enemies to liſten to equitable terms of peace and accommodation. Such ſpirited and vigorous meaſures muſt be conducive to ſo deſirable an end; and we humbly beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that they will meet with our moſt hearty concurrence and firmeſt ſupport.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

I THANK you for this dutiful and loyal addreſs. The ſpirit and reſolution with which you ſtand forth in the national defence, and the ſupport you promiſe to the vigorous meaſures I am determined to purſue, muſt tend to reſtore, upon fair and equitable terms, that general tranquility, which I have ever endeavoured to maintain; and your attention to thoſe important objects I have recommended to you, will, I doubt not, increaſe the general proſperity of all my ſubjects, which is my conſtant and invariable aim.

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty the thanks of this Houſe, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We are truly ſenſible that, in the preſent arduous ſituation of affairs, we are called upon by every principle and every ſentiment of duty to your majeſty, and to thoſe we repreſent, to exert and to unite our utmoſt efforts in the ſupport and defence of our country againſt a moſt unjuſt war, and one of the moſt dangerous confederacies that was ever formed againſt the crown and people of Great Britain.

We ſee and revere the goodneſs of Divine Providence, in fruſtrating and diſappointing the deſigns of our enemies to invade this kingdom: and whenever they attempt to carry their menaces into execution, we truſt that their attacks will be repelled, and their enterprize defeated, by the bleſſing of the ſame Providence on the valour and intrepidity of your majeſty's fleets and armies; and that your majeſty's gracious and endearing declaration of your confidence in the character and courage of your people will be juſtified, by the moſt convincing proofs, that they are ſtill animated by the ſame ar-

dour, and the ſame ſpirit, that have in former times carried this nation through ſo many difficulties and dangers, and have ſo often enabled their anceſtors to protect their country and all its dominions, and to ſave not only their own rights, but the liberties of other free ſtates, from the reſtleſs ambition and encroaching power of the Houſe of Bourbon.

We acknowledge, with thankfulneſs, your majeſty's goodneſs and attention to the addreſs of this Houſe, reſpecting your loyal and faithful kingdom of Ireland, in being pleaſed to order ſuch papers to be communicated to this Houſe, as may aſſiſt our deliberations on this important buſineſs: and we beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that we will not fail to take into our conſideration what further benefits and advantages may be extended to that kingdom by ſuch regulations, and ſuch methods, as may moſt effectually promote the common ſtrength, wealth, and intereſts of all your dominions.

Permit us, Sir, to return our humble thanks to your majeſty, for the gracious manner in which your majeſty renews and confirms your entire approbation of the good conduct and ſteady diſcipline of the national militia; and to aſſure your majeſty that we concur moſt ſincerely with your majeſty, in acknowledging and applauding the meritorious zeal and ſervices of thoſe loyal ſubjects who ſtood forth in the hour of danger, and who have added confidence, as well as ſtrength, to the national defence.

Your majeſty's faithful commons receive with gratitude, and take a ſincere part in, your majeſty's paternal expreſſions of concern, that the various and extenſive ſervices and operations of the enſuing year muſt unavoidably be attended with great and heavy expences: yet, when it is conſidered how much the commerce, the proſperity, and the ſafety, of Great Britain depend on the iſſue of this conteſt, we doubt not that ſuch powerful conſiderations and motives will induce all your majeſty's ſubjects to ſuſtain, with chearfulneſs and magnanimity, whatever burthens ſhall be found neceſſary, for raiſing ſuch ſupplies as may enable your majeſty to proſecute the war with vigour and effect, and to make every exertion, in order to compel your enemies to liſten to equitable terms of peace and accommodation.

Addreſs of the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, *in Convocation, aſſembled, preſented to his Majeſty on the* 17*th of November*, 1780.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the archbiſhop, biſhops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation aſſembled, humbly beg leave to approach your throne, and with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude for the protection we continue to enjoy under your majeſty's reign, to offer our unfeigned congratulations on the further ſecurity of your majeſty's illuſtrious Houſe, by the birth of another prince, and on the happy recovery of our gracious queen, the patroneſs of religion and virtue.

We are, on this occaſion, particularly

cularly obliged to acknowledge and admire a late inſtance of your majeſty's attention to the intereſts of Chriſtianity, in your royal munificence to the pious deſigns of the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel in foreign parts, erected by a charter from your glorious predeceſſor, King William, and now reſtored to its former activity, by the liberal contributions of your ſubjects, encouraged by your majeſty's example.

Amidſt all the protection and favour we derive from the goodneſs of your majeſty's heart, we lament the neceſſity of confeſſing, that the licentiouſneſs of the times continues to counteract your paternal care for the ſtate of national religion. Bad men and bad books are the produce of all times; but we obſerve with particular regret, that the wickedneſs of the age hath of late been directly pointed at the fences of piety and virtue, eſtabliſhed by God himſelf, and apparently ſecured by law.

The open violation of the Lord's day, and the invitations of men to deſert the religious duties of that day for amuſements, frivolous at beſt, appears to call for the aid of the civil magiſtrate, to check the progreſs of an evil ſo dangerous both to church and ſtate, by ſuppreſſing on the Lord's day, places of reſort for pleaſure, where the interpoſition of the miniſters of religion is impracticable. We humbly aſſure your majeſty, that ſo far as any exertion of our's can reach, we ſhall not fail to admoniſh and rebuke, both by word and example.

We have the comfortable hope, Sir, that it will appear to your majeſty, that Popery is leſs prevalent than it has been in this part of your dominions. We are too zealouſly attached to Proteſtantiſm not to oppoſe the errors of the Church of Rome, as well in controverſial attacks, as in the more ſucceſsful way of teaching the doctrines of our Apoſtolical Church; adhering, at the ſame time, invariably to the principles of the reformation, which direct us to oppoſe error of every kind, by argument and perſuaſion, and to diſavow all violence in the cauſe of religion.

May Almighty God, who, for our ſins, hath permitted your majeſty to be involved in a war, juſt, indeed, and neceſſary, but in its own nature productive of much calamity, bleſs your majeſty's efforts with deciſive ſucceſs!

It becomes us, as miniſters of the goſpel, to praiſe God for every victory which has a tendency to the bleſſings of peace; and whenever it ſhall pleaſe his infinite wiſdom to reſtore them to this nation, we ſhall further beſeech him to grant to your majeſty the full enjoyment of thoſe bleſſings for many years, in the proſperity and unanimous loyalty of your ſubjects.

To which Addreſs his Majeſty was pleaſed to return the following moſt gracious Anſwer:

I THANK you for your congratulations on the increaſe of my family, and the happy recovery of the queen.

I hear with pleaſure the zeal you expreſs for the intereſts of our holy religion; and I ſhall continue to make it my conſtant endeavour to ſupport them upon the

principles of the reformation, againſt the encroachments of licentiouſneſs or ſuperſtition.

Truſting to the juſtice of my cauſe, I rely on the continuance of the bleſſings of Providence on my endeavours to reſtore to my people a ſafe and honourable peace.

PROTEST OF THE LORDS.

Die Martis, Feb. 8vo.

Moved,

THAT a committee be appointed, conſiſting of members of both Houſes, poſſeſſing neither employment nor penſion, to examine without delay into the public expenditure, and the mode of accounting for the ſame; more particularly into the manner of making all contracts, and at the ſame time to take into conſideration what ſavings can be made conſiſtent with public dignity, juſtice, and gratitude, by an abolition of old or new created offices, the duties of which have either ceaſed, or ſhall on enquiry prove inadequate to the fees or other emoluments ariſing therefrom, or by the reduction of ſuch ſalaries or other allowances and profits as may appear to be unreaſonable; that the ſame may be applied to leſſen the preſent ruinous expenditure, and to enable us to carry on the preſent war againſt the Houſe of Bourbon, with that deciſion and vigour which can alone reſult from national zeal, confidence, and unanimity.

After a long debate, the Houſe divided at half paſt one, when there appeared

For the motion 55. Againſt it 101, including proxies.

Majority againſt the motion 46.

DISSENTIENT,

1ſt. Becauſe, however the waſte of public money, and the profuſion of uſeleſs ſalaries, may have been heretofore overlooked in the days of wealth and proſperity, the neceſſities of the preſent time can no longer endure the ſame ſyſtem of corruption and prodigality.

The ſcarcity of money, the diminiſhed value of land, the ſinking of rents, with the decline of trade, are melancholy proofs that we are almoſt arrived at the end of taxation, and yet the demands are annually increaſed, while the hopes of peace are every year put to a greater diſtance.

For let any man conſider the immenſe debt increaſing beyond the poſſibility of payment, with the preſent accumulation of taxes upon every article, not only of luxury, but of convenience and even of neceſſary uſe; and let him carry his thoughts forward to thoſe additional duties which muſt immediately be impoſed to make good the intereſt of the approaching loan, and of that debt which will remain unfunded, he will find that at leaſt one million and a half of intereſt muſt be provided for, beſides what may be further neceſſary to make good the deficiences of the late taxes.

Under theſe circumſtances, the ſavings of a ſtrict and vigilant œconomy in every branch, and the application of overgrown ſalaries, unmerited penſions, and uſeleſs places,

places, to the public ſervice, are almoſt the only reſource left in the exhauſted ſtate of our finances. But beſides this ſtrong argument of neceſſity that preſſes upon the preſent moment, ſuch and ſo great are the abuſes in the management and expenditure of the public money as would call for the ſtricteſt enquiry and animadverſion even in the beſt of times. The practice of expending immenſe ſums without conſent of parliament, under the fallacious head of contingencies and extraordinaries, the greater part of which might eaſily be compriſed in an eſtimate; but becauſe ſome unforeſeen articles are not capable of ſuch preciſion, the miniſter has, under that colour, found out a method of expending the public money firſt *ad libitum*, and when it has been ſo expended, has found means to induce parliament to think itſelf bound in honour to ratify and make it good, deſerves the higheſt cenſure; and no miniſter who ſhall dare to ſtake the public credit, for money that has not been voted, ought to be juſtified by a leſs authority than an Act of Indemnity. The millions which remain in conſequence unexplained and unaccounted for; the ſhameful facility of admitting almoſt every claim; the improvident bargains made for the public ſervice; the criminal neglect and even contempt of the few checks eſtabliſhed in the Board of Treaſury, beſides great part of the money being ſhared in its paſſage among a tribe of collectors, clerks, agents, jobbers or contractors, or paid away by official extortion, or ſtopped in its courſe to breed intereſt for ſome ingroſſing individuals, are grievances which the preſent motion has in view to remedy.

2dly. But great and important as the motion is in this view of it, it is ſtill more important in another, as it tends to narrow the wide ſpreading influence of the crown, that has found its way into every corner of the kingdom.

It is ſufficient to allude to this grievance, without any farther enlargement; but this argument, though perhaps the ſtrongeſt in favour of the motion, has been turned into an objection to it, as if it meant to abridge the rights of monarchy, and make the crown dependent on the parliament.

If the objection means to inſinuate that corruption is neceſſary to government, we ſhall leave that principle to confute itſelf by its own apparent iniquity.

That this motion is intended to diminiſh the conſtitutional power of the crown, we deny. The conſtitutional power of the crown we are no leſs ſolicitous to preſerve, than we are to annihilate its unconſtitutional influence. The prerogative rightly underſtood, not touched or intended to be touched by this motion, will ſupport the crown in all the ſplendour which the king's perſonal dignity requires, and with all the authority and vigour neceſſary to give due effect to the executive powers of government.

It has been argued, that this is not a proper time for reformation, when all the attention of the kingdom ſhould be employed upon the war, as the great and only object in the preſent time of diſtreſs: to which we beg leave to inſiſt that the preſent is, for that very rea-

ſon, the propereſt time, becauſe nothing is ſo eſſential to the conduct and proſecution of the war as the frugal management of that ſupply by which only it can be carried on with any proſpect of ſucceſs. Nor ought the plan of œconomy to be any longer delayed at the riſque of a general bankruptcy; and from the hiſtory of this, as well as other countries, times of neceſſity have been always times of reform.

3dly. Becauſe we conceive that the mode of a committee, which might act with a committee of the other Houſe, and might, if neceſſary, be rendered durable, and veſted with due powers by an act of the whole legiſlature, might bring back the public expenditure to its conſtitutional principle, might deviſe proper regulations for opening contracts to the propoſals of every fair bidder for reforming the abuſes of office, and the enormity of fees, with a variety of other abuſes, particularly that of large ſums of money lying in the hands of individuals, to the loſs of the ſtate.

An objection has been ſtrongly urged on the ground of an apprehenſion expreſſed by ſome lords, as if they ſeriouſly entertained it, of its producing a quarrel between the two Houſes of parliament; in conſequence of which, the public buſineſs might be obſtructed, by a claim on the part of the Houſe of Commons to an excluſive right of conſidering and providing for the ſubjects of this motion.

Such a claim certainly cannot be ſupported, as a conſequence of the claim of that Houſe to originate money bills. Not a ſingle Lord appeared to entertain an idea that ſuch a claim would be well founded. In truth, the objection, ſuppoſes it to be ill-founded, and that therefore the Houſe will reſiſt it; and yet it aſſumes that the Houſe of Commons will advance and perſiſt in this ill-founded claim. We cannot diſcover any colour for ſuch a ſuppoſition, unleſs we were to adopt the inſinuations of thoſe who repreſent the corrupt influence (which it is our wiſh to ſuppreſs) as already pervading that Houſe. Thoſe who entertain that opinion of one Houſe of parliament, will hardly think leſs diſreſpectfully of the other. To them it will ſeem a matter of indifference, whether the motion is defeated by the exertion of that influence, to excite a groundleſs claim in the one Houſe, or by a groundleſs apprehenſion of ſuch a claim in the other. But we, who would be underſtood to think with more reſpect of both, cannot entertain an apprehenſion ſo injurious to the Houſe of Commons, as that they would at this time eſpecially, and on this occaſion, have advanced ſuch a claim.

The motion has likewiſe been objected to on account of its diſqualifying perſons poſſeſſing employments or penſions, to be of the propoſed committee. We are far from ſuppoſing that the poſſeſſion of place or penſion neceſſarily corrupts the integrity of the poſſeſſor. We have ſeen, and the public have ſeen, many illuſtrious inſtances of the contrary; yet we cannot but ſuppoſe that the public expectation of advantage from this meaſure would have been leſs ſanguine, if they had ſeen perſons poſſeſſing offices ſelected to diſtinguiſh

guiſh how far their offices were uſeful or their ſalaries adequate; they perhaps would not think the poſſeſſor of a penſion or office the fitteſt judge how far that penſion or office had been merited or was neceſſary. We cannot therefore think the motion juſtly exceptionable on this ground; it rather appears to us to have been drawn with a proper attention to noble lords in that predicament, exempting them from a ſituation which they muſt neceſſarily wiſh to decline.

We conceive ourſelves warranted in the mode propoſed, by precedent as well as reaſon, and it was ſtated to the Houſe to have been recommended by the moſt approved conſtitutional authors who have written ſince the revolution; but having offered to meet any other propoſition which might carry with it ſubſtantial remedy, and no ſuch being offered, notwithſtanding the time this propoſition has lain before the Houſe, we cannot help conſidering the preſent negative as going to the ſubſtantial as well as formal part of the motion, and hold ourſelves obliged to avail ourſelves of our right of entering our proteſt againſt the rejection of the above propoſition.

4thly. We are farther impelled to preſs this motion, becauſe the object of it has been ſeconded and called for by a conſiderable majority of the people, who are aſſociating for this purpoſe, and ſeem determined to purſue it, by every legal and conſtitutional method that can be deviſed for its ſucceſs; and however ſome may affect to be alarmed, as if ſuch aſſociations tended to diſturb the peace, or encroach upon the delegated power of the other Houſe, we are perſuaded they have no other view but to collect the ſenſe of the people, and to inform the whole body of the repreſentatives, what are the ſentiments of the whole body of their conſtituents, in which reſpect their proceedings have been orderly, peaceable, and conſtitutional. And if it be aſked, what farther is to be done if theſe petitions are rejected? The beſt anſwer is, that the caſe cannot be ſuppoſed; for although upon a few ſeparate petitions it may be fairly ſaid that the other Houſe ought not to be decided by a part only of their conſtituents, yet it cannot be preſumed they will act in defiance of the united opinion of the whole people, or indeed of any great and notorious majority. It is admitted they have a power to vote as they think fit; but it is not poſſible to conceive that ſo wiſe an aſſembly will ever be raſh enough to reject ſuch petitions, and by that means cauſe this dangerous queſtion to be broached and agitated, *Whether they have not broke their truſt?* The voice of the people will certainly be complied with.

Miniſters may, as they have done in recent inſtances, deprive any man of what he holds at their pleaſure, for preſuming to exerciſe his undoubted right of thinking for himſelf on theſe or other public ſubjects: but it will not be wiſe in them to treat theſe aſſociations with contempt, or call them by the invidious name of Faction, a name by which the minority in both Houſes of parliament have been ſo frequently and ſo falſely calumniated, becauſe the name ſo applied will recoil back upon themſelves, when acting againſt the

the general ſenſe of the nation; nor will they be able to repreſent theſe numbers, ſo reſpectable in rank and property (as they did but too ſucceſsfully the diſcontented Americans), as a mob of indigent and ſeditious incendiaries, becauſe the people to whom this is addreſſed, are the very people that are abuſed, and every man bears within himſelf the teſtimony of its falſehood.

The miniſters, on this particular occaſion, cannot deceive the people.

Forteſcue,	Abingdon,
Harcourt,	Pembroke and
De Ferrars	Montgomery,
Beaulieu,	Fitzwilliam,
Camden,	Rutland,
Coventry,	Nugent Temple,
Richmond,	Bolton,
Manchester,	Courtenay,
Derby,	Stamford,
Effingham,	Tankerville,
Grafton,	J. S. Aſaph,
Portland,	Wycombe,
Ferrers,	Craven,
Cholmondeley,	Rockingham,
King,	Scarborough,
Abergavenny,	Jerſey,
J. Peterborough,	Devonſhire.

Diſſentiente, without reaſons, Radnor.

For all the above reaſons, except the fourth, Oſborne.

Die Lunæ, Mart. 6to.

Moved,

THAT whereas the Right Hon. the Marquis of Carmarthen was diſmiſſed from his office of Lord Lieutenant of the Eaſt-Riding of Yorkſhire, on the morning of the 8th of February, when his opinion was known concerning a queſtion that was to be agitated in this houſe on the evening of that day; and whereas the Right Hon. the Earl of Pembroke was likewiſe diſmiſſed from the office of Lord Lieutenant of Wiltſhire, a few days after he had given his vote upon the ſame queſtion; therefore this houſe have reaſon to ſuſpect that they were diſmiſſed in conſequence of the ſaid votes; it is reſolved therefore that an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, beſeeching him to be graciouſly pleaſed to inform the houſe, whether he was adviſed, and by whom, to diſmiſs the ſaid two noble lords for their conduct in parliament.

After a long debate, the queſtion being put,

Contents 31 Proxies 8 - 39
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DISSENTIENT,

I. Becauſe we cannot entertain a doubt, but that the two noble lords, whoſe removals from their lieutenancies have given riſe to this motion, ſuffered this mark of his Majeſty's diſpleaſure for their conduct in parliament.

The facts expreſſed of the motion were ſufficient in themſelves to ſatisfy any reaſonable perſon, that this was the ſole cauſe of their diſmiſſion, and might well have juſtified an immediate cenſure on the adviſers of that unconſtitutional meaſure. But the motion, at the ſame time that it was calculated to point the cenſure at thoſe adviſers by name, if it ſhould have been merited, gave them an opportunity of being exculpated if guiltleſs, by the ſolemn teſtimony which his Majeſty would, in ſuch caſe, have given of their innocence.

II. Becauſe the offer made by the noble lord who propoſed this addreſs that it ſhould be withdrawn, if any one of his Majeſty's miniſters

miniſters would declare upon his honour, that theſe removals were for any other cauſe than 'that' which has been alledged, and the ſilence with which miniſters thought fit to receive this propoſal, although called upon by almoſt every lord who ſpoke for the motion, is an additional reaſon for confirming us in our belief, that his Majeſty has been adviſed to remove the two noble lords from their lieutenancies for their conduct in parliament.

III. Becauſe we conſider this diſmiſſion of lords from high and honourable offices, on account of their proceedings in parliament, to be a violation of the Bill of Rights, which declares, "That proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeached or queſtioned (much leſs puniſhed) in any court or place out of parliament." And we are greatly apprehenſive of the conſequences, if this daring attempt to ſubvert one of the moſt ſacred principles of our conſtitution, ſhould paſs with impunity and grow into precedent.

IV. Becauſe the miſchievous tendency of ſuch influence is greatly augmented by the connection which the offices in queſtion (lieutenancies of counties) have with the proper conſtitution of the militia. That important branch of the national defence has been ſo altered as to have almoſt loſt ſight of the original principles of an Engliſh militia. The notorious abuſes introduced into it, and the diſregard paid to the few wholeſome regulations remaining in it, would ſoon make the militia a dangerous inſtrument in the hands of the miniſter, were it not for the exemplary zeal of thoſe gentlemen, who, ſacrificing every degree of domeſtic comfort, and ſubmitting to unneceſſary and diſtant removals from their counties, ſtill endeavour to maintain its purity in the character of its officers; and we conſider theſe alterations and abuſes as giving the more juſt grounds of apprehenſion and jealouſy, as they tend to aſſimilate the militia in principle and in habits to the ſtanding army, in which alſo dangerous innovations appear daily taking place; innovations, which though charged in the debate, were neither denied nor defended.

Laſtly, becauſe when miniſters, in the ſame moment that they are exerting the influence of the crown in a moſt corrupt and unconſtitutional manner, think fit to aſſert, in contradiction to the evidence of all our ſenſes, that it is not increaſed, and is not formidable, we can have little hope that ſuch miniſters will ever ſuffer that influence to be diminiſhed, although its diminution is one of the principal objects of the prayer and petition of the people, founded on a feeling ſenſe of the increaſed, increaſing, and formidable extent of it.

Harcourt,
Wycomb,
Craven,
Camden,
De Ferrars,
Ponſonby,
King,
Derby,
Beaulieu,
Devonſhire,
Mancheſter,
Rockingham,
Rutland,
Abingdon,
Abergavenny,
Fitzwilliam,
Richmond,
Effingham,
Radnor.

Die

Die Veneris, Aprilis 14mo.

Moved,

THAT the bill, intitled a bill for the exclusion of contractors from the lower house of parliament, be read a second time and committed.

After some debate, the question being put, there appeared

For the commitment -	41
Against it - -	60
Majority -	19

It was then moved to reject the bill.

The question was put thereupon, and resolved in the affirmative.

DISSENTIENT,

I. Because the commons, desirous of re-establishing the reputation and authority of parliament, and of giving satisfaction to the people, at a time when the most cordial and unsuspicious confidence between the representative and constituent bodies is essentially necessary, have come to a resolution, 'That it is necessary to declare, that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.'

This resolution we conceive to be undeniably true, and highly seasonable. Their commencement of the diminution (which they have solemnly engaged to make) by the bill here rejected, is no less judicious. In the midst of a war, in which nothing (among all its unhappy circumstances) is more remarkable than the prodigality with which it is carried on, it appears peculiarly necessary to remove from parliament the suspicion that the rash adoption, the obstinate continuance, and the corrupt supply of military arrangements, are connected with the support of a court majority in parliament.

II. Because the people, oppressed with actual impositions, and terrified with the certain prospect of farther and heavier burthens, have a right to be assured, that none should have a power of laying those burthens, who have an interest in increasing them. Neither is it fit that they who are the principal subjects of complaint, should sit as the controllers of their own conduct. Contracts can never be fairly made, when the parliamentary service of the contractor is a necessary, understood part of the agreement, and must be reckoned into the price. But the most unexceptionable contract being a matter of great advantage to the contractor, it becomes a means of influence even when it is not a principle of abuse. It is the greatest of all the bribes a minister has to bestow; and one day's jobb may be worth the purchase of the fee of most of the places and pensions that are held in that house.

III. Because no reasons have been assigned for the rejection of this bill, but such as appear to us frivolous or dangerous. It was argued as necessary to abate the phrenzy of virtue, which began to shew itself in the House of Commons. This new species of phrenzy we look upon to be rather a character of soundness, than a symptom of insanity; and we fairly declare, that, as we frequently come into contact with the other House, we heartily wish that that distemper may become contagious. Another reason assigned against this bill, that it is not possible for vast

vaſt pecuniary emoluments to have any influence on members of parliament, appears to originate from ſo perfect a puerility of underſtanding, or ſuch a contempt of that of the houſe and the nation, that it is mentioned as a matter to be animadverted upon, not anſwered. Of the ſame nature is the argument drawn from the ſuppoſed improbability of abuſes in contracts, becauſe the law has left in the hands of miniſters the means of proſecuting at law the ſupporters of their power, and the accomplices of their own fraud and malverſation. Theſe arguments will give little ſatisfaction to thoſe who look at the Houſe of Lords as a barrier againſt ſome poſſibly ſudden and miſtaken warmth of the Houſe of Commons, that might be injurious to the juſt prerogatives of the crown, or the rights of the people; but we will not bear the groſs abuſe of this conſtitutional power; or that this Houſe ſhould ſet itſelf as an obſtruction to the moſt honourable, manly, and virtuous reſolution ever come to by an Houſe of Commons; a reſolution made in direct conformity to the petitions of their conſtituents. We proteſt, therefore, againſt our ſtanding in the way of even the firſt ſteps taken towards promoting the independence, integrity, and virtue of a houſe of parliament.

De Ferrars,	J. St. Aſaph,
Rockingham,	Beaulieu,
Abergavenny,	Oſborne,
Forteſcue,	Cholmondeley,
Courtenay,	Mancheſter,
Wycombe,	Coventry,
Ponſonby,	St. John,
Percy,	Fitz. William,
Ferrers,	Abingdon,
Pembroke, and Portland,	
Montgomery,	Devonſhire,
Scarborough,	Harcourt,
Richmond,	Jerſey.

For the firſt and third reaſons, adopting however very heartily in the preſent ſtate of parliamentary repreſentation the ſound principles contained in the ſecond, which yet I conceive inapplicable to this bill.

RADNOR.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, June 19, 1780.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE outrages committed by bands of deſperate and abandoned men, in various parts of this metropolis, broke forth with violence into acts of felony and treaſon, had ſo far overborne all civil authority, and threatened ſo directly the immediate ſubverſion of all legal power, the deſtruction of all property, and the confuſion of every order in the ſtate, that I found myſelf obliged, by every tie of duty and affection to my people, to ſuppreſs, in every part, thoſe rebellious inſurrections, and to provide for the public ſafety, by the moſt effectual and immediate application of the force entruſted to me by parliament.

I have directed copies of the proclamations iſſued upon that occaſion, to be laid before you.

Proper orders have been given for bringing the authors and abettors of theſe inſurrections, and the perpetrators of ſuch criminal acts, to ſpeedy trial, and to ſuch condign puniſhment as the laws of their country preſcribe, and as the vindication of public juſtice demands.

Though I truſt it is not neceſſary, yet I think it right at this time, to renew to you my ſolemn aſſurances, that I have no other object but to make the laws of the realm, and the principles of our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, the rule and meaſure of my conduct; and I ſhall ever conſider it as the firſt duty of my ſtation, and the chief glory of my reign, to maintain and preſerve the eſtabliſhed religion of my kingdoms, and as far as in me lies, to ſecure and to perpetuate the rights and liberties of my people.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled.

Die Lunæ, 19° *Junii*, 1780.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We feel the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation of the outrages committed in various parts of this metropolis, by bands of deſperate and abandoned men; outrages that broke forth with ſuch violence into acts of felony and treaſon, and which threatening ſo directly the immediate ſubverſion of all legal authority, the deſtruction of all property, and the confuſion of every order in the ſtate, called loudly for the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual application of the force entruſted to your Majeſty by law.

We beg leave to teſtify our warmeſt gratitude to your Majeſty, for your paternal care and concern for the protection of your ſubjects, ſo manifeſt in the meaſures your wiſdom directed in this urgent neceſſity, to ſuppreſs in every part theſe rebellious inſurrections, and to provide for the general ſafety, by the reſtoration of public peace.

We thank your majeſty for the communication you have been pleaſed to make to this houſe, of the proclamations iſſued in this alarming conjuncture.

We learn with ſatisfaction that orders have been given for bringing the offenders to ſpeedy trial, and to ſuch condign puniſhment as the law preſcribes, and the vindication of public juſtice demands.

Although the uniform tenor of your Majeſty's conduct rendered unneceſſary the renewal of your gracious aſſurances to your parliament, yet the manner in which they are given, raiſes in us the warmeſt emotions of gratitude, affection, and duty. Such a declaration of the juſt and wiſe principles that are the rule and meaſure of your Majeſty's government, muſt endear your Majeſty more and more to all your ſubjects, and meet with the fulleſt return of attachment, confidence, and zeal.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

I thank you heartily for this addreſs, ſo full of duty to me and of zeal for your country. Your abhorrence of the rebellious inſurrections, and your unanimous approbation of the meaſures taken to ſuppreſs them, muſt have the moſt

ſalutary

ſalutary effects. Nothing can give me greater ſatisfaction than the confidence you repoſe in me. It ſhall be juſtified by the whole tenor of my reign.

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty the humble thanks of this houſe, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne; and for the communication which your Majeſty has been pleaſed to make to this houſe, of the proclamations iſſued during the late moſt dangerous and alarming diſturbances.

We think it our indiſpenſable duty to expreſs, in the ſtrongeſt terms, our abhorrence of the proceedings of thoſe tumultuous aſſemblies, and of the criminal acts of outrage and violence committed by thoſe deſperate bands of men, and our higheſt indignation againſt the authors, promoters, and perpetrators of them; and to acknowledge, with the warmeſt emotions of gratitude, duty, and affection, your Majeſty's paternal care and concern for the protection of your ſubjects, in the meaſures which your Majeſty, as the father of your people, and the guardian of public ſafety, took in the hour of extreme and imminent neceſſity, for the immediate and effectual ſuppreſſion of thoſe rebellious inſurrections.

We learn with ſatisfaction, that proper orders have been given for bringing the offenders to ſpeedy trial, and to ſuch puniſhment, as, upon conviction of their crimes, the laws preſcribe, and the vindication of public juſtice certainly demands.

Although the conſtant tenor of your Majeſty's juſt and conſtitutional government, made a renewal of your Majeſty's royal aſſurances to your parliament unneceſſary, yet we cannot but receive with great thankfulneſs, ſo ſignal a mark of your Majeſty's gracious attention; and we beg leave, on our part, to aſſure your Majeſty, that this condeſcending and endearing declaration, cannot fail of ſecuring to your Majeſty, in the hearts of your people, the moſt affectionate returns of confidence, attachment, and ſupport.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons.

Gentlemen,

I return you my cordial and particular thanks for this loyal, affectionate, and unanimous addreſs.

Union at this time, muſt have the beſt and moſt important conſequences: nothing can more powerfully aſſiſt me in preſerving the public ſafety and ſecuring reverence for the laws, and obedience to legal government. Be aſſured that it is my conſtant and ardent deſire to promote the happineſs of all my ſubjects, and to deſerve the confidence and ſupport of a free people.

On

On Saturday, July 8, his Majesty closed the Session of Parliament with the following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT gives me great satisfaction to find myself able to determine this long session of parliament, that you may be at liberty to return to your several counties, and attend to your private affairs, after so laborious a discharge of your duty in the public service; and I take this occasion to express my sincere acknowledgment for the fresh proofs you have given me of your affectionate zeal for the support of my government, and of your just estimation of the real and permanent interests of your country.

Your magnanimity and perseverance in the prosecution of this just and necessary war have enabled me to make such exertions as will, I trust, by the assistance of Divine Providence, disappoint the violent and unjust designs of my enemies, and bring them to listen to equitable and honourable terms of peace.

These exertions have already been attended with success by sea and land; and the late important and prosperous turn of affairs in North America affords the fairest prospect of the returning loyalty and affection of my subjects in the colonies, and of their happy reunion with their parent country.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I feel myself under particular obligations to thank you for the large and ample supplies you have so chearfully granted, and for the confidence you repose in me. No attention shall be wanting, on my part, to render them effectual, and to see them faithfully applied.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Let me earnestly recommend to you to assist me, by your influence and authority in your several counties, as you have by your unanimous support in parliament, in guarding the peace of the kingdom from future disturbances, and watching over the preservation of the public safety. Make my people sensible of the happiness they enjoy, and the distinguished advantages they derive from our excellent constitution in church and state. Warn them of the hazard of innovation—point out to them the fatal consequences of such commotions as have lately been excited; and let it be your care to impress on their minds this important truth, That rebellious insurrections to resist, or to reform the laws, must end either in the destruction of the persons who make the attempt, or in the subversion of our free and happy constitution.

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the twenty-fourth day of August next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the twenty-fourth day of August next.

By

By the KING.

A PROCLAMATION,

For diſſolving this preſent Parliament, and declaring the calling of another.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy-council, to diſſolve this preſent parliament, which now ſtands prorogued to Thurſday the 28th day of this inſtant September: We do, for that end, publiſh this our royal proclamation; and do hereby diſſolve the ſaid parliament accordingly: and the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, and the commiſſioners for ſhires and burghs, of the houſe of commons, are diſcharged from their meeting and attendance on Thurſday the ſaid 28th day of this inſtant September. And we being deſirous and reſolved, as ſoon as may be, to meet our people, and to have their advice in parliament, do hereby make known, to all our loving ſubjects, our royal will and pleaſure to call a new parliament; and do hereby further declare, that, with the advice of our privy-council, we have, this day, given order to our chancellor of Great-Britain to iſſue out writs, in due form, for calling a new parliament; which writs are to bear teſte on Saturday the 2d day of this inſtant September, and to be returnable on Tueſday the 31ſt day of October following.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 1ſt day of September, 1780, in the twentieth year of our reign.

God ſave the King.

Dublin Caſtle, September 2.

THIS day his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant went in ſtate to the Houſe of Peers with the uſual ſolemnity; and, the Commons being ſent for, gave the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready; after which his Excellency made the following moſt gracious ſpeech to both Houſes of Parliament:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am happy at length to congratulate you on the concluſion of this ſeſſion of parliament, though the important meaſures under deliberation muſt have made your attendance leſs irkſome to you.

If your long abſence from your ſeveral counties has been productive of any inconvenience, ſuch inconvenience is fully compenſated by permanent and ſolid benefits, the ſucceſsful conſequences of your labours.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I thank you, in his Majeſty's name, for the liberal ſupplies you have granted. Your cheerfulneſs in giving, and your attention to the eaſe of the ſubject in the mode of raiſing them, muſt be very acceptable to his Majeſty; on my part, I aſſure you they ſhall be faithfully applied.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The ſatisfaction with which the heart of every Iriſhman muſt exult at the ſcene of proſperity now opening to this country, may equal, it cannot exceed, the glow of my private feelings. And whilſt you applaud the conduct of Great-Britain in removing the re-

ſtrictions upon the trade of this kingdom, you cannot but particularly acknowledge the unequivocal demonſtrations of her ſincere affection, in admitting you, upon the moſt liberal plan, to an immediate, free, and equal intercourſe with her colonies.

The wiſe and ſalutary laws which you have framed naturally lead to the moſt beneficial enjoyment of that intercourſe; and when I reflect on thoſe objects, and on your meritorious attention to the trade, agriculture, and manufactures of this kingdom, ſo conſpicuouſly manifeſted by the laws paſſed for granting ample bounties on the export of your corn, your linen, and your ſail-cloth; by the premiums for encouraging the growth of hemp and flax-ſeed, and by the judicious proviſions for the better regulation of your manufactures, I feel a conſcious ſatisfaction, that the commerce of this kingdom has been eſtabliſhed upon an extended, firm, and laſting baſis; and that Ireland muſt, in the courſe of her future proſperity, look back to this æra, the labours of the preſent parliament, and the diffuſive indulgence of his Majeſty, with the moſt grateful veneration.

Your own diſcreet judgment will naturally ſuggeſt the expediency, when you return to your ſeveral counties, of impreſſing upon the minds of all ranks of men the various bleſſings of their preſent ſituation. Demonſtrate to them, that every effectual ſource of commercial wealth is now their own, and invites that induſtry, without which the wiſeſt commercial regulations remain a dead letter, and the bounties of nature are laviſhed in vain. Cheriſh ſuch a ſpirit of induſtry; and convince them of the effectual advantages they derive from their free and excellent conſtitution, the maintenance of every branch of which, in its juſt vigour and authority, can alone ſecure their liberties, and preſerve their happineſs.

After which the Lord Chancellor, by his Excellency's command, ſaid,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's pleaſure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tueſday the 10th day of October next, to be then here held; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tueſday the 10th day of October next.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain, in Parliament aſſembled:

The Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of York,

Sheweth,

THAT this nation hath been engaged for ſeveral years in a moſt expenſive and unfortunate war; that many of our valuable colonies, having actually declared themſelves independent, have formed a ſtrict confederacy with France and Spain, the dangerous and inveterate enemies of Great-Britain; that the conſequence of thoſe combined misfortunes hath been a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures,

factures, and land-rents of the kingdom.

Alarmed at the diminiſhed reſources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indiſpenſably neceſſary in every department of the ſtate, your petitioners obſerve with grief, that notwithſtanding the calamitous and impoveriſhed condition of the nation, much public money has been improvidently ſquandered, and that many individuals enjoy ſinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and penſions unmerited by public ſervice, to a large and ſtill increaſing amount; whence the crown has acquired a great and unconſtitutional influence, which, if not checked, may ſoon prove fatal to the liberties of this country.

Your petitioners conceiving that the true end of every legitimate government is not the emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community; and conſidering that by the conſtitution of this realm the national purſe is intruſted in a peculiar manner to the cuſtody of this honourable houſe; beg leave further to repreſent, that until effectual meaſures be taken to redreſs the oppreſſive grievances herein ſtated, the grant of any additional ſum of public money, beyond the produce of the preſent taxes, will be injurious to the rights and property of the people, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of parliament.

Your petitioners therefore, appealing to the juſtice of this honourable houſe, do moſt earneſtly requeſt, that, before any new burthens are laid upon this country, effectual meaſures may be taken by this houſe to enquire into and correct the groſs abuſes in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to reſcind and aboliſh all ſinecure places and unmerited penſions; and to appropriate the produce to the neceſſities of the ſtate in ſuch manner as to the wiſdom of parliament ſhall ſeem meet.

And your petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c. &c.

The following counties preſented petitions nearly in the ſame words:

Middleſex,	Dorſet,
Cheſter,	Devon,
Hants,	Norfolk,
Hertford	Berks,
Suſſex,	Bucks,
Huntingdon,	Nottingham,
Surry,	Kent,
Cumberland,	Northumberl.
Bedford,	Suffolk,
Eſſex,	Hereford,
Glouceſter,	Cambridge,
Somerſet,	Derby.
Wilts,	

Alſo the cities of London, Weſtminſter, York, Briſtol, and the towns of Cambridge, Nottingham, Newcaſtle, Reading, and Bridgewater. — The county of Northampton agreed to inſtruct their members on the points of the petition.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament aſſembled:

A Repreſentation and Petition of the Planters, Merchants, and other Perſons intereſted in the Iſland of Jamaica.

THAT your petitioners, in all duty and humility, beg

leave to lay before this honourable houſe ſeveral circumſtances which they preſume it is important for the houſe to know, and to which they are certain it is of the utmoſt importance to them that a due attention ſhould be paid.

Your petitioners repreſent to this honourable houſe, that the iſland of Jamaica has not been protected. They repreſent, that the temporary ſafety which it has enjoyed has been owing to the direction of the enemy's force towards other objects, and not to any intrinſic means of defence provided for that iſland by his Majeſty's miniſters. They conceive, that the ſafety of ſuch a poſſeſſion as Jamaica ought not to have been left to chance. They repreſent, that the iſland of Jamaica is inferior in value to none of the dependencies of Great-Britain; that great part even of what appears to be the interior wealth of Great-Britain itſelf is, in reality, the wealth of Jamaica, which is ſo intimately interwoven with the internal intereſt of this kingdom, that it is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh them; that a great part of the trade and navigation, a large proportion of the revenue, and very much of the mercantile and the national credit, and the value of the landed intereſt, depend immediately on its preſervation; that its defence is therefore an object as important to Great-Britain as any part of Great-Britain itſelf; and that it is an object to be provided for with ſtill greater care and foreſight, becauſe its natural means of home defence are infinitely leſs conſiderable.

They ſolemnly declare, that, conſcious of their invariable loyalty to the crown of Great-Britain, and their unbounded attachment to the proſperity of the whole empire, they are not able to conjecture for what offence, real or pretended, they have ſo long been put under this proſcription. If your petitioners had been active by factious clamours, or deluſive repreſentations, by concealing true or ſuggeſting falſe information, in betraying their ſovereign and their country into war, they might have the leſs reaſon to complain of the neglect by which they have ſuffered ſo many diſtreſſes, and have been expoſed to ſo many dangers. It is in the recollection of this honourable houſe, that, at an early period of the preſent unhappy troubles, the body of the Weſt-India planters and merchants did humbly ſtate their apprehenſions to parliament, and deprecated the unhappy meaſures which were then taken. It is the misfortune of the public, as well as theirs, that no attention was paid to their humble prayers, and that their moſt dutiful and faithful repreſentations were totally neglected.

They affirm, that they have not deſerved to be thus abandoned, from a want of having purchaſed for a valuable conſideration the protection of the ſtate. The planters have ſeen, not only with acquieſcence but pleaſure, their trade almoſt wholly confined to the mother country, the place of reſidence of the greater part, and the object of the tendereſt affection to all of them. Both planters and merchants have had the produce of their eſtates as largely taxed in Great-Britain, to the common ſupport, as any others. The aſſembly of the iſland of Jamaica has,

has, beyond any former example of liberality, and far beyond their abilities, laid deſtructive impoſitions on their eſtates and properties within the iſland. Vaſt perſonal ſervices, burthenſome in the extreme, and nearly ruinous to the preſent value of all they poſſeſs, have been chearfully given. They have borne patiently the heavy loſſes and burthens, the fatal though not unforeſeen conſequences of their ſeparation from North America. After all theſe impoſitions and taxes in England, theſe taxes and perſonal ſervices in Jamaica, and after ſufferings of every kind in this war, on ſuggeſtion from friends of government, they have had reſort in their individual characters to their almoſt exhauſted purſes, and made a large private ſubſcription for their own defence.

They repreſent, that they have been credibly informed, that at the time when adminiſtration declined to provide the neceſſary forces, either by ſea or land, for their defence, that his Majeſty's ſecretary at war publicly declared, that his Majeſty did then command more numerous forces, by ſea and land, than the moſt formidable monarch of the world had under his orders, when his power alarmed all Europe; and they are informed, that large additions to his Majeſty's forces were made ſome time after. They now alſo feel, that they are amongſt thoſe who are taxed for the maintenance of an army of upwards of ſeventy thouſand men employed in North America; and they preſume, that the ſuppreſſion of no rebellion whatever can be a more near and urgent concern of any government than the protection of its loyal and uſeful ſubjects.

They repreſent, that they have not been wanting to themſelves, by every repreſentation in their power, and every ſolicitation, to call upon his Majeſty's miniſters for the neceſſary protection. For though, from the duty of their ſtation, and their high truſt, his Majeſty's miniſters ought to have ſhewn an anxious and provident care of all his Majeſty's dominions, even if individuals, through ignorance, or want of foreſight, had neglected their own private intereſt in them; yet they humbly inform the houſe, that many ſtrong remonſtrances were made on this ſubject to his Majeſty's miniſters by your petitioners, beginning ſo early as 1773, and continued to the 8th of December, 1779; and that addreſſes on the ſame were made to his Majeſty by the aſſembly of Jamaica, as alſo a repreſentation of the want of men, ſhips, ſtores, arms, ammunition, and of every other means for their defence; yet they never did, at any time, receive from the ſaid miniſters any anſwers, other than excuſes, on account of the number of ſhips employed on the American and home ſervice, and certain looſe general aſſurances, from which they received little comfort, and have reaped no advantage; and that even the poſitive aſſurances of the governor to the aſſembly of the iſland, of his Majeſty's gracious intention that the ſquadron on that ſtation ſhould be conſiderably reinforced, have not been fulfilled.

Your petitioners moſt humbly requeſt the attention of this houſe to their paſt and preſent ſituation, pledging themſelves to prove, be-

yond a doubt, the truth of their allegations. In the mean time, your petitioners acquaint this honourable houſe, that, unleſs a ſtrong regular force be permanently eſtabliſhed in Jamaica during the war, and a conſiderable fleet ſtationed there, they cannot think that iſland in a ſtate of ſecurity. This they conceive themſelves as Engliſhmen bound to lay before the repreſentatives of the people of Great-Britain, humbly claiming protection as their undoubted right; and looking back with horror at the dangers from which (by the ſole diſpoſition of the Divine Providence) they have eſcaped, whilſt ſundry of their fellow-ſubjects are now obliged to proſtrate themſelves at the foot of the throne of the French king, to implore the mercy of that monarch, inſtead of the protection of their natural ſovereign.

The Memorial preſented by Sir Joſeph Yorke, *the* Engliſh *Ambaſſador Extraordinary at the* Hague, *the* 21*ſt Day of* March, *was to the following Purport:*

High and mighty Lords,

THE King, my maſter, has always cultivated the friendſhip of your High Mightineſſes, and has always looked upon the alliance which has ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations as founded on the wiſeſt principles, and eſſential to their mutual welfare. The principal objects of that alliance, ſupported upon the ſtrong baſis of common intereſt, are the ſecurity and proſperity of the two ſtates, the maintenance of public tranquillity, and the preſervation of that juſt equilibrium which has been ſo often troubled by the ambitious policy of the Houſe of Bourbon.

When the Court of Verſailles, in direct violation of public faith, and the common right of all ſovereigns, broke the peace by a league made with his Majeſty's rebellious ſubjects, which was avowed and formally declared by the Marquis de Noailles, when France, by immenſe preparations, manifeſted a deſign to annihilate the maritime power of England, the king thought your High Mightineſſes too ſenſible not to ſee that the welfare of the Republic was ſo cloſely connected with that of Great-Britain, as to induce you to haſten to its ſuccour. One of his Majeſty's firſt cares was to inform your High Mightineſſes of all the circumſtances of that unjuſt war, and in the critical ſituation in which the king found himſelf he did not forget the intereſts of his ancient allies, but, on the contrary, ſhewed the ſincereſt deſire to favour the trade and free navigation of the Republic as much as the welfare of his people would permit; he even refrained a long time to reclaim the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty, and though he fulfilled his own engagements, did not require the ſame from your High Mightineſſes; the reclamation in queſtion was not made till the united forces of France and Spain were ready to fall upon England at once, and attempt a landing, with the aſſiſtance of a formidable fleet. Although they were fruſtrated in that enterprize, the king's enemies are ſtill meditating the ſame projects; and it is by the expreſs order

order of his Majeſty, that the underwritten again renews, in the moſt formal manner, the demand of the ſuccours ſtipulated by different treaties, and particularly that of 1716.

Hitherto your High Mightineſſes have been ſilent upon this eſſential article, whilſt you inſiſted upon a forced interpretation of the treaty of commerce of the year 1674, againſt the abuſe of which Great-Britain at all times proteſted. This interpretation cannot be reconciled with the clear and particular ſtipulation of the ſecret article of the treaty of peace of the ſame year. An article of a treaty of commerce cannot annul ſo eſſential an article of a treaty of peace, and both are expreſsly comprehended in the principal treaty of alliance of 1678, by which your High Mightineſſes are obliged to furniſh his Majeſty with the required ſuccours. You are too wiſe and too juſt not to feel that all the engagements between powers ought to be mutually and reciprocally obſerved, and although they were agreed upon at different periods, do alike bind the contracting parties. This inconteſtable principle is the more applicable here, as the treaty of 1716 renews all the anterior engagements between the Crown of England and the Republic, and in a manner includes them in one.

The underwritten had further orders to declare to your High Mightineſſes, that he was ready to enter into conference with you to regulate, in an amicable manner, all that was neceſſary to prevent a miſunderſtanding, and every other diſagreeable event, by concerting meaſures which ſhould be both equitable and advantageous to the ſubjects of both countries; but this amicable overture was refuſed in a manner as unexpected and extraordinary as unuſual between two friendly powers: and without paying any attention either to the repeated public and private repreſentations relative to convoys, your High Mightineſſes not only granted theſe convoys to different ſorts of naval ſtores, but more particularly ordered that a certain number of men of war ſhould be ready for the future to convoy naval ammunition of all ſorts to the ports of France, and that at a time when the ſubjects of the republic enjoyed by treaty a liberty and extent of commerce far beyond what the right of nations grants to neutral powers.

This reſolution, and the orders given to Rear-admiral Count Byland, to oppoſe by force the ſearching of the merchant-ſhips brought on an incident which the friendſhip of the king deſired much to prevent; but it is notorious, that that admiral, in conſequence of his inſtructions, fired firſt at the boats under Engliſh colours, which were ſent to examine the ſhips in the manner preſcribed by the treaty of 1674.

This then is a manifeſt aggreſſion, a direct violation of that ſame treaty which your High Mightineſſes ſeem to look upon as the moſt ſacred of all. His Majeſty had before-hand made reiterated repreſentations upon the neceſſity and juſtice of the examination, which had taken place in all analogous circumſtances, and is fully authorized by the treaty. They were apprized in London,

that a number of veſſels were at the Texel, laden with naval ſtores, and particularly maſts, and large ſhip-building timber, ready to ſail for France, with or under a Dutch convoy. The event proved the truth of theſe informations, as ſeveral of theſe veſſels were found even under the ſaid convoy, the greateſt part of them eſcaped, and furniſhed France with very efficacious ſupplies, of which they ſtood in great need. Whilſt your High Mightineſſes thus aſſiſted the king's enemies, by favouring the tranſportation of theſe ſuccours, you impoſed a heavy penalty on thoſe ſubjects of the Republic who ſhould ſupply the garriſon of Gibraltar with proviſions, although that place is comprehended in the general guarantee of all the Britiſh poſſeſſions in Europe, and although at that moment Spain had diſturbed the trade of the Republic in an unprecedented and outrageous manner.

It is not only on theſe occaſions that the conduct of your High Mightineſſes towards the king, and towards the enemies of his majeſty, holds up a ſtriking contraſt to the impartial eyes of all the world. No one can be ignorant of what has paſſed in Paul Jones's affair: the aſylum granted to that pirate was directly contrary to the treaty of Breda in 1667, and to your High Mightineſſes Placard in 1756; beſides which, although your High Mightineſſes have, and ſtill continue to keep an abſolute ſilence relative to the juſt reclamations of his majeſty, yet, upon the ſimple requeſt of the king's enemies, you aſſured them you would obſerve a ſtrict and unlimited neutrality, without any exceptions of the ancient engagements of the Republic, founded on the moſt ſolemn treaties.

Notwithſtanding all this, the king is willing to perſuade himſelf, that all that has paſſed is leſs to be attributed to the real ſentiments of your High Mightineſſes than to the artifices of his enemies, who, after ſowing diſcord between the members of the States, have by threats and promiſes endeavoured to ſet them againſt their ancient ally.

His majeſty cannot think that your High Mightineſſes have reſolved to abandon a ſyſtem that the Republic has kept to for more than a century with ſo much ſucceſs and ſo much glory.

But if ſuch is the reſolution of your High Mightineſſes; if you are determined to break the alliance with Great Britain by refuſing to fulfil your engagements, things will bear a new face; the king will ſee any ſuch change with a very ſenſible regret, but the conſequences will be neceſſary and inevitable. If by an act of your High Mightineſſes the Republic ceaſe to be an ally of his majeſty, the relations between the two nations are totally changed, and they have no other connections, no other ties, than thoſe which ſubſiſt between neutral powers in friendſhip and unity. Every treaty being reciprocal, if your High Mightineſſes will not fulfil your engagements, the conſequence muſt be, that thoſe on the part of the king ceaſe to be any longer binding. It is in departing from theſe inconteſtable principles, that his majeſty has ordered the underwritten to declare to your High Mightineſſes, in the moſt

moſt amicable, but yet the moſt ſerious manner, that if, contrary to his juſt expectations, your High Mightineſſes do not, in the courſe of three weeks, from the day of the preſentation of this memorial, give a ſatisfactory anſwer relative to the ſuccours reclaimed eight months ago; his majeſty will look upon ſuch conduct as breaking off the alliance on the part of your High Mightineſſes, and will not look upon the United Provinces in any other light than on the footing of other neutral powers, unprivileged by treaty, and conſequently will ſuſpend, till further orders, all the particular ſtipulations of the treaties made in favour of the ſubjects of the Republic, particularly thoſe of the treaty of 1674, and will only hold to the general principles of the right of nations, which ſerves as a rule for neutral and unprivileged powers.

Done at the Hague, March 21, 1780. (Signed)

JOSEPH YORKE.

The following proviſional Anſwer was given to the above Memorial.

THAT their High Mightineſſes are very deſirous to coincide with the wiſhes of his Britiſh majeſty, by giving a poſitive anſwer to the memorial delivered by his ambaſſador, but that their High Mightineſſes foreſee, that from the nature of the government of the Republic, it is impoſſible to return an anſwer in three weeks time, as the memorial muſt be deliberated upon by the different provinces, and their reſolutions waited for. That their High Mightineſſes are aſſured his majeſty would not wiſh rigorouſly to keep to the before-mentioned time, that their High Mightineſſes might be able to conclude upon an anſwer in a manner conformable to the conſtitution of the Republic, in which they had no right to make any alteration, and they promiſe to accelerate the deliberations upon that head as much as poſſible.

Declaration of the Court of Great Britain, *April 17th*, 1780.

WHEREAS ſince the commencement of the war in which Great Britain is engaged by the unprovoked aggreſſion of France and Spain, repeated memorials have been preſented by his majeſty's ambaſſador to the States General of the United Provinces, demanding the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty; to which requiſition, though ſtrongly called upon in the laſt memorial of the 21ſt of March, their High Mightineſſes have given no anſwer, nor ſignified any intention of complying therewith; and whereas by the non-performance of the cleareſt engagements, they deſert the alliance that has ſo long ſubſiſted between the crown of Great Britain and the Republic, and place themſelves in the condition of a neutral power, bound to this kingdom by no treaty, every principle of wiſdom and juſtice requires that his majeſty ſhould conſider them henceforward as ſtanding only in that diſtant relation in which they have placed themſelves: his majeſty therefore having taken this matter into his royal conſideration, doth, by and with

with the advice of his privy council, judge it expedient to carry into immediate execution thoſe intentions which were formally notified in the memorial preſented by his ambaſſador on the 21ſt of March laſt, and previouſly ſignified in an official verbal declaration, made by Lord Viſcount Stormont, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, to Count Welderen, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the Republick, nearly two months before the delivery of the aforeſaid memorial: for theſe cauſes, his majeſty, by and with the advice of his privy council, doth declare, that the ſubjects of the United Provinces are henceforward to be conſidered upon the ſame footing with thoſe of other neutral ſtates not privileged by treaty; and his majeſty doth hereby ſuſpend, proviſionally, and till further order, all the particular ſtipulations reſpecting the freedom of navigation and commerce, in time of war, of the ſubjects of the States General, contained in the ſeveral treaties now ſubſiſting betwen his majeſty and the Republick, and more particularly thoſe contained in the marine treaty between Great Britain and the United Provinces, concluded at London, December $\frac{1}{11}$, 1674.

From a humane regard to the intereſts of individuals, and a deſire to prevent their ſuffering by any ſurprize, his majeſty, by and with the advice of his privy council, doth declare, that the effect of this his majeſty's order ſhall take place at the following terms, viz.

In the channel and the North ſeas, twelve days after the date hereof.

From the channel, the Britiſh ſeas, and the North ſeas, as far as the Canary Iſlands incluſively, either in the ocean or Mediterranean, the term ſhall be ſix weeks from the aforeſaid date.

Three months from the ſaid Canary Iſlands as far as the equinoctial line or equator.

And laſtly, ſix months beyond the ſaid line or equator, and in all other parts of the world, without any exception or other more particular deſcription of time and place.

STEPH. COTTREL.

The Memorial preſented to their High Mightineſſes *by Prince* Gallitzin, *the* Ruſſian *Miniſter, on the Part of the Empreſs his Sovereign.*

High and Mighty Lords,

THE underwritten envoy extraordinary from the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias has the honour to communicate to you a copy of the declaration which the empreſs his ſovereign has made to the belligerent powers. Your High Mightineſſes may look upon this communication as a particular mark of the attention of the Empreſs for the Republick, which is equally intereſted in the reaſons which occaſioned the declaration. He has further orders to declare to your High Mightineſſes, in the name of her Imperial Majeſty, that how deſirous ſoever ſhe may be on the one hand to maintain the ſtricteſt neutrality during the preſent war, yet her majeſty is as determined

determined to take the moſt efficacious means to ſupport the honour of the Ruſſian flag, the ſecurity of the trade, and the navigation of her ſubjects, and not ſuffer either to be hurt by any of the belligerent powers; that, in order to prevent on this occaſion any miſunderſtanding or falſe interpretation, ſhe thought it neceſſary to ſpecify in the declaration the limits of a free trade, and what is called contraband. That, if the definition of the former is founded upon the cleareſt notions of natural right, the latter is literally taken from the treaty of commerce between Ruſſia and Great Britain, by which her Imperial Majeſty means inconteſtably to prove her good faith and impartiality towards each party; that ſhe conſequently apprehends that the other trading powers will immediately come into her way of thinking relative to neutrality.

From theſe conſiderations, her Imperial Majeſty has ordered the underwritten to invite your High Mightineſſes to make a common cauſe with her, as ſuch an union may ſerve to protect the trade and navigation, and at the ſame time obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and to communicate to your High Mightineſſes the regulation ſhe has in conſequence taken.

The ſame invitation has been made to the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Liſbon, in order that by the united endeavours of all the neutral maritime powers, a natural ſyſtem, founded on juſtice, might be eſtabliſhed and legaliſed in favour of the trade of neutral nations, which by its real advantages might ſerve for a rule for future ages.

The underwritten does not doubt but your High Mightineſſes will, without delay, take the invitation of her Imperial Majeſty into conſideration, and concur in immediately making a declaration to the belligerent powers, founded on the ſame principles as that of the empreſs, explaining at the ſame time the nature of a free and contraband trade, conformable to their reſpective treaties with the other nations.

For the reſt the underwritten has the honour to aſſure your High Mightineſſes, that if, to eſtabliſh ſuch a glorious and advantageous ſyſtem upon the moſt ſolid baſis, they wiſhed to open a negociation with the above-mentioned neutral powers on this ſubject, the empreſs, his ſovereign, is ready to join you.

Your Mightineſſes will eaſily ſee the neceſſity of accelerating your reſolutions upon objects of ſuch importance and advantage for humanity in general. The underwritten begs of you to give him a ſpeedy anſwer.

DEMETRI PRINCE GALLITZIN.

Hague, April 3, 1780.

Declaration from the Empreſs of Ruſſia *to the Courts of* London, Verſailles, *and* Madrid.

THE Empreſs of all the Ruſſias has ſo fully manifeſted her ſentiments of equity and moderation, and has given ſuch evident proofs, during the courſe of the war that ſhe ſupported againſt the Ottoman Porte, of the regard ſhe has for the rights of neutrality and the liberty of univerſal

verſal commerce, as all Europe can witneſs. This conduct, as well as the principles of impartiality that ſhe has diſplayed during the preſent war, juſtly inſpires her with the fulleſt confidence, that her ſubjects would peaceably enjoy the fruits of their induſtry and the advantages belonging to a neutral nation. Experience has nevertheleſs proved the contrary. Neither the abovementioned conſiderations, nor the regard to the rights of nations, have prevented the ſubjects of her Imperial Majeſty from being often moleſted in their navigation, and ſtopped in their operations, by thoſe of the belligerent powers.

Theſe hindrances to the liberty of trade in general, and to that of Ruſſia in particular, are of a nature to excite the attention of all neutral nations. The empreſs finds herſelf obliged therefore to free it by all the means compatible with her dignity and the well-being of her ſubjects; but, before ſhe puts this into execution, and with a ſincere intention to prevent any future infringements, ſhe thought it but juſt to publiſh to all Europe the principles ſhe means to follow, which are the propereſt to prevent any miſunderſtanding, or any occurrences that may occaſion it. Her Imperial Majeſty does it with the more confidence, as ſhe finds theſe principles coincident with the primitive right of nations which every people may reclaim, and which the belligerent powers cannot invalidate without violating the laws of neutrality, and without diſavowing the maxims they have adopted in the different treaties and public engagements.

They are reducible to the following points:

Firſt, That all neutral ſhips may freely navigate from port to port, and on the coaſts of nations at war.

Secondly, That the effects belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid warring powers ſhall be free in all neutral veſſels, except contraband merchandiſe.

Thirdly, That the empreſs, as to the ſpecification of the abovementioned merchandiſe, holds to what is mentioned in the 10th and 11th articles of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, extending her obligations to all the powers at war.

Fourthly, That, to determine what is meant by a blocked-up port, this is only to be underſtood of one which is ſo well kept in by the ſhips of the power that attacks it, and which keep their places, that it is dangerous to enter into it.

Fifthly, That theſe principles ſerve as a rule for proceedings and judgments upon the legality of prizes.

Her Imperial Majeſty, in making theſe points public, does not heſitate to declare, that to maintain them, and to protect the honour of her flag, the ſecurity of the trade and navigation of her ſubjects, ſhe has prepared the greateſt part of her maritime forces. This meaſure will not, however, influence the ſtrict neutrality ſhe does obſerve, and will obſerve, ſo long as ſhe is not provoked and forced to break the bounds of moderation and perfect impartiality. It will be only in this extremity that her fleet have orders to go wherever

wherever honour, intereſt, and need may require.

In giving this ſolemn aſſurance with the uſual openneſs of her character, the empreſs cannot do other than promiſe herſelf that the belligerent powers, convinced of the ſentiments of juſtice and equity which animate her, will contribute towards the accompliſhment of theſe ſalutary purpoſes, which manifeſtly tend to the good of all nations, and to the advantage even of thoſe at war. In conſequence of which, her Imperial Majeſty will furniſh her commanding officers with inſtructions conformable to the above-mentioned principles, founded upon the primitive laws of people, and ſo often adopted in their conventions.

Anſwer from the Court of Great Britain *to the Declaration of the Empreſs of* Ruſſia; *ſent to the* Britiſh *Envoy at* Peterſburgh, *April* 23, 1780.

DURING the courſe of the war, wherein his Britannick Majeſty finds himſelf engaged through the unprovoked aggreſſion of France and Spain, he hath conſtantly manifeſted his ſentiments of juſtice, equity, and moderation, in every part of his conduct. His majeſty hath acted towards friendly and neutral powers according to their own procedure reſpecting Great Britain, and conformable to the cleareſt principles, generally acknowledged as the law of nations, being the only law between powers where no treaties ſubſiſt, and agreeable to the tenour of his different engagements with other powers; thoſe engagements have altered this primitive law, by mutual ſtipulations, proportioned to the will and convenience of the contracting parties.

Strongly attached to her Majeſty of all the Ruſſias, by the ties of reciprocal friendſhip, and common intereſt, the king, from the commencement of thoſe troubles, gave the moſt preciſe orders reſpecting the flag of her Imperial Majeſty, and the commerce of her ſubjects, agreeable to the law of nations, and the tenour of the engagements ſtipulated by his treaty of commerce with her, and to which he ſhall adhere with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs.

The orders to this intent have been renewed, and the utmoſt care will be taken for their ſtricteſt execution.

It may be preſumed, not the leaſt irregularity will happen; but in caſe any infringements, contrary to theſe repeated orders, take place, the Courts of Admiralty, which in this, like all other countries, are eſtabliſhed to take cognizance of ſuch matters, and in all caſes do judge ſolely by the law of nations, and by the ſpecifick ſtipulations of different treaties, will redreſs every hardſhip in ſo equitable a manner, that her Imperial Majeſty ſhall be perfectly ſatisfied, and acknowledge a like ſpirit of juſtice which ſhe herſelf poſſeſſes.

Anſwer from the King of France *to the Declaration of the Empreſs of* Ruſſia.

THE war in which the king is engaged having no other object than the attachment of his majeſty

jeſty to the freedom of the ſeas, he could not but with the trueſt ſatisfaction ſee the Empreſs of Ruſſia adopt the ſame principle, and reſolve to maintain it. That which her Imperial Majeſty claims from the belligerent powers is no other than the rules already preſcribed to the French marine, the execution of which is maintained with an exactitude known and applauded by all Europe.

The liberty of neutral veſſels, reſtrained only in a few caſes, is the direct conſequence of neutral right, the ſafeguard of all nations, and the relief even of thoſe at war. The king has been deſirous, not only to procure a freedom of navigation to the ſubjects of the Empreſs of Ruſſia, but to thoſe of all the ſtates who hold their neutrality, and that upon the ſame conditions as are announced in the treaty to which his majeſty this day anſwers.

His majeſty thought he had taken a great ſtep for the general good, and prepared a glorious epocha for his reign, by fixing, by his example, the rights which every belligerent power may, and ought to acknowledge to be due to neutral veſſels. His hopes have not been deceived, as the empreſs, in avowing the ſtricteſt neutrality, has declared in favour of a ſyſtem which the king is ſupporting at the price of his people's blood, and that her majeſty adopts the ſame rights as he would wiſh to make the baſis of the maritime code.

If freſh orders were neceſſary to prevent the veſſels of her Imperial Majeſty from being diſturbed in their navigation by the ſubjects of the king, his majeſty would immediately give them; but the empreſs will no doubt be ſatisfied with the diſpoſitions made by his majeſty in the regulations he has publiſhed. They do not hold by circumſtances only, but they are founded on the right of nations, and quite ſuitable to a prince who finds the happineſs of his own kingdom in that of general proſperity. The king wiſhes her Imperial Majeſty would add to the means ſhe has fixed to determine what merchandizes are reckoned contraband in time of war, preciſe rules in the form of the ſea-papers with which the Ruſſian ſhips will be furniſhed.

With this precaution, his majeſty is aſſured nothing will happen to make him regret the having put the Ruſſian navigators on as advantageous a footing as can be in time of war. Happy circumſtances have more than once occurred to prove to the courts how important it is for them to explain themſelves freely relative to their reſpective intereſts.

His majeſty is very happy to have explained his way of thinking to her Imperial Majeſty upon ſo intereſting a point for Ruſſia, and the trading powers of Europe. He the more ſincerely applauds the principles and views of the empreſs, as his majeſty partakes of the ſame ſentiments which have brought her majeſty to adopt thoſe meaſures, which muſt be to the advantage of her own ſubjects, and all other nations.

Verſailles, April 25, 1780.

Anſwer from the King of Spain, *to the Declaration of the Empreſs of* Ruſſia.

THE king, being informed of the empreſs's ſentiments with reſpect

ſpect to the belligerent and neutral powers, by a memorial remitted to the Compte de Florida Blanca, on the 15th inſt. by Mr. Etienne de Zinowief, Miniſter to her Imperial Majeſty: the king conſiders this as the effect of a juſt confidence which his majeſty has on his part merited; and it is yet more agreeable that the principles adopted by this ſovereign ſhould be the ſame as have always guided the king, and which his majeſty has for a long time, but without ſucceſs, endeavoured to cauſe England to obſerve, while Spain remained neuter. Theſe principles are founded in juſtice, equity, and moderation; and theſe ſame principles Ruſſia and all the other powers have experienced in the reſolutions formed by his majeſty; and it has been entirely owing to the conduct of the Engliſh navy, both in the laſt and the preſent war (a conduct wholly ſubverſive of the received rules among neutral powers) that his majeſty has been obliged to follow their example; ſince the Engliſh paying no reſpect to a neutral flag, if the ſame be laden with effects belonging to the enemy, even if the articles ſhould not be contraband, and that flag not uſing any means of defending itſelf, there could not be any juſt cauſe why Spain ſhould not make repriſals, to indemnify herſelf for the great diſadvantages ſhe muſt otherwiſe labour under. The neutral powers have alſo laid themſelves open to the inconveniences they have ſuffered, by furniſhing themſelves with double papers, and other artifices, to prevent the capture of their veſſels; from which have followed captures and detentions innumerable, and other diſagreeable conſequences, though in reality not ſo prejudicial as pretended; on the contrary, ſome of theſe detentions have turned to the advantage of the proprietors, as the goods, being ſold in the ports where they were condemned, have frequently gone off at a higher price than they would have done at the place of their deſtination.

The king, nevertheleſs, not contented with theſe proofs of his juſtification, which have been manifeſt to all Europe, will this day have the glory of being the firſt to give the example of reſpecting the neutral flag of all the courts that have conſented, or ſhall conſent, to defend it, till his majeſty finds what part the Engliſh navy takes, and whether they will, together with their privateers, keep within proper bounds. And to ſhew to all the neutral powers how much Spain is deſirous of obſerving the ſame rules in time of war as ſhe was directed by whilſt neuter, his majeſty conforms to the other points contained in the declaration of Ruſſia. To be underſtood, nevertheleſs, that, with regard to the blockade of Gibraltar, the danger of entering ſubſiſts, as determined by the fourth article of the ſaid declaration. Theſe dangers may, however, be avoided by the neutral powers, if they conform to thoſe rules of precaution eſtabliſhed by his majeſty's declaration of the 13th of laſt March, which has been communicated to the Court of Peterſburg by his miniſter.

FLORIDA BLANCA.

At Aranjuez, 18 April, 1780.

Declaration of the King of Denmark *and* Norway, *to the Courts of* London, Verſailles, *and* Madrid.

IF the moſt exact and perfect neutrality, with the moſt regular navigation, and the moſt inviolable reſpect to treaties, could have kept free the commerce of the ſubjects of the King of Denmark and Norway from the inroads of the powers with whom he is at peace, free and independent, it would not be neceſſary to take meaſures to inſure to his ſubjects that liberty to which they have the moſt incontrovertible right. The King of Denmark has always founded his glory, and his grandeur, upon the eſteem and confidence of other people. It has been his rule, from the beginning of his reign, to teſtify to all the powers, his friends, a conduct the moſt capable of convincing them of his pacific intentions, and of his deſire to contribute to the general happineſs of Europe. His proceedings have always been conformable to theſe principles, againſt which nothing can be alledged; he has not, till now, addreſſed himſelf, but to the powers at war, to obtain a redreſs of his griefs; and he has never wanted moderation in his demands, nor acknowledgments when they have received the ſucceſs they deſerved: but the neutral navigation has been too often moleſted, and the moſt innocent commerce of his ſubjects too frequently troubled; ſo that the king finds himſelf obliged to take proper meaſures to aſſure to himſelf and his allies the ſafety of commerce and navigation, and the maintenance of the inſeparable rights of liberty and independence. If the duties of neutrality are ſacred, the law of nations has alſo its rights avowed by all impartial powers, eſtabliſhed by cuſtom, and founded upon equity and reaſon. A nation independent and neuter, does not loſe by the war of others the rights which ſhe had before the war, becauſe peace exiſts between her and all the belligerent powers. Without receiving or being obliged to follow the laws of either of them, ſhe is allowed to follow, in all places (contraband excepted) the traffic which ſhe would have a right to do, if peace exiſted with all Europe, as it exiſts with her. The king pretends to nothing beyond what the neutrality allows him. This is his rule, and that of his people; and the king cannot accord to the principle, that a power at war has a right to interrupt the commerce of his ſubjects. He thinks it due to himſelf, and his ſubjects, faithful obſervers of theſe rules, and to the powers at war themſelves, to declare to them the following principles, which he has always held, and which he will always avow and maintain, in concert with the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias, whoſe ſentiments he finds entirely conformable with his own.

I. That neutral veſſels have a right to navigate freely from port to port, even on the coaſts of the powers at war.

II. That the effects of the ſubjects of the powers at war ſhall be free in neutral veſſels, except ſuch as are deemed contraband.

III. That nothing is to be underſtood under the denominations of contraband, that is not expreſly

preſsly mentioned as ſuch in the third article of his treaty of commerce with Great Britain, in the year 1670, and the 26th and 27th articles of his treaty of commerce with France, in the year 1742; and the king will equally maintain theſe rules with thoſe powers with whom he has no treaty.

IV. That he will look upon as a fort blocked up, into which no veſſel can enter without evident danger, on account of veſſels of war ſtationed there, which form an effectual blockade.

V. That theſe principles ſerve for rules in procedure, and that juſtice ſhall be expeditiouſly rendered, after the rules of the ſea, conformably to treaty and uſage received.

VI. His majeſty does not heſitate to declare, that he will maintain theſe principles with the honour of his flag, and the liberty and independence of the commerce and navigation of his ſubjects; and that it is for this purpoſe he has armed a part of his navy, although he is deſirous to preſerve, with all the powers at war, not only a good underſtanding, but all the friendſhip which the neutrality can admit of. The king will never recede from theſe principles, unleſs he is forced to it: he knows the duties and the obligations, he reſpects them as he does his treaties, and deſires no other than to maintain them. His majeſty is perſuaded, that the belligerent powers will acknowledge the juſtice of his motives; that they will be as averſe as himſelf to doing any thing that may oppreſs the liberties of mankind, and that they will give their orders to their admiralty and to their officers, conformably to the principles above recited, which tend to the general happineſs and intereſt of all Europe.

Copenhagen, July 8, 1780.

Declaration of the King of Sweden *to the ſame Courts.*

EVER ſince the beginning of the preſent war, the king has taken particular care to manifeſt his intentions to all Europe. He impoſed unto himſelf the law of a perfect neutrality; he fulfilled all the duties thereof, with the moſt ſcrupulous exactitude; and in conſequence thereof, he thought himſelf entitled to all the prerogatives naturally appertaining to the qualification of a ſovereign perfectly neuter. But notwithſtanding this, his commercial ſubjects have been obliged to claim his protection, and his majeſty has found himſelf under the neceſſity to grant it to them.

To effect this, the king ordered laſt year a certain number of men of war to be fitted out. He employed a part thereof on the coaſts of his kingdom, and the reſt ſerved as convoys for the Swediſh merchant ſhips in the different ſeas which the commerce of his ſubjects required them to navigate. He acquainted the ſeveral belligerent powers with theſe meaſures and was preparing to continue the ſame during the courſe of this year, when other courts, who had likewiſe adopted a perfect neutrality, communicated their ſentiments unto him, which the king found entirely conformable to his own, and tending to the ſame object.

The Empreſs of Ruſſia cauſed a declaration to be delivered to the Courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid, in which ſhe acquainted them of her reſolution to protect the commerce of her ſubjects, and to defend the univerſal rights and prerogatives of neutral nations. This declaration was founded upon ſuch juſt principles of the law of nations and the ſubſiſting treaties, that it was impoſſible to call them into queſtion. The king found them entirely concordant with his own cauſe, and with the treaty concluded in the year 1666, between Sweden and France; and his majeſty could not forbear to acknowledge and to adopt the ſame principles, not only with regard to thoſe powers, with whom the ſaid treaties are in force, but alſo with regard to ſuch others as are already engaged in the preſent war, or may be involved therein hereafter, and with whom the king has no treaties to reclaim. It is the univerſal law, and when there are no particular engagements exiſting, it becomes obligatory upon all nations.

In conſequence thereof, the king declares hereby again, "That he will obſerve the ſame neutrality, and with the ſame exactitude as he has hitherto done. He will enjoin all his ſubjects, under rigorous pains, not to act in any manner whatever contrary to the duties which a ſtrict neutrality impoſes unto them; but he will effectually protect their lawful commerce, by all poſſible means, whenever they carry on the ſame, conformably to the principles here above mentioned.

Explanation which the Court of Sweden *has demanded, relative to the Propoſal which the Court of* Ruſſia *has made for the reciprocal Protection and Navigation of their Subjects.*

I. HOW and in what manner a reciprocal protection and mutual aſſiſtance ſhall be given.

II. Whether each particular power ſhall be obliged to protect the general commerce of the whole, or if in the mean time it may employ a part of its armament in the protection of its own particular commerce.

III. If ſeveral of theſe combined ſquadrons ſhould meet, or, for example, one or more of their veſſels, what ſhall be the rule of their conduct towards each other, and how far ſhall the neutral protection extend.

IV. It ſeems eſſential to agree upon the manner in which repreſentations ſhall be made to the powers at war, if, notwithſtanding our meaſures, their ſhips of war, or armed veſſels, ſhould continue to interrupt our commerce in any manner. Muſt theſe remonſtrances be made in the general name of the united powers, or ſhall each particular power plead its own cauſe only?

V. Laſtly, it appears eſſentially neceſſary to provide againſt this poſſible event, where one of the united powers ſeeing itſelf driven to extremities againſt any of the powers actually at war, ſhould claim the aſſiſtance of the allies in this convention to do her juſtice; in what manner can this be beſt concerted? A circumſtance which equally

equally requires a ſtipulation, that the repriſals in that caſe ſhall not be at the will of ſuch party injured, but that the common voice ſhall decide: otherwiſe an individul power might at its pleaſure draw the reſt againſt their inclinations and intereſts into diſagreeable extremities, or break the whole league, and reduce matters into their original ſtate, which would render the whole fruitleſs and of no effect.

Anſwer of the Court of Ruſſia.

I. AS to the manner in which protection and mutual aſſiſtance ſhall be granted, it muſt be ſettled by a formal convention, to which all the neutral powers will be invited, the principal end of which is, to inſure a free navigation to the merchant ſhips of all nations. Whenever ſuch veſſel ſhall have proved from its papers that it carries no contraband goods, the protection of a ſquadron, or veſſels of war, ſhall be granted her, under whoſe care ſhe ſhall put herſelf, and which ſhall prevent her being interrupted. From hence it follows:

II. That each power muſt concur in the general ſecurity of commerce. In the mean time, the better to accompliſh this object, it will be neceſſary to ſettle, by means of a ſeparate article, the places and diſtances which may be judged proper for the ſtation of each power. From that method will ariſe this advantage, that all the ſquadrons of the allies will form a kind of chain, and be able to aſſiſt each other; the particular arrangement to be confined only to the knowledge of the allies, though the convention in all other points, will be communicated to the powers at war, accompanied with all the proteſtations of a ſtrict neutrality.

III. It is undoubtedly the principle of a perfect equality, which muſt regulate this point. We ſhall follow the common mode with regard to ſafety. In caſe the ſquadrons ſhould meet and engage, the commanders will conform to the uſages of the ſea ſervice, becauſe, as is obſerved above, the reciprocal protection, under theſe conditions, ſhould be unlimited.

IV. It ſeems expedient that the repreſentations mentioned in this article be made by the party aggrieved; and that the miniſters of the other confederate powers ſupport thoſe remonſtrances in the moſt forcible and efficacious manner.

V. We feel all the importance of this conſideration; and, to render it clear, it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the caſe.

If any one of the allied powers ſhould ſuffer itſelf to be drawn in by motives contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles of a neutrality and perfect impartiality, ſhould injure its laws, or extend their bounds, it cannot certainly be expected that the others ſhould eſpouſe the quarrel; on the contrary, ſuch a conduct would be deemed an abandoning the ties which unite them. But if the inſult offered to one of the allies ſhould be hoſtile to the principles adopted and announced in the face of all Europe, or ſhould be marked with the character of hatred and animoſity, inſpired by reſentment, theſe common meaſures

ſures of the confederacy, which have no other tendency than to make, in a preciſe and irrevocable manner, laws for the liberty of commerce, and the rights of every neutral nation, then it ſhall be held indiſpenſable for the united powers to make a common cauſe of it (at ſea only) without its being a ground-work for other operations, as theſe connections are purely maritime, having no other object than naval commerce and navigation.

From all that is ſaid above, it evidently reſults, that the common will of all, founded upon the principles admitted and adopted by the contracting parties, muſt alone decide, and that it will always be the fixed baſis of the conduct and operations of this union. Finally, we ſhall obſerve, that theſe conventions ſuppoſe no other naval armament than what ſhall be conformable to circumſtances, according as thoſe ſhall render them neceſſary, or as may be agreed. It is probable that this agreement, once ratified and eſtabliſhed, will be of the greateſt conſequence; and that the belligerent powers will find in it ſufficient motives to perſuade them to reſpect the neutral flag, and prevent their provoking the reſentment of a reſpectable communion, founded under the auſpices of the moſt evident juſtice, and the ſole idea of which is received with the univerſal applauſe of all impartial Europe.

Papers which were communicated by Sir Joſeph Yorke, *by expreſs Orders from the King his Maſter, to his Serene Highneſs the Prince Stadtholder, and which were taken out of Mr.* Laurens's *Trunk.*

THE following are the outlines of a treaty of commerce, which, agreeably to the orders and inſtructions of Mr. Engelbert Francis Van Berkel, Counſellor and Penſionary of the city of Amſterdam, directed to me, John de Neufville, citizen of the ſaid city of Amſterdam, I have examined, weighed, and regulated with William Lee, Eſq; commiſſioner from the Congreſs, as a treaty of commerce, deſtined to be or as might be concluded hereafter, between their High Mightineſſes the States-General of the Seven United Provinces of Holland, and the United States of North America.

Done at Aix-la-Chapelle, the 4th of September, 1778.

Signed, JOHN DE NEUFVILLE.

I hereby certify that theabove is a true copy.

Signed, SAMUEL W. STOKTON.

No. I. *Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the Republic of Holland and the United States of* America.

THE preamble recites, that the ſaid contracting ſtates of Holland and America, wiſhing to eſtabliſh a treaty of commerce, have reſolved to fix it on the baſis of a perfect equality, and the reciprocal utility ariſing from the equitable laws of a free trade; provided that the contracting parties ſhall be at liberty to admit, as they think good, other nations to partake of the advantages ariſing from the ſaid trade. Actuated

ed by the above equitable principles, the forementioned contracting parties have agreed on the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be a permanent, unalterable, and universal peace and amity, established between their High Mightinesses of the Seven Provinces of Holland, and the United States of North America; as well as between their respective subjects, islands, towns and territories, situate under the jurisdiction of the respective states above mentioned, and their inhabitants, without any distinction whatsoever of persons or sexes.

II. The subjects of the United Provinces of Holland shall be liable only to such duties as are paid by the natives and inhabitants of North America, in all the countries, ports, islands, and towns belonging to the said states; and shall enjoy the rights, liberties, privileges, immunities and exemptions in their trade and navigation, common to the said natives and inhabitants, when the subjects of Holland shall have occasion to pass from one American state to another, as well as when bound from thence to any part of the world.

III. The privileges, &c. granted by the foregoing article to the States of Holland, are, by the present, confirmed to the inhabitants of North America.

IV. The respective subjects of the contracting parties, as well as the inhabitants of the countries, islands, or towns belonging to the said parties, shall be at liberty, without producing a written permission, private or public pass, to travel by land or water, or in whatever manner they think best, through the kingdoms, territories, provinces, &c. or dominions whatever, of either of the confederated states, to have their free egress and regress, to remain in the said places, and during the whole time be at liberty to purchase every thing necessary to their own subsistence and use: they shall also be treated with every mark of reciprocal friendship and favour. Provided nevertheless, that in every circumstance they demean themselves in perfect conformity with the laws, statutes, and ordinances of those said kingdoms, towns, &c. where they may sojourn; treating each other with mutual friendship, and keeping up among themselves the most perfect harmony, by means of a constant correspondence.

V. The subjects of the contracting powers, and the inhabitants of all places belonging to the said powers, shall be at liberty to carry their ships and goods (such as are not forbidden by the law of the respective states) into all ports, places, &c. belonging to the said powers, and to tarry, without any limitation of time: to hire whole houses, or in part: to buy and purchase from the manufacturer or retailer, either in the public markets, fairs, &c. all sorts of goods and merchandize not forbidden by any particular law: to open warehouses for the sale of goods and effects imported from other parts; nor shall they be at any time forced against their consent, to bring the said goods and ware to the markets and fairs; provided, nevertheless, that they do not dispose of them by retail, or elsewhere: they shall not, however, be liable to any tax

or duties, on this or any other account, except thoſe only which are to be paid for their ſhips or goods, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the reſpective ſtates, and at the rate ſtipulated by the preſent treaty. Moreover, they ſhall be entirely at liberty to depart, without the leaſt hindrance, (this extends alſo to their wives, children, and ſuch ſervants who may be deſirous to follow their maſter) and to take with them all goods bought or imported at any time; and for ſuch places as they may think proper, by land, or ſea, or rivers, or lakes; all privileges, laws, conceſſions, immunities, &c. to the contrary notwithſtanding.

VI. In regard to religious worſhip, the moſt unbounded liberty ſhall be granted to the ſubjects of the ſaid confederate ſtates, for themſelves and families. They ſhall not be compelled to frequent the churches, &c. but ſhall have full liberty to perform divine ſervice, after their own manner, without any moleſtation in either church or chapel, or private houſes *(apertis foribus)*. It is farther provided, that any ſubject of one of the contracting powers dying in any place belonging to the other, ſhall be interred in decent and convenient places, allotted for that purpoſe, and, in fine, that no inſult ſhall, at any time, or in any manner whatever, be offered to the dead or interred bodies.

VII. It is farther agreed and ſettled, that in all duties, impoſts, taxes, &c. laid on goods, perſons, merchandize, &c. of each and every ſubject of the contracting powers, under any denomination whatſoever, the ſaid ſubjects, inhabitants, &c. ſhall enjoy equal privileges, franchiſes, immunities, either in the courts of juſtice, and in every matter of trade, commerce, or any other caſe, and ſhall be treated with the ſame favour and diſtinction hitherto granted, or hereafter to be granted to any foreign nation whatſoever.

VIII. Their High Mightineſſes, the States General of the Seven United Provinces, ſhall uſe the moſt efficacious means in their power, to protect the ſhips and goods belonging to any of the United States of America, be they private or public property, when in the ports, roads, or ſeas adjoining the ſaid iſlands, &c. belonging to their ſaid High Mightineſſes, and to uſe all their endeavours to bring about a reſtitution to be made to the owners, or their agents, of all veſſels and goods captured within their juriſdiction; and the ſhips of war belonging to their ſaid High Mightineſſes ſhall take under their protection, and convoy the ſhips belonging to the ſaid American States, or any of the ſubjects or inhabitants thereof, following the ſame courſe, and defend the ſaid ſhips as long as they ſail in company, againſt all attacks, violence, or oppreſſion, in like manner as they are in duty bound to defend the ſhips of their High Mightineſſes the Seven United Provinces of Holland.

IX. By this article, the ſame obligation is laid on the American States, in favour of the ſhipping, &c. belonging to thoſe of Holland.

X. Their High Mightineſſes the States of Holland ſhall interpoſe,

poſe, and employ their good offices in favour of the ſaid American States, their ſubjects and inhabitants, with the Emperor of Morocco, the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and all along the coaſt of Barbary and Africa, and with the ſubjects of the ſaid powers, that the ſhips, &c. of the ſaid American States, be as much as poſſible, and to the beſt advantage, protected againſt the violences, inſults, depredations, &c. of the aboveſaid princes and ſubjects on the coaſt of Barbary and Africa.

XI. It ſhall be permitted and granted to each and every ſubject and inhabitant of the contracting powers, to leave, bequeath, or diſpoſe of, in caſe of ſickneſs, or at their death, all effects, goods, merchandiſes, ready money, &c. being their property, at or before their deceaſe, in any town, iſland, &c. belonging to the reſpective contracting powers, in favour of ſuch perſon or perſons, as they may think proper. Moreover, whether the ſaid ſubjects ſhould die after having made ſuch wills, or inteſtate, their lawful heirs, executors, or adminiſtrators, dwelling in any part of the poſſeſſions of the contracting powers, or aliens coming from other countries, ſhall be at liberty, without hindrance or delay, to claim, and take poſſeſſion of, all ſuch goods and effects, conformably to the reſpective laws of each country. Nor ſhall their right be diſputed, under pretence of any prerogative, peculiar to any ſeparate province, or perſon whatſoever. Provided, nevertheleſs, that the claim to the effects of a perſon who died inteſtate, be ſupported by ſuch proofs as the laws of either of the contracting powers have provided in ſuch caſes; all laws, ſtatutes, edicts, *droits d'Aubaine*, &c. to the contrary notwithſtanding.

XII. The effects and property of the ſubjects of either of the contracting powers, dying in any town, iſland, &c. belonging to the other, ſhall be ſequeſtered for the uſe of the lawful heirs and ſucceſſors of the deceaſed. The council, or public miniſter of the nation, to which the perſon thus dying belonged, ſhall take an inventory of all ſuch goods, effects, papers, writings, and books of accounts of the deceaſed. The ſaid inventory to be delivered into the hands of three merchants of known and approved integrity, who ſhall be nominated for the purpoſe of acting as truſtees to the heirs, executors, &c. or creditors of the deceaſed: nor ſhall any court of judicature interfere, unleſs the ſaid heirs, &c. ſhould require it in the due courſe of law.

XIII. The reſpective ſubjects of the contracting parties, ſhall be at liberty to chooſe for themſelves advocates, attornies, notaries, ſolicitors, and agents; to this end, that ſuch advocates, &c. ſhall, by the judges of the courts aforeſaid, be called in, if the ſaid judges ſhould, by the parties, be required ſo to do.

XIV. The merchants, commanders, or owners of ſhips, ſailors of every denomination, ſhips or veſſels, effects, and goods in general, belonging to either party or any of its ſubjects or inhabitants, ſhall, at no time, for any private or public purpoſe, by virtue of any edict whatſoever, be

taken, or detained in the countries, ports, iſlands, &c. belonging to either of the contracting parties, to be employed in the ſervice, to forward military expeditions, or any other purpoſe; and much leſs for the private uſe of any one, by violence, or other means made uſe of to moleſt or inſult the ſaid ſubjects. It is farther ſtrictly forbidden to the ſaid ſubjects, on both ſides, not to take away, violently, the property of each other; but, the conſent of the proprietor once obtained, they ſhall be at liberty to purchaſe, paying ready money for the ſame. This article, however, is not to be underſtood as extending to ſuch caſes, where the ſeizure ſhall be made, or the embargo laid by the authority of the legiſlative power for debts incurred, or crimes committed, which ſhall be tried by the due courſe of law.

XV. It is farther provided and agreed, that all merchants, commanders of ſhips, and other ſubjects belonging to their High Mightineſſes the States of the Seven United Provinces, ſhall regulate their private affairs by themſelves, or by ſuch agents as they may chuſe, in all and every place within the juriſdiction of the United States of America: nor ſhall they be compelled to employ, or pay any interpreter or broker, but ſuch as they think fit to appoint. Moreover, in the lading, or unlading of ſhips, the maſters ſhall not be obliged to employ perſons appointed for that purpoſe, by public authority; but ſhall be at full liberty to do it themſelves, or call in the aſſiſtance of any one they ſhall chuſe, without being liable to pay any fee or retribution to any body elſe. Neither ſhall they be compelled to land any particular merchandize, to put them on board other ſhips, to take others on board their own, without their free conſent; or to remain laden longer than they ſhall think proper. The ſubjects and inhabitants of the United States of America, ſhall fully enjoy the ſame privileges in all the dominions of the States of Holland.

XVI. In caſe any diſpute or controverſy ſhould ariſe between the maſter of a ſhip and his crew, belonging to one of the two nations, and then in any port within the dominions of the other, concerning the payment of wages, or any other matter to be determined by the civil law, the magiſtrate of ſuch port, or place, ſhall only require the defendant to deliver to the plaintiff, a declaration under his hand, and witneſſed by the ſaid magiſtrate; by which the ſaid defendant ſhall bind himſelf to appear, and anſwer the complaint laid againſt him, before a competent judge in his own country. This being done, the ſaid crew ſhall not be permitted to leave the ſhip, or prevent the maſter from following his courſe. The merchants of either nation ſhall be authoriſed to keep their books in what language and manner they may think beſt, without the leaſt hindrance or moleſtation. But, in caſe it ſhould be neceſſary, in order to ſettle a point of law, for them to produce their books, they ſhall bring them into court for examination; in ſuch a manner, however, that neither the judge, nor any one elſe, whatſoever, ſhall be permitted to peruſe

peruſe any article in the ſaid books, but ſuch as may be abſolutely neceſſary to aſcertain the authenticity and regularity of the ſaid books. Nor ſhall any one, under any pretence whatever, preſume to force the ſaid books and writings from the owners, or detain them: caſes of bankruptcy alone excepted.

XVII. The ſhips of either nation, bound to the reſpective ports, ſhall, upon a juſt cauſe of being ſuſpected, either in regard to their deſtination or their cargoes, be obliged to produce, either at ſea, in the roads, or ports, not only their paſſports, but alſo certificates, witneſſing that the goods they have on board are not prohibited by the reſpective laws.

XVIII. If, upon ſuch certificates being produced, the examining party ſhould diſcover that ſome of the goods mentioned in the bills of lading are prohibited by this treaty, or bound to ſome port belonging to the enemy; in ſuch caſe it ſhall not be lawful to break into any part of the ſhip, or force any trunk, boxes, barrels, &c. nor even to diſplace any part of the cargoes (whether ſuch ſhip belongs to Holland or America) to come at the ſaid goods, which are not in any ways to be ſearched until they are landed in preſence of ſome officers of the Admiralty-court, who ſhall enter a verbal proceſs about them. Nor ſhall it be permitted to ſell, exchange, or adulterate the ſaid goods in any wiſe, till the law ſhall have taken its courſe, and the matter be determined by the ſentence of the reſpective Admiralty-courts, pronouncing them ſeizable; the ſhip and other parts of the cargo not prohibited by the treaty, ſhall not be detained, under the pretence of part of the lading being condemned, and much leſs confiſcated as lawful prizes. But, in caſe part of the cargo ſhould conſiſt of the ſaid prohibited goods, and the maſter of the ſhip ſhall conſent to deliver them up immediately, then the captor, having taken out of the ſaid ſhip the prohibited goods, ſhall permit the maſter to continue his courſe to the place of his deſtination: yet, if all the prohibited goods could not be taken on board the captor, the latter ſhall, notwithſtanding the maſter's free tender of the ſaid goods, bring the former into the neareſt port, where it ſhall be produced in manner aforeſaid.

XIX. It is agreed on the contrary, that all effects, &c. of any ſubject of either ſtate, found on any ſhip taken from an enemy, ſuch effects, &c. though they be not prohibited by any article of this treaty, ſhall be conſidered as lawful prize, and be diſpoſed of as if they belonged to the enemy: (except only in caſe the war ſhould not have been proclaimed, or not come to the knowledge of the proprietors of the ſaid effects, &c.) which, in ſuch caſes only, ſhall not be liable to be confiſcated, but be immediately returned to the owners without any delay, upon their making good their claim; provided, nevertheleſs, that the ſaid goods are not of the kind which are prohibited; nor will it be lawful to ſhip them afterwards, for any of the enemy's ports: the two contracting parties agreeing, moreover, that ſix months, from the date of a declaration

ration of war, will be conſidered as a ſufficient notice to the ſubjects of either State, whatever quarter of the world they may come from.

XX. In order to provide farther for the ſafety of the ſubjects on both ſides, that neither of the parties may be annoyed by the armed ſhips or privateers belonging to the other, during the courſe of a war, particular injunctions ſhall be laid upon the commanders of ſhips and privateers, &c. &c. to the reſpective ſubjects of the contracting powers, not to vex or offer any moleſtation to any one of them; and, in caſe of failure herein, the offending party ſhall be puniſhed, and compelled to make good the damage, their perſons and fortunes anſwering for the ſame.

XXI. All ſhips and effects retaken from privateers or pirates, ſhall be carried into ſome of the ports belonging to either State, and returned to the owners, upon their giving ſatisfactory proofs of their right to the ſaid recaptures.

XXII. It ſhall be lawful for all commanders of ſhips of war, privateers, &c. to carry off freely all ſhips and effects taken from the enemy, without being ſubject to pay any duty or duties to the Admiralty or other courts; nor ſhall ſuch prizes be liable to be detained or ſeized upon in any of the ports of the reſpective States: the ſearching officers ſhall not be permitted to viſit or ſearch the ſaid prizes: the captors whereof will be at liberty to put back to ſea, and convoy the prizes wherever they are directed to be carried; as ſpecified in the orders given to the commanders of ſuch ſhips, privateers, &c. which they ſhall be obliged to produce. But all the ports of both States ſhall be ſhut againſt all prizes made on the ſubjects of either: and in caſe ſuch prizes and captors ſhould be driven to ſome of the ſaid ports, by ſtreſs of weather, every means ſhall be employed to haſten their departure.

XXIII. In caſe any ſhips, boats, &c. ſhould be wrecked or otherwiſe damaged on the coaſts of either of the contracting States, all aid and aſſiſtance ſhall be given to the diſtreſſed crews, to whom paſſes and free conduct ſhall be granted for their return into their own country.

XXIV. If a ſhip or ſhips, either of war, or employed for the purpoſe of trading, by one of the States, ſhould, by ſtreſs of weather, imminent danger from pirates, enemies, &c. be compelled to take ſhelter in any ports, rivers, bays, &c. belonging to the other, they ſhall be treated with all humanity, friendſhip, and moſt cordial protection. Leave ſhall be granted them to take in proviſions and refreſhments at a reaſonable rate, and to purchaſe whatever they may ſtand in need of, either for themſelves or for the purpoſe of repairing the damage they may have ſuffered, and alſo for the continuation of their voyage. No obſtacle whatever ſhall be laid in their way to ſtop or detain them in any of the ſaid ports, &c. whence they ſhall be at liberty to ſail, whenever they may think fit.

XXV. In order to put commerce in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate, it is agreed, that, in caſe a war ſhould

ſhould at any time break out between the contracting parties, ſix months ſhall be allowed to the reſpective ſubjects for them to retire with their families and property, to whatever place they may judge proper; alſo to be at liberty, during the above ſpace of time, to ſell or otherwiſe diſpoſe of their goods and chattels, without the leaſt hindrance or moleſtation. But, above all, it is provided, that the ſaid ſubjects ſhall not be detained, by arreſtment or ſeizure. On the contrary, during the aforeſaid ſix months, the reſpective States, and their ſubjects, or inhabitants, ſhall have good and ſpeedy juſtice done to them; ſo that, during the ſaid time, they may recover their goods and effects, whether they be in the public funds, or in private hands. And if any part thereof ſhould happen to be embezzled, or that any inſult or wrong ſhould have been offered to the ſubjects, &c. of either State, the offending party ſhall give the immediate and convenient ſatisfaction for ſuch embezzlement, wrong, or inſult.

XXVI. The ſubjects, &c. of either State ſhall abſtain from requiring or accepting any commiſſions or letters of marque from any power then at war with either of ſaid States, ſo as to command armed ſhips againſt either, and to their detriment; and if any individual, belonging to either, ſhould fail herein, he ſhall be dealt with as being guilty of piracy.

XXVII. It ſhall not be lawful for any privateer, not belonging to either of the contracting parties, which might be furniſhed with commiſſions, or letters of marque from any power, in actual enmity with either of them, to fit out their ſhips in any port belonging to the ſaid States, therein ſell their prizes, or make in any wiſe an exchange of their ſaid ſhips, merchandize, goods, or effects, being the whole or part of the cargo contained in the aforeſaid captures. Nor ſhall the ſaid commanders be permitted to take in proviſions, but juſt as much as will enable them to reach a port, neareſt to the dominion of their employers.

XXVIII. Subjects and inhabitants of both the contracting parties ſhall be at liberty to navigate their ſhips (without any diſtinction of owners, to whom the cargo or cargoes may belong) from all ports whatever belonging to the powers, that then are, or afterwards may be in amity with either of the aforementioned States; as alſo to trade in their way to or from ſuch places, ports, and towns belonging to the enemies of either party, whether the ſaid place be within the juriſdiction of one or more powers. It is alſo hereby ſtipulated, that the freedom of ſhipping will be extended to the cargoes belonging to the reſpective ſubjects or inhabitants of the ſaid States, though the whole, or part of the ſaid cargo ſhould be the enemy's property. This privilege is alſo to be conſtructed as extending to all perſons whatever, on board the ſaid ſhips (the military in the enemy's ſervice only excepted) as well as contraband goods.

XXIX. This article contains a large enumeration of the goods prohibited to be carried to the enemy,

enemy, which comprehends all manner of warlike ſtores. It gives alſo an account of ſuch goods as may be lawfully exported, namely cloathing and other manufactured goods of wool, cloth, ſilks, &c. &c. the matters employed in manufacturing the ſame; gold and ſilver either coined or in bullion, all ſorts of metals, corn, and ſeeds, ſpices, tobacco, meat, ſalt or ſmoaked, and every kind of eatables; in fine, ſhip timber, ſails, canvas, and every effect whatever not faſhioned in the ſhape of any tool or warlike inſtrument uſually employed in war, either by ſea or land: all the aforeſaid goods and wares, ſhall at no time be looked upon as contraband, and may be carried by the ſubjects and inhabitants of the confederate States, even to places belonging to the enemy then at war with either party, excepting only ſuch towns and places, which might happen to be beſieged, ſurrounded or blocked up at the time of ſhipping off, for their uſe, the ſaid wares and goods.

XXX. In order to prevent all diſſenſion and difficulty which might ariſe between the ſubjects of either State, in caſe one of them ſhould go to war with ſome other power or powers, the ſhipping, &c. belonging to the other party, ſhall be provided with letters or paſſes, ſpecifying the name, cargo, and burthen of the ſhip, together with the captain or maſter's name, and the place of his reſidence: that thus it may appear that the ſhip, &c. belongs truly to the ſaid ſubjects and inhabitants. The ſaid paſs to be worded as ſhall be mentioned at the end of this preſent treaty.

Theſe letters, or paſſes, ſhall be renewed every year, if the bearers ſhould return to the ſame port within that time. It is farther agreed, that beſides the aforeſaid paſſes certificates ſhall be given, mentioning every part of the cargoes, the reſpective places from and to which ſuch ſhips may be bound. The ſaid certificates to be drawn up in the uſual form, before the officers of the place from whence the ſaid ſhips are to ſail; and the ſaid officers ſhall be at liberty to mention, by name, if they think it expedient, the owners of the cargo or cargoes.

XXXI. The commanders or owners of ſhips belonging to the contracting parties, entering into any of the roads of either of the ſaid States, who may not think proper to enter into port; or, when entered, will not chuſe to unload either the whole or part of their cargo, ſhall not be compelled to declare in what it conſiſts, unleſs a well grounded ſuſpicion ſhould ariſe, on ſome evident circumſtances, of their being laden for the enemy, or carrying from one of the confederate States, to the other, any prohibited goods; in which caſe, ſuch commanders, owners, or inhabitants, ſhall be obliged to ſhew their paſſports and certificates, drawn up in the manner hereafter mentioned.

XXXII. When the ſhips, belonging to either State, ſailing coaſtways, or otherwiſe, ſhall be met by the ſhips of war, privateers, &c. of the other party, in order to prevent miſchief, the latter ſhall keep out of the reach of the guns, though it will be lawful for them to ſend their boats to board the abeveſaid merchantmen,

not

not suffering above two or three men at a time to get on board to them. The master, or commander of the said ships, shall present his passports, conformably to the tenor hereafter recited. After which, the said ship, or merchantman, shall be at full liberty to continue its voyage, without being searched, chaced, or obliged to alter its course, or otherwise molested, under any pretence whatsoever.

XXXIII. It is farther agreed, that all goods and effects whatever, being once put on board of a ship, or ships, belonging to either of the contracting parties, shall not be liable to a second visit, or search, after having undergone that which must precede the lading of such ships; as all prohibited goods must be stopped on the very spot, before they are suffered to be carried on board the ships belonging to either party; the same not being liable to any other kind of embargo for the aforesaid cause. And the subjects of either state, where such effects shall, or should have been seized upon, shall be punished for importing the same, according to the manner provided by the laws, customs, and ordinances of his own native country.

XXXIV. The contracting parties mutually agree, that they shall be at liberty to have their respective consuls, vice-consuls, commissaries, and other agents, appointed by, and for each party. Their functions and officers shall be regulated by a particular convention, whenever either of the contracting powers shall think proper to appoint such officers.

Here follows the form of the passport and certificate, the intention and purport of which, are sufficiently explained in the XXXth article of this treaty.

No. II. *Copy of a Letter to his Excellency* B. Franklin, *Esq. at* Paris.

SIR,

AS your Excellency and the Right Honourable Congress will certainly be already completely informed of my interview, at Aix-la-Chapelle, with Mr. William Lee, about a twelvemonth ago, in the presence of Mr. William Stokton; and as he is shortly to arrive himself, I have made no difficulty, and it gives me even much satisfaction, to expose unto him some trifling alterations, of no great consequence, which are thought necessary to be made in the plan of the treaty of commerce, which is now to be looked over afresh.

The differences consist only in suppressing, in the *sixth* article, all that is mentioned there concerning *religion*; and, in fact, it is absolutely not proper, that any mention thereof should be made between *two republics*, the constitutions and fundamental laws of which plead aloud for a perfect liberty of conscience.

The tenth article, concerning the Barbarian powers, is binding on both sides, in case the same should take place any time hereafter.

The other suppressions which are thought necessary in the articles VIII, XXII, and XXVII, are for the greatest part established to prevent objections. For this reason, the latter part of the *eighth* article has been suppressed, where it is said, *and their ships of war*,

or convoys, ſailing under authority, &c.

It has likewiſe been thought proper to ſuppreſs the latter part of the XXIId article, which begins with theſe words, *on the contrary, no aſylum or refuge ſhall be granted, &c.*

The XXVIIth article at preſent ſtands thus: *It ſhall not be lawful for any privateer, holding any commiſſions or letters of marque, from any prince or power, in war with any of the high contracting parties, to fit out their ſhips in the ports belonging to either of the contracting parties, nor therein to ſell their prizes, nor to exchange in any other manner whatever, the ſhips, goods, and merchandizes, being either the whole, or part of the cargo, contained in the ſaid captures.*

Theſe are the meaſures that have been taken to eſtabliſh the baſis of this treaty; and from a particular regard for the right honourable congreſs, having by us a copy of the treaty, ſuch as it was drawn up at firſt, and ſuch as it ſtands at preſent, we thought it our duty to inform your Excellency of the ſtate in which this important affair is at preſent, and which we ſhall always be ready to forward with the ſame zeal with which it has been begun.

Mr. Stokton will likewiſe inform your Excellency of ſome other affairs, which ſtand in need of ſome explanations.

Wiſhing that the union of the *Twenty States* may ſoon be eſtabliſhed upon a permanent footing, we remain, with the moſt perfect conſideration and eſteem,

Your Excellency's
moſt humble and
moſt obedient ſervants,
JOHN DE NEUFVILLE and SON.

Amſterdam, July 28, 1779.

P. S. Mr. Stokton will be ſo kind, and he is very well informed, to give your Excellency and the right honourable Congreſs all the information neceſſary with regard to the plan propoſed by *Colonel Dircks.*

No. III. *A Letter from Mr.* J. W. Stokton, *to the Rev. Dr.* Witherſpoon, *Member of Congreſs, dated* Amſterdam, April 14, 1779.

SIR,

UNDER the perſuaſion that you would not be diſpleaſed with me, I have taken the liberty of writing ſeveral letters to you, ſince the month of May laſt, having, ſince that time, at the requiſition of W. Lee, Eſq. executed the functions of ſecretary to the American commiſſion, at the courts of Vienna and Berlin, and I am at preſent on the point of returning to America with the firſt convoy. I ſend this letter to Mr. Adams, who is ſet out, a few weeks ago, from Paris for Nantz, where he propoſes to embark on board the frigate l'Alliance, which, it is thought, will be ready in a few days to ſail for Boſton.

I ſhould certainly have taken my paſſage on board the ſaid frigate with him, if it had been poſſible to convey my effects, which are ſtill here on ſhore, ſoon enough to Nantz. I muſt, therefore, now wait for another favourable opportunity, and I beg the favour of you to acquaint my brother thereof, having lately written to him, to that effect, by the preceding opportunity of a veſſel. I have endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to acquire a thorough knowledge of the true and exact ſtate of political

political affairs here, conſidering the intereſt America has therein; and I flatter myſelf to have the beſt informations in that reſpect.

As a member of the congreſs, you will certainly have ſeen, before now, the plan of a treaty of amity and commerce, as deſtined to be concluded hereafter between the States of Holland and the United States of North America, ſeveral copies thereof having been ſent to America ſome time ago. That plan was ſigned on the 4th of September laſt, on the part of the city of Amſterdam, by John de Neufville, Eſq; properly deputed for that purpoſe by the penſionary and burgomaſters of the ſaid city, and by W. Lee, Eſq; commiſſioner from the Congreſs, to whom the propoſitions for the ſaid treaty were made through the channel of the ſaid Mr. de Neufville: but as the character of that gentleman will probably be unknown to you, I think it proper to mention here, that he is one of the principal merchants of Amſterdam. He has manifeſted much zeal for the true intereſt of his country, of which he ſeems to have the moſt juſt ideas; and he has often declared to me, that it is much nearer related to the commercial intereſts of America and France, than to that of Great-Britain. The conduct of this merchant, ariſing from that principle, and beſides that, from a principle ſtill more prevalent, namely, that of promoting the ſucceſs of the efforts for the liberty of each country, will, I hope, always be uniform, and will prove favourable to the cauſe of America. Conſequently, I make no doubt, that the commercial people of America will give him the preference in their future connections, as a Dutch merchant and their friend. This merchant has likewiſe engaged himſelf, by his ſignature to the ſaid plan, being properly authoriſed to that effect by the regency of Amſterdam, that as long as America ſhall not act contrary to the intereſt of the States of Holland, the city of Amſterdam will never adopt any meaſure that may tend to oppoſe the intereſt of America; but will, on the contrary, uſe all its influence upon the States of the Seven United Provinces of Holland, to effect the deſired connection. I need not mention to you the great importance of the city of Amſterdam, in the political affairs of the States-General: you are too well acquainted with the hiſtory and ſtate of all countries, to make this neceſſary. But the leſs informed politicians will be aſtoniſhed to learn, that Amſterdam pays two-thirds of the quota part of Holland, and that the Province of Holland alone bears two-thirds of the charges of all the Seven United Provinces. The regency of this city has hitherto remained faithful and conſtant in their engagements, and will, if I am not miſtaken, always continue the ſame, and perſiſt therein invariably.

The patriotic party in Holland has had much trouble to thwart the deſigns of the prince of Orange, or, to ſay the ſame thing in another manner, of the Engliſh party.

The court of Great Britain has a great influence upon the deliberations of this country, through the channel of the prince of Orange, who is a relation to the

king of Great-Britain, and who is ſuppoſed to have the ſame views as the former, with regard to the liberties of the people.

He has ſome of the leſs conſiderable provinces ſo much in his intereſt, that this, above all, dares not, as yet, refuſe his demands; and conſequently the deputies of theſe provinces have reſerved their conſent, and divers reſolutions, which the province of Holland would otherwiſe have taken long ago, to the advantage of America: but, unfortunately for us, in this moment, the unanimity of the States is neceſſary in moſt of their reſolutions.

The ſpirited conduct which France has lately adopted, in declaring that ſhe would ſeize all Dutch ſhips trading with Great-Britain, excepting thoſe of Amſterdam and Haerlem, ſoon brought back the cities of Rotterdam, Dort, and others. Theſe, fearing to ſend their veſſels to ſea, and perceiving that the people began to murmur, were obliged to accede to the reſolution, by which the deputies of all the other cities of the province of Holland had conſented to grant convoys to their veſſels, without even excepting thoſe articles of commerce, for which England had continually ſeized the Dutch ſhips, ever ſince the beginning of the war with France.

Such is the actual ſtate of affairs here; and every politician is at preſent impatient to know what Spain intends to do, which has ſome time ſince made very conſiderable preparations for war.

The poſt for France is upon its departure; I muſt, therefore, conclude this letter. I find in the Engliſh newſpapers, that your ſermon on the day of a general faſt, has undergone a fifth edition in London. I beg the favour of you to aſſure your family of my reſpects, and to acquaint my friends that I am very well, and that I intend to return ſoon to America. ——I remain, with much reſpect and eſteem, Sir,

Your moſt faithful friend,
and humble ſervant,
(Signed) J. W. STOKTON.

To the Rev. Mr. Witherſpoon, D. D.

No. IV. *A Letter from Colonel* Dircks, *to the Hon.* Henry Laurens, *Eſq.*

Philadelphia, Dec. 13, 1779.

SIR,

THE remembrance of your Excellency's kind reception, and the friendſhip which I experienced from you, at the time of my departure for Holland, about a twelvemonth ago, engages me, in hearing that your Excellency is upon departing for my country, to form the beſt wiſhes for your ſucceſs. I am ſorry, that I am come too late to town, which deprives me of the happineſs of having an interview with your Excellency, reſpecting the affairs of Holland.

I have been in Holland only with a view of uniting the two countries for their reciprocal happineſs; and I have ſucceeded as well as the different circumſtances would permit.

I beg the favour that you will be pleaſed to take charge of the herein incloſed letters for my worthy friends and countrymen, the Barons Van der Capellen, from whom, and their friends, I flatter myſelf

myself that your Excellency will soon learn, that by my conduct I have gained several hearts, which are now nobly and zealously inclined for the affairs and the cause of the Americans. I wish that this beginning may in the course of time produce many happy events, for the mutual advantage of both countries.

I take the liberty of joining here a list of the names of those, who are altogether the worthy friends of America. I pray God to conduct your Excellency, and to grant you the most perfect success. This is the sincere wish of my heart.

I remain with the greatest consideration and esteem, Sir,

Your Excellency's
most obedient and
most humble servant,
(Signed) J. G. DIRCKS.

List of Names.

Henry Hooft Danielsz, ancient burgomaster of Amsterdam.

Daniel Hooft Danielsz, secretary to the regency of Amsterdam.

Van Berkel, counsellor and pensionary of the city of Amsterdam.

John de Neufville and sons, one of the principal commercial houses of Amsterdam.

N. B. The last can inform your Excellency of all the commercial houses which are our friends.

The burgomaster Hooft Danielsz can inform your Excellency which are the gentlemen of the regency in the interest of America.

And the Barons Van der Capellen can inform you of those who are our friends in all the Seven Provinces.

To his Excellency Henry Laurens, Esq.

No. V. *Copy of a Letter from Mr.* A. Gillon *to* John Rutledge, *Esq. Governor and Commander in Chief of South Carolina, dated* Amsterdam, *the 1st of* March, 1780.

SIR,

I HAD the pleasure of writing to you the 31st of December last, and I send you at present copies of what I wrote. Mr. Izard meeting with many difficulties, which prevented his departure, and the ice hindering all vessels from sailing from hence, I had no opportunity of giving you any advice of my latest negociations here. This letter will be delivered to your Excellency by Mr. George Nixon: he will communicate to you a copy thereof by the first opportunity, as soon as he arrives at St. Eustatia.

I shall likewise send you a copy of the correspondence between Mr. Chamont and a gentleman whom I engaged here to write to him on the subject of the two ships built here; by which you will see, that it was never seriously intended to sell the said ships to me.

Mr. Franklin has never returned me an answer. I thought that the arrival of Mr. Adams at Paris was a good opportunity to revive this affair. I consequently wrote to him, as well as to Mr. Izard, and Mr. A. Lee, that they should address themselves to Monsieur de Sartine, and to the Count de Vergennes, ministers at Versailles, to endeavour to obtain the

ſaid veſſels, by offering to pay the prime coſt, or to take them by appraiſement of four impartial perſons, to be choſen here by the two parties; eſpecially as I had already removed here all difficulties, having ſuccours promiſed to me from high authority, and as I could fit them out either as Dutch property for Euſtatia, or as American property for any other port. But the anſwers I received laſt night from thoſe gentlemen, obliged me to give up the flattering hopes of ſending you two of the fineſt veſſels in the world, of one hundred and eighty-ſix feet keel, fit to carry twenty-eight thirty-ſix pounders upon one deck. And though they drew too much water for our bar, they would certainly not have tarded to take ſome veſſels which would have anſwered our purpoſe. Not that I fear that theſe gentlemen will not do all in their power to aſſiſt me in this affair, and ſome others; but they foreſee that this requeſt, in caſe it ſhould be granted, might perhaps involve me in other difficulties.

There are ſeveral veſſels in the ports of France which would fully anſwer our purpoſes; but the difficulties which I have already experienced, fully convince me that I ſhall not obtain any ſuccours. It is for this reaſon that I have reſolved this morning to employ all your money in purchaſing bar-iron, nails, cordage, ſail-cloth, cables, anchors, ſhips-ſtores, and other things neceſſary to pilots, carpenters, gunners, and coopers: chirurgical inſtruments and medicines, iron hoops, and all that I thought neceſſary for three frigates, excepting guns, powder, and military implements, which I am as yet uncertain whether they may be embarked. I intend to buy the moſt eſſential articles double what is neceſſary for theſe veſſels; and likewiſe double the quantity of the ſmall articles; and in caſe I ſhould have any money remaining, I intend to employ it in purchaſing woollen cloth, linen, ſhoes, ſtockings, and hats, for our troops, and to ſend all theſe effects, as ſoon as poſſible, by different veſſels, to St. Euſtatia, from whence you may draw them, by your orders, whenever you ſhall think it convenient. It will, perhaps, be neceſſary to inſure here the articles which appear to be deſtined for large ſhips, in caſe they ſhould happen to be taken by the Engliſh, as well as the cables and anchors.

Meſſrs. Nicholas and Jacob Van Staphorſt, merchants here, will do the buſineſs, and they have promiſed me a credit of thirty thouſand florins (very likely I ſhall be able to get more from them on my own credit) until you come yourſelf, as I now deſire you to do, which ſum, with Mr. Screipreiſer's loan and your own money, will make up a handſome ſum, to accompliſh the ſaid views, and ſave the State ſome loſs on the plan propoſed by your Excellency to procure it a good marine. Pardon me, if I ſpeak my ſentiments at preſent on what may be done.

If the State perſiſts in the reſolution of having a good marine, the three frigates ought to be built at Philadelphia, Boſton, and Portſmouth, in New Hampſhire. The oppoſition I have met with in *France proves clearly to me, that they*

they never had an intention that America ſhould have a marine; otherwiſe they would certainly have ſold the ten ſhips which were here lying empty, ſince that would not have diminiſhed their ſtrength, which they made a plea of laſt ſpring, when I propoſed to them a plan, by which *Georgia would have been delivered* by laſt May; but even then, they *refuſed* to let us have *one ſhip*.

Captain Yoyner has done every thing in his power with reſpect to your affairs, and he will return to St. Euſtatia by the firſt good opportunity, as will all the other officers. I will follow him immediately: may I, on that account, deſire your Excellency to ſend Captain Yoyner's orders, that he may find them at St. Euſtatia, under cover to Mr. Anſon, and the governor of that place, or to whom you pleaſe. I ſhall have great pleaſure to find myſelf equally honoured with your orders, and to know how the goods ought to be ſhipped there. I think, with your permiſſion, that if two or three continental frigates were ſent here to take them, that would be a more certain method; but I cannot know it till after I am arrived there, and I ſhall place them in the warehouſes of good merchants.

I have not been honoured with a ſingle line from our government ſince the 31ſt of January, 1779, ſo that I am at preſent obliged to act without orders, not doubting that you and my country will readily give me credit for acting to the beſt of my judgment for your intereſts, and that you and they will approve of my conduct, ſince that approbation is the only recompence to which I have looked in all that I have been able to effect by my feeble endeavours. Pleaſe God! I ſhould have been able to have done more, if the courage of your pretended friends had not been greater than that of your real ones. I am very certain I ſhould have been with you a long time before this with an ample ſuccour; but I have the conſolation to reflect, that I have done as much as any perſon ſent from America has been able to effect in Europe, to obtain credit for a ſtate (South Carolina) which was conſidered, at the time I negociated the loan, as entirely in the poſſeſſion of the enemy.

I have had many interviews with the lenders; and the brokers in thoſe affairs would have procured me, *in ſix weeks, a million of ſlorins, at five per cent. intereſt, for ten or fifteen years*, if the powers with which I was inveſted had been authorized by our government, and to their ſatisfaction. However, I have made them promiſe, that if the *guarantee of Congreſs*, for which I now write to your Excellency, ſhall arrive whilſt I remain here, *they will advance the ſaid million on that ſecurity*, until the full powers and guarants, ſuch as I incloſe, which are of their own compoſition, and tranſlated by their notary, ſhall come over. I now ſend you the Dutch original and the tranſlation, for your approbation, and the Dutch original and an Engliſh tranſlation of the guarantee of Congreſs. If I were at this moment in poſſeſſion of ſuch papers, I could get *four millions of ſlorins*, which makes about *three millions of Carolina currency, at five per cent.* payable

in fifteen years, viz. *nothing* for the firſt *ten years*, but *one million every year* afterwards, until the whole was paid. The intereſt payable every year. The broker's commiſſion, or premium, as they call it here, is from one to two per cent. on the capital at the time of your receiving it; one per cent. the merchant's commiſſion for negociating the buſineſs, and one half per cent. on the annual intereſt, and one per cent. commiſſion on the reimburſement of the capital; which together, would carry the intereſt to about five and a quarter per cent. a year.

The objections which they make againſt my preſent full power is, that it is therein ſpecified for three frigates, and that there is a complication in ſaying, that I may negociate any indeterminate ſum, inſtead of naming the fixed ſum. This want of ſpecific preciſion affects them to that degree, that I cannot give them any ſatisfaction.

Your Excellency is at preſent informed upon what condition the ſum in queſtion may be procured, in caſe the State ſhould be in want thereof. If the laſt ſhould be the caſe, and if the conditions are approved of, it would be beſt to ſend a fit perſon here with ſuch full powers and guarantee, in ſending two or three copies after him; or elſe to ſend the ſaid documents to Meſſrs. Nicholas and Jacob Van Staphorſt, merchants here, or to ſome other good ſolid Dutch houſe here, with your orders how the ſaid money is to be employed here. But as the ſaid Meſſrs. Van Staphorſt have laid the foundation of this affair, I leave it to the judgment of your Excellency, whether it would not be beſt to intruſt them with the execution thereof. I have had dealings with them for above ten years, and am informed that they are generally looked upon as a very ſolid Dutch houſe, of a good capital, and known integrity.

I have an opportunity of knowing what is doing here, and I have received from perſons of reſpectable authority the intelligence ſpecified in the paper annexed. The *Dutch* have deſigned theſe *nine months* to have a perſon, here authoriſed by *Congreſs*; not that they would receive him as a *public miniſter*; but they are very anxious to have the moſt accurate information; and ſuch a perſon might have laid the foundation of a treaty with us, until affairs ſhall be come to greater maturity: he might alſo have been able to get money here. The objection againſt the actual loan of money for the Congreſs here is, that it does not proceed directly from America; and to uſe the language of the Old Dutchman, it is to be franchiſed.

I am perſuaded, that if the Preſident Laurens arrives here ſoon, he will find a reaſonable and ample ſum. I have taken the liberty of acquainting the noble Continental Congreſs on what terms. I am ſure of being able to borrow here a ſufficient ſum at about five and a quarter, or five and a half per cent. including all expences.

I am in hopes of receiving ſoon advices from you: if not, I ſhall continue as mentioned above, and do as well as I can, making all the diſpatch in my power to return home.

home. I could have wiſhed that my fate had been to remain in America, eſpecially as I ſhould have willingly ſupported all fatigues, and, with a good heart, braved all dangers, in preference to the plan of begging, which the neceſſity, occaſioned by frequent deceptions, has forced me to adopt.

I moſt ſincerely wiſh you health and happineſs, and remain with due reſpect, Sir,

Your Excellency's
moſt obedient and
moſt humble ſervant,

(Signed) A. GILLON.

P. S. Mr. Beaumarchais will not yet pay any thing, nor furniſh any account.

His Excellency John Rutledge, Eſq. Governor and Commander in Chief of South Carolina.

Two letters were alſo communicated, written by J. D. Van Der Capellan to Mr. Laurens, but as they only contain the ſentiments of a private individual, we have not thought it neceſſary to inſert them.

Memorial preſented to the States-General *on the* 10*th inſtant, by Sir* Joſeph Yorke, *his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at the* Hague, *concerning the five Papers found amongſt thoſe of Mr.* Laurens, *late Preſident of the Congreſs.*

High and Mighty Lords,

THE King, my maſter, has, through the whole courſe of his reign, ſhewed the moſt ſincere deſire for preſerving the union, which has ſubſiſted upwards of an age, between his Crown and the Republic. This union is founded on the durable baſis of a reciprocal intereſt, and as it has greatly contributed to the welfare of both nations, the natural enemy of both the one and the other is uſing his utmoſt policy to deſtroy it; and for ſome time paſt his endeavours have been but too ſucceſsful, being ſupported by a faction that aims at domineering over the republic, and which is at all times ready to ſacrifice the general intereſt to their own private views.

The king has beheld, with equal regret and ſurpriſe, the ſmall effect which his repeated claims for the ſtipulated ſuccours, and the repreſentations of his ambaſſador, on the daily violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements, have produced.

His Majeſty's moderation has induced him to attribute this conduct of your High Mightineſſes to the intrigues of a prevailing faction; and he would ſtill perſuade himſelf, that your juſtice and diſcernment will determine you to fulfil your engagements towards him, and to prove by your whole conduct, that you are reſolved vigorouſly to adhere to the ſyſtem formed by the wiſdom of your anceſtors, which is the only one that can ſecure the ſafety and glory of the republic.

The anſwer which your High Mightineſſes return to this declaration, which the underſigned makes by the expreſs order of his Court, will be conſidered as the touchſtone of your intentions and ſentiments reſpecting the King.

For a long time paſt the King has had innumerable indications of the dangerous deſigns of an un-

rnly cabal; but the papers of Mr. Laurens, who ſtyles himſelf Preſident of the pretended Congreſs, furniſhes the diſcovery of a plot, unexampled in all the annals of the republic. It appears by theſe papers, that the Gentlemen of Amſterdam have been engaged in a clandeſtine correſpondence with the American rebels, from the month of Auguſt 1778, and that inſtructions and full powers had been given by them for the concluſion of a treaty of indiſputable amity with thoſe rebels, who are the ſubjects of a ſovereign to whom the republic is united by the cloſeſt engagements. The authors of this plot do not even attempt to deny it, but on the contrary vainly endeavour to juſtify their conduct.

In theſe circumſtances, his Majeſty, relying on the equity of your High Mightineſſes, demands a formal diſavowal of ſuch irregular conduct, which is no leſs contrary to your moſt ſacred engagements, than to the fundamental laws of the conſtitution of Batavia. The King demands equally a prompt ſatisfaction, proportioned to the offence, and an exemplary puniſhment on the penſioner Van Berkel, and his accomplices, as diſturbers of the public peace, and violators of the law of nations.

His Majeſty perſuades himſelf, that the anſwer of your High Mightineſſes will be ſpeedy and ſatisfactory in all reſpects; but ſhould the contrary happen, — if your High Mightineſſes ſhould refuſe ſo juſt a demand, or endeavour to elude it by ſilence, which will be regarded as a refuſal: then the King cannot but conſider the republic itſelf as approving of thoſe outrages which they refuſe to diſavow, and to puniſh; and after ſuch conduct, his Majeſty will find himſelf under the neceſſity of taking thoſe meaſures which the preſervation of his own dignity and the eſſential intereſts of his people demand.

Given at the Hague,
Nov. 10, 1780.
(Signed) JOSEPH YORKE.

Hague, Nov. 16. *The following is the Reſolution taken by the* States-General *of the* United Provinces, *relative to the Inſults and Violences committed at the Iſland of* St. Martin, *on the 9th of laſt* Auguſt.

THAT Count Welderen, the Miniſter Plenipotentiary from their High Mightineſſes to the Britiſh Court, be charged to make the ſtrongeſt complaints of the ſaid inſults and violences, and to repreſent in the moſt energetic manner, That their High Mightineſſes think themſelves in the moſt ſupreme degree aggrieved by the premeditated violence of the inconteſtable territory of the State at the iſland of St. Martin, done by the officers of his Britiſh Majeſty, according to the expreſs orders of the King, and in conſequence of a written declaration of thoſe officers.

That no power ever doubted but all bays and roads belonged to the ſame powers as the lands annexed to them, and that all who might be in them were ſheltered from the rights of war, and from all hoſtile purſuits; and that no power is in any way authoriſed to take, or in any reſpect to moleſt, veſſels ſo ſheltered, againſt the will of

of the ſovereign, without its being looked upon as an indirect attack: that notwithſtanding this, the men of war of the King of Great-Britain, ſent on purpoſe by his Admiral, had by his order ſeized ſome American veſſels which had taken refuge in the iſland of St. Martin, under the cannon of the fort, and took them 'via facti,' threatening, if the leaſt reſiſtance was made by the fort, that it, together with the whole village belonging to their High Mightineſſes, ſhould be burnt to the ground, and a force ſufficient was ſent to carry theſe their orders into execution.

That their High Mightineſſes cannot look upon this violent ſtep in any other light than as an open violation of their territory, and a contempt of the independent ſovereignty of the State; and flatter themſelves that his Majeſty muſt perceive, that, if an independent power of Europe is to be expoſed to ſuch inſults as this, all liberty and ſecurity, both in and out of Europe, will then only depend upon force; and conſequently, that the King will be diſpleaſed at this hoſtile action committed by his officers againſt the territory of a power, which has not only had the honour to be allied to Great-Britain for upwards of a century, and to live in peace and friendſhip with her, but from the beginning of the preſent troubles in America has not refuſed to reſtrain its ſubjects from trading with North-America in a manner for which his Majeſty has acknowledged his ſatisfaction.

That their High Mightineſſes could not paſs over in ſilence what has happened, but at the ſame time muſt proteſt ſolemnly againſt it, and moſt ſtrongly deſire of his Majeſty, what they hope from his juſtice, his friendſhip, and his equity, to obtain, which is, a full ſatisfaction for the violation of their territory, in which the intentions of his Majeſty may be made appear relative to the treatment of powers not included in the troubles of the preſent war, and of their territories in general, and of thoſe of the Republic of the United Provinces in particular, &c.

Memorial preſented to the States-General, *by Sir* Joſeph Yorke, *on the 12th of* December, 1780.

High and Mighty Lords,

THE uniform conduct of the King towards the Republic; the friendſhip which hath ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations; the right of ſovereigns, and the faith of the moſt ſolemn engagements, will decide, without doubt, the anſwer of your High Mightineſſes to the Memorial which the under-ſigned preſented ſome time ago, by expreſs order of his Court. It would be to miſtruſt the wiſdom and the juſtice of your High Mightineſſes to ſuppoſe that you could pauſe a moment in giving the ſatisfaction demanded by his Majeſty.

As the reſolutions of your High Mightineſſes of the 27th of November were the reſult of a deliberation which regarded only the interior of your government, and did not enter upon an Anſwer to the ſaid Memorial, the only remark to be made on thoſe reſo-

lutions is, that the principles which have dictated them evidently prove the juſtice of the demand made by the King.

In deliberating upon that Memorial, to which the under-ſigned here requires, in the name of his Court, an immediate and ſatisfactory anſwer in every reſpect, your High Mightineſſes will doubtleſs conſider that the affair is of the laſt importance; that it relates to the complaint of an offended ſovereign; that the offence, for which he demands an exemplary puniſhment, and a complete ſatisfaction, is a violation of the Batavian Conſtitution, of which the King is a guarantee; an infraction of the public faith; an attempt againſt the dignity of his Crown! The King has never imagined that your High Mightineſſes had approved of a treaty with his rebellious ſubjects. That had been raiſing the buckler on your part; a declaration of war. But the offence has been committed by the magiſtrates of a city which makes a conſiderable part of the State; and it belongs to the ſovereign power to puniſh and give ſatisfaction for it.

His Majeſty, by the complaints made by his Ambaſſador, has placed the puniſhment and the reparation in the hands of your High Mightineſſes; and it will not be till the laſt extremity, that is to ſay, in the caſe of a denial of juſtice, or of ſilence, which muſt be interpreted as a refuſal, that the King will take them upon himſelf.

Done at the Hague, the 12th of December, 1780.

(Signed) LE CHEVAL. YORKE.

MANIFESTO

Of the Court of Great-Britain.

GEORGE R.

(L.S) THROUGH the whole courſe of our reign, our conduct towards the States-General of the United Provinces has been that of a ſincere friend and faithful ally. Had they adhered to thoſe wiſe principles which uſed to govern the Republic, they muſt have ſhewn themſelves equally ſolicitous to maintain the friendſhip which has ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations, and which is eſſential to the intereſts of both: but from the prevalence of a faction devoted to France, and following the dictates of that court, a very different policy has prevailed. The return made to our friendſhip, for ſome time paſt, has been an open contempt of the moſt ſolemn engagements, and a repeated violation of public faith.

On the commencement of the defenſive war, in which we found ourſelves engaged by the aggreſſion of France, we ſhewed a tender regard for the intereſts of the States-General, and a deſire of ſecuring to their ſubjects every advantage of trade, conſiſtent with the great and juſt principle of our own defence. Our Ambaſſador was inſtructed to offer a friendly negociation, to obviate every thing that might lead to diſagreeable diſcuſſion; and to this offer, ſolemnly made by him to the States-General, the 2d of November, 1778 no attention was paid.

After the number of our enemies, increaſed by the aggreſſion of Spain, equally unprovoked with that of France, we found it neceſſary

ceſſary to call upon the States-General for the performance of their engagements. The fifth article of the perpetual defenſive alliance between our crown and the States-General, concluded at Weſtminſter the 3d of March, 1678, beſides the general engagements for ſuccours, expreſsly ſtipulates, 'That that party of the two allies that is not attacked, ſhall be obliged to break with the aggreſſor in two months after the party attacked ſhall require it:'—Yet two years have paſſed, without the leaſt aſſiſtance given to us, without a ſingle ſyllable in anſwer to our repeated demands.

So totally regardleſs have the States been of their treaties with us, that they readily promiſed our enemies to obſerve a neutrality, in direct contradiction to thoſe engagements; and whilſt they have withheld from us the ſuccours they were bound to furniſh, every ſecret aſſiſtance has been given the enemy; and inland duties have been taken off, for the ſole purpoſe of facilitating the carriage of naval ſtores to France.

In direct and open violation of treaty, they ſuffered an American pirate to remain ſeveral weeks in one of their ports, and even permitted a part of his crew to mount guard in a fort in the Texel.

In the Eaſt-Indies, the ſubjects of the States-General, in concert with France, have endeavoured to raiſe up enemies againſt us.

In the Weſt-Indies, particularly at St. Euſtatia, every protection and aſſiſtance has been given to our rebellious ſubjects. Their privateers are openly received in the Dutch harbours; allowed to refit there; ſupplied with arms and ammunition; their crews recruited; their prizes brought in and ſold; and all this in direct violation of as clear and ſolemn ſtipulations as can be made.

This conduct, ſo inconſiſtent with all good faith, ſo repugnant to the ſenſe of the wiſeſt part of the Dutch nation, is chiefly to be aſcribed to the prevalence of the leading magiſtrates of Amſterdam, whoſe ſecret correſpondence with our rebellious ſubjects was ſuſpected, long before it was made known by the fortunate diſcovery of a treaty, the firſt article of which is:—

"There ſhall be a firm, inviolable, and univerſal peace, and ſincere friendſhip, between their High Mightineſſes the States of the Seven United Provinces of Holland, and the United States of North-America, and the ſubjects and people of the ſaid parties: and between the countries, iſlands, cities, and towns, ſituated under the juriſdiction of the ſaid United States of Holland, and the ſaid United States of America, and the people and inhabitants thereof, of every degree, without exception of perſons or places."

This treaty was ſigned in September, 1778, by the expreſs order of the Penſionary of Amſterdam, and other principal magiſtrates of that city.—They now not only avow the whole tranſaction, but glory in it, and expreſsly ſay, even to the States-General, that what they did 'was what their indiſpenſable duty required.'

In the mean time, the States-General declined to give any anſwer to the Memorial preſented by our Ambaſſador; and this refuſal

fusal was aggravated by their proceeding upon other business, nay upon the consideration of this very subject to internal purposes; and, while they found it impossible to approve the conduct of their subjects, they still industriously avoided to give us the satisfaction so manifestly due.

We had every right to expect, that such a discovery would have roused them to a just indignation at the insult offered to us, and to themselves; and that they would have been eager to give us full and ample satisfaction for the offence, and to inflict the severest punishment upon the offenders. The urgency of the business made an instant answer essential to the honour and safety of this country. The demand was accordingly pressed by our Ambassador in repeated conferences with the ministers; and in a second Memorial it was pressed with all the earnestness which could proceed from our ancient friendship and the sense of recent injuries; and the answer now given to a Memorial on such a subject, delivered above five weeks ago, is, 'That the States have taken it ad referendum.'—Such an answer, upon such an occasion, could only be dictated by the fixt purpose of hostility meditated, and already resolved, by the States, induced by the offensive Councils of Amsterdam thus to countenance the hostile aggression, which the magistrates of that city have made in the name of the Republic.

There is an end of the faith of all treaties with them, if Amsterdam may usurp the sovereign power, may violate those treaties with impunity, by pledging the States to engagements directly contrary, and leaguing the Republic with the rebels of a sovereign to whom she is bound by the closest ties. An infraction of the law of nations, by the meanest member of any country, gives the injured State a right to demand satisfaction and punishment:—how much more so, when the injury complained of is a flagrant violation of public faith, committed by leading and predominant members in the State? Since then the satisfaction we have demanded is not given, we must, though most reluctantly, do ourselves that justice which we cannot otherwise obtain: we must consider the States-General as parties in the injury which they will not repair, as sharers in the aggression which they refuse to punish, and must act accordingly. We have therefore ordered our Ambassador to withdraw from the Hague, and shall immediately pursue such vigorous measures as the occasion fully justifies, and our dignity and the essential interests of our people require.

From a regard to the Dutch nation at large, we wish it were possible to direct those measures wholly against Amsterdam; but this cannot be unless the States-General will immediately declare, that Amsterdam shall, upon this occasion, receive no assistance from them, but be left to abide the consequences of its aggression.

Whilst Amsterdam is suffered to prevail in the general councils, and is backed by the strength of the State, it is impossible to resist the aggression of so considerable a part, without contending with the whole. But we are too sensible of

of the common intereſts of both countries not to remember, in the midſt of ſuch a conteſt, that the only point to be aimed at by us is to raiſe a diſpoſition in the councils of the Republic to return to our ancient union, by giving us that ſatisfaction for the paſt, and ſecurity for the future, which we ſhall be as ready to receive as they can be to offer, and to the attainment of which we ſhall direct all our operations. We mean only to provide for our own ſecurity, by defeating the dangerous deſigns that have been formed againſt us. We ſhall ever be diſpoſed to return to friendſhip with the States-General, when they ſincerely revert to that ſyſtem which the wiſdom of their anceſtors formed, and which has now been ſubverted by a powerful faction, conſpiring with France againſt the true intereſts of the Republic, no leſs than againſt thoſe of Great Britain.

St. James's, December 20, 1780.

G. R.

Letter from Count Welderen *to Lord* Stormont.

My Lord,

I AM much obliged to your excellency for your attention and offer of ſending a packet-boat to Margate, for my paſſage to Oſtend. I ſhall have no occaſion for the ſame, having already engaged a veſſel from Oſtend, named Le Courier de l'Europe, for that purpoſe. This veſſel is now lying at the Tower, ready to take in my baggage. I beg your excellency will be pleaſed to cauſe the neceſſary orders to be iſſued from the Treaſury and the Cuſtom-houſe, that it may be embarked without any hindrance. As ſoon as this is done, the ſaid veſſel will ſail for Margate, whither I ſhall repair by land with the Counteſs of Welderen. I alſo beg your excellency to furniſh me with the neceſſary paſſports for my voyage, and likewiſe with two paſſports for two Dutch expreſſes, named J. Paux, and Augent Kohler, by the way of Harwich.

I cannot help at the ſame time, to expreſs my ſurpriſe to your lordſhip, in receiving back from your excellency's office the letter which I had the honour to ſend there: nor was I leſs aſtoniſhed when my ſecretary, whom I had ſent to your lordſhip's office, to inquire the reaſon of returning the ſaid letter without being opened, acquainted me therewith. Give me leave to obſerve to your lordſhip, that it is impoſſible to know whether a propoſition is admiſſible or not, before it has been ſeen and examined. Their High Mightineſſes have given me expreſs orders to deliver unto the Britiſh miniſtry, before I ſhould withdraw from this court, the papers which I had the honour of addreſſing to your excellency yeſterday morning. How can I execute theſe orders, if you will not permit me to ſee you, nor accept any letters from me? I flatter myſelf that, convinced of the juſtice of my remarks, you will be pleaſed to accept the letter which I ſent yeſterday, and to ſend me a line in anſwer, informing me of your intentions in that reſpect.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed,

V. WELDEREN.

London, Dec. 29, 1780.

Letter

Letter from Lord Stormont *to Count* Welderen.

SIR,

UNTIL the conduct of the Republic had broken the ties of friendſhip which ſubſiſted between the two nations, and which the king has conſtantly deſired to preſerve, I have always been, as you know very well, Sir, ready and willing to confer with you on all occaſions, and upon all objects concerning your miniſtry; and have always received what came from your part with due attention. But ſince all connection between the two nations is broken off by the aggreſſion of your's, and ſince I have officially notified unto you the king's manifeſto, and orders given in conſequence thereof, I can no longer behold you as the miniſter of a friendly power. You cannot, therefore, Sir, attribute the return of your packet without my opening it, but to the execution of indiſpenſable duty in the preſent circumſtances. After an open rupture, all miniſterial communication between us muſt neceſſarily ceaſe: and anterior orders are no longer applicable to the preſent ſtate of affairs.

I have the honour, &c.

Signed,

STORMONT.

A Report of the Commiſſioners appointed to examine, take, and ſtate the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.

THE act of parliament that conſtitutes us commiſſioners for examining, taking, and ſtating the public accounts of the kingdom, being paſſed, we entered immediately upon the execution of the powers thereby veſted in us; we took the oath preſcribed, and ſettled the neceſſary arrangements of office and forms of proceeding.

The legiſlature not having left to our diſcretion, which of the various ſubjects referred to our conſideration we ſhould begin our enquiries with, but on the contrary having expreſsly directed us, 'in the firſt place, to take an account of the public money in the hands of the ſeveral accountants; and for that purpoſe to call upon them to deliver in a caſh account; and to conſider what ſum it might be proper to leave in the hands of each accountant reſpectively, for carrying on the ſervices to which the ſame is or might be applicable, and what ſums might be taken out of their hands for the public ſervice;' we, in obedience to the act, immediately applied ourſelves to that ſubject.

The public accountants may be diſtinguiſhed into three claſſes.

1ſt, Thoſe who receive public money from the ſubject, to be paid into the Exchequer.

2dly, Thoſe who receive public money from the Exchequer by way of impreſt, and upon account.

3dly, Thoſe who receive public money from certain of this claſs of accountants, ſubject to account, and who may be called ſub-accountants.

We began our enquiries in the firſt claſs, and of that claſs, with the Receivers-general of the land-tax. To come at a knowledge of their names, and of the balances of public money in their hands, we procured from the tax-office the laſt

laſt certificate of the remains of the land-tax. By that certificate it appeared, that of the land-tax, window, and houſe-tax, to Lady-day laſt, the arrears in the hands of the Receivers-general, upon the 14th of July laſt, amounted to the ſum of three hundred and ninety-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-eight pounds nine ſhillings and five-pence half-penny.

As this certificate was grounded upon returns not made to us, but to the tax-office, we iſſued our precepts to every Receiver-general of the land-tax, and to the repreſentatives of thoſe who are dead, requiring them forthwith to tranſmit to us an account of the public money in their hands, cuſtody, or power, at the time they ſhould each of them receive our precept.

Returns were accordingly made to all our precepts; and from theſe it appears, that the balances for the taxes on land, windows, and houſes, ſervants, and inhabited houſes, remaining in their reſpective hands upon the days therein mentioned, amounted together to the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand four hundred pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence.

We proceeded in the next place, purſuant to the directions of the act, to enquire to what ſervices theſe ſums were or might be applicable, in the hands of the reſpective accountants.

And we find, that by the militia act of the ſecond of his preſent majeſty, the Receiver-general of the land-tax for every county is required to pay to the commanding officer of every company of the militia of that county, being ordered out into, or being out in actual ſervice, one guinea for each private man belonging to his company, upon the day appointed for marching; and that by the act of the twentieth of his preſent majeſty, for defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia, he is ordered to pay to the clerk of the general meetings five pounds five ſhillings for each meeting, and to every of the clerks of the ſub-diviſion meetings, one pound one ſhilling for each meeting: and, except the charges of collecting, receiving, and accounting, we do not find, that, when the militia is embodied, the duties collected by theſe receivers are liable to any payments, or applicable to any other ſervices whatſoever.

In the returns made to us by Receivers-general, ſuch ſums as are ſtated to have been paid for theſe ſervices of the militia, for the year 1779, are different in different counties; but, as theſe payments cannot, from the nature of them, amount in any county to a conſiderable ſum, we conceive they may be made out of the current receipts of theſe taxes.

As the Receiver-general is required by the land-tax act, within twenty days at fartheſt after he has received money for that duty, and by the acts which grant the duties on houſes, windows, ſervants, and inhabited houſes, within forty days after he has received thoſe duties, to pay the ſame into the Exchequer; it becomes neceſſary for us to enquire upon what grounds, and for what purpoſes, the Receivers-general retained in their hands ſo conſiderable a part of theſe duties, ſo long after the ſame

ſame ought, according to the directions of the ſeveral acts above mentioned, to have been paid into the Exchequer. To this point, amongſt others, we examined George Roſe, Eſq; Secretary to the Tax-office; John Fordyce, Eſq; Receiver-general for Scotland; William Mitford, Eſq; Receiver-general for the county of Suſſex; Thomas Allen, Eſq; Receiver-general for part of the county of Somerſet; Thomas Walley Partington, Eſq; Receiver-general for the counties of Northampton and Rutland, and town of Northampton; and George Rowley, Eſq; Receiver-general for the county of Huntingdon.

In theſe examinations, two reaſons are aſſigned for this detention of the public money; one is the difficulty of procuring remittances to London, eſpecially from the diſtant counties; the other is, the inſufficiency of the ſalary of twopence in the pound, allowed the Receiver by the land-tax and other acts, upon the ſums paid by him into the Exchequer, to anſwer the trouble, riſk, and expence, attending his office; to ſupply which, and to render the employment worth having, he has been accuſtomed to retain in his hands a conſiderable part of theſe duties, for the purpoſe of his own advantage.

As an examination into the manner and charge of collecting and remitting, in an office of receipt, ſimilar in its circumſtances, might enable us to form ſome judgment of the validity of theſe reaſons; we directed our enquiries to the collection and remittance of the duties of exciſe.

For this purpoſe, we examined Goulſton Bruere, Eſq; firſt General Accountant; Richard Paton, Eſq; ſecond General Accountant in that office; Mr. Richard Richardſon, Collector of Exciſe for the Hertford collection; Mr. Thomas Ball, Collector of Exciſe for the Bath collection; and George Rowley, Eſq; who is Collector of Exciſe for the Bedford collection, as well as Receiver-general of the land-tax for the county of Huntingdon; and George Lewis Scott, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of Exciſe. We procured too, from that office, an account of the groſs and nett produce of the Exciſe, received by each collector for the year 1779; in which it appears, that the groſs produce amounted to the ſum of three millions ſeven hundred and fourteen thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-one pounds ſixteen ſhillings and an half-penny, excluſive of the receipt at the Exciſe-office in London, paid in by the perſons charged, without the intervention of a collector: which groſs ſum, being, as we apprehend, conſiderably more than the amount of the duties paid to the Receivers-general, is collected in England and Wales, by fifty-three collectors, being only two more than the number of Receivers-general of the land-tax, including Scotland.

From theſe laſt examinations we learn, that each collector of Exciſe goes his rounds eight times in the year; that he remits the whole of his nett collection in every round to the Exciſe-office, chiefly by bills at twenty-one days after date, in the counties near London; at thirty days, in the more remote coun-

counties; and at fifty or sixty days in the most distant, and none at a longer date; that he is continually remitting during his round; and, within a week after it is finished, sends up by a balance-bill all that remains of the duties collected by him in that round; that he finds no difficulty in procuring bills; could return more money by the same method; and is never suffered to keep any money in his hands.

Each collector is paid a salary of one hundred and twenty pounds a year, subject to deductions amounting to one shilling and nine-pence in the pound; and is allowed perquisites to about one hundred pounds a year more; and gives security for five thousand pounds.

We endeavoured to form some computation of the loss, sustained by the public, from the detention of the money by the Receivers-general, and for that purpose we called for an account of the quarterly returns made by them to the tax-office; from whence it appears, that the average sum in their hands, from the 5th of July, 1778, (when the mode was adopted of transmitting the account on oath,) to the 7th of July last, amounted to three hundred thirty-four thousand and sixty-one pounds, the interest of which, at four per cent. being thirteen thousand three hundred sixty-two pounds a year, we conceive the public have been obliged to pay, for want of the use of their own money.

But the loss has been, not of interest only, the revenue itself has suffered: for by an account of the arrears and defaulters of the land-tax, and other duties, from the year 1756, which we called for from the tax-office, those arrears in the hands of the defaulters, not included in the first certificate, appear to amount to one hundred and thirteen thousand one hundred and sixty-one pounds seven shillings and two-pence half-penny, of which twenty-four thousand two hundred and fifty-seven pounds seven shillings and two-pence three farthings is actually lost upon composition; of the remainder, part is in a course of legal proceedings, and the recovery of a great part doubtful; whereas, by a return which we required from the Commissioners of Excise, for the same period, we find there have been no arrears or defaulters among the Officers of Excise, except in one instance, to the amount of three thousand six hundred pounds.

From this comparative view of the modes of collecting and remitting these different duties, and of the advantages accruing to the receiver and collector from their several employments, we are induced to think, that the Receiver-general of the land-tax is not warranted in his detention of the public money, either by the difficulty of procuring bills, or by the insufficiency of his salary.

Supposing, however, the difficulty of procuring bills really to exist, though it might occasion some delay in the remittance, it yet is no justification of the Receiver for constantly keeping a large balance in his hands; and, admitting the poundage not to be an equivalent for his pains, yet we are of opinion, that the present mode of supplying the deficiency, by permitting him to with-

withhold the duties, is injurious to the public, and ought to be discontinued.

The revenue ſhould come from the pocket of the ſubject directly into the Exchequer; but to permit Receivers to retain it in their hands, expreſsly for their own advantage, is to furniſh them with the ſtrongeſt motive for withholding it. A private intereſt is created, in direct oppoſition to that of the public; government is compelled to have recourſe to expenſive loans; and the revenue itſelf is finally endangered.

We are, therefore, of opinion, that there are no ſervices to which the ſaid ſum of ſix hundred fifty-ſeven thouſand four hundred pounds thirteen ſhillings and fourpence is or may be applicable in the hands of the Receiver-generals of the land-tax, or for the repreſentatives of ſuch of them as are dead; and that it is not proper to leave any part of it in their reſpective hands; but that the ſame, or ſo much thereof as now remains with them, ought to be paid into the Exchequer, at ſuch times, and by ſuch inſtallments, as may be thought reaſonable, after a practice of ſo long continuance, and as ſhall be conſiſtent with ſuch engagements as may have been entered into with any particular Receivers.

GUY CARLETON, (L. S.)
T. ANGUISH, (L. S.)
A. PIGGOTT, (L. S.)
RICHARD NEAVE, (L. S.)
SAM. BEACHCROFT, (L. S.)
GEO. DRUMMOND. (L. S.)

27th Nov. 1780.

Proceedings of a Board of General Officers, held by order of General Waſhington, *Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States of* America, *reſpecting Major* John Andrè, *Adjutant General of the* Britiſh *Army, September* 29, 1780.

Publiſhed at Philadelphia, *by order of Congreſs.*

Extracts of Letters from General Waſhington, *to the Preſident of Congreſs.*

Robinſon's Houſe in the High Lands, Sept. 29, 1780.

SIR,

I Have the honour to inform the Congreſs, that I arrived here yeſterday about twelve o'clock, on my return from Hartford. Some hours previous to my arrival, Major-general Arnold went from his quarters, which were at this place, and, as it was ſuppoſed, over the river to the garriſon at Weſt-point, whither I proceeded myſelf, in order to viſit the poſt. I found General Arnold had not been there during the day, and on my return to his quarters, he was ſtill abſent. In the mean time, a packet had arrived from Lieutenant-colonel Jameſon, announcing the capture of John Anderſon, who was endeavouring to go to New-York with ſeveral intereſting and important papers, all in the handwriting of General Arnold. This was accompanied with a letter from the priſoner, avowing himſelf to be Major John Andrè, Adjutant-general to the Britiſh army, relating the manner of his capture, and endeavouring to ſhew that he did not come under the deſcription of a ſpy. From theſe ſeveral circumſtances, and information that the general ſeemed to be thrown

thrown into some degree of agitation, on receiving a letter a little time before he went from his quarters, I was led to conclude immediately, that he had heard of Major André's captivity, and that he would, if possible, escape to the enemy; and accordingly took such measures as appeared most probable to apprehend him: but he had embarked in a barge, and proceeded down the river, under a flag, to the Vulture ship of war, which lay at some miles below Stoney and Verplank's Point. He wrote me a letter after he got on board. Major André was not arrived yet; but I hope he is secure, and that he will be here today. I have been, and am taking precautions, which I trust will prove effectual to prevent the important consequences which this conduct, on the part of General Arnold, was intended to produce. I do not know the party that took Major André, but it is said it consisted only of a few militia, who acted in such a manner on the occasion, as does them the highest honour, and proves them to be men of great virtue. As soon as I know their names, I shall take pleasure in transmitting them to Congress.

Paramus, Oct. 7, 1780.

SIR,

I have the honour to inclose to Congress a copy of the proceedings of a board of general officers in the cause of Major André, Adjutant-general to the British army. This officer was executed in pursuance of the sentence of the board, on Monday the 2d instant, at twelve o'clock, at our late camp at Tappan. Besides the proceedings, I transmit copies of sundry letters respecting the matter, which are all that passed on the subject, not included in the proceedings.

I have now the pleasure to communicate the names of the three persons who captured Major André, and who refused to release him, notwithstanding the most earnest importunities, and assurances of a liberal reward on his part. Their names are, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Vanwert.

Proceedings of a Board of General Officers, held by order of his Excellency Gen. Washington, Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States of America, *respecting Major* André, *Adjutant-general of the* British *Army, September* 29, 1780, *at* Tappan, *in the State of* New York.

PRESENT,

Major-general Green, President; Major-general Lord Stirling, Major-general St. Clair, Major-general the Marquis de la Fayette, Major-general Howe, Major-general the Baron de Steuben, Brigadier-general Parsons, Brigadier-general Clinton, Brigadier-general Knox, Brigadier-general Glover, Brigadier-general Patterson, Brigadier-general Hand, Brigadier-general Huntington, Brigadier-general Starke, John Laurence, Judge-advocate-general.

Major André, Adjutant-general to the British army, was brought before the board, and the following letter from General Washington to the board, dated head-quarters, Tappan, September 29, 1780, was laid before them, and read:

Gentlemen,

Major Andrè, Adjutant-general to the Britiſh army, will be brought before you for your examination. He came within our lines in the night, on an interview with Major-general Arnold, and in an aſſumed character, and was taken within our lines, in a diſguiſed habit, with a paſs under a feigned name, and with the incloſed papers concealed upon him. After a careful examination, you will be pleaſed, as ſpeedily as poſſible, to report a preciſe ſtate of his caſe, together with your opinion of the light in which he ought to be conſidered, and the puniſhment that ought to be inflicted. The Judge-advocate will attend to aſſiſt in the examination, who has ſundry other papers, relative to this matter, which he will lay before the board.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
your moſt obedient,
and humble ſervant,
G. WASHINGTON.

The Board of General Officers convened at Tappan.

The names of the officers compoſing the board were read to Major Andrè, and on his being aſked whether he confeſſed the matters contained in the letter from his Excellency General Waſhington to the board, or denied them, he ſaid, in addition to his letter to General Waſhington, dated Salem, the 24th of September, 1780, which was read to the board, and acknowledged by Major Andrè, to have been written by him, which letter is as follows:

Salem, 24th Sept. 1780.

SIR,

WHAT I have as yet ſaid concerning myſelf, was in the juſtifiable attempt to be extricated; I am too little accuſtomed to duplicity to have ſucceeded.

I beg your excellency will be perſuaded, that no alteration in the temper of my mind, or apprehenſion for my ſafety, induces me to take the ſtep of addreſſing you; but that it is to ſecure myſelf from an imputation of having aſſumed a mean character for treacherous purpoſes, or ſelf-intereſt: a conduct incompatible with the principles that actuated me, as well as with my condition in life.

It is to vindicate my fame that I ſpeak, and not to ſolicit ſecurity.

The perſon in your poſſeſſion is Major John Andrè, Adjutant-general to the Britiſh army.

The influence of one commander in the army of his adverſary, is an advantage taken in war. A correſpondence for this purpoſe I held, as confidential (in the preſent inſtance) with his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

To favour it, I agreed to meet upon ground not within poſts of either army, a perſon who was to give me intelligence: I came up in the Vulture man of war for this effect, and was fetched by the boat from the ſhore to the beach: being there, I was told, that the approach of day would prevent my return, and that I muſt be concealed until the next night. I was in my regimentals, and had fairly riſqued my perſon.

Againſt my ſtipulation, my intention, and without my knowledge before hand, I was conducted

ed within one of your posts. Your excellency may conceive my sensation on this occasion, and will imagine how much more I must have been affected, by a refusal to re-conduct me back the next night as I had been brought. Thus become a prisoner, I had to concert my escape. I quitted my uniform, and was passed another way in the night, without the American posts, to neutral ground; and being informed I was beyond all armed parties, and left to press for New-York, I was taken at Tarry-town, by some volunteers.

Thus, as I have had the honour to relate, was I betrayed (being Adjutant-general of the British army) into the vile condition of an enemy within your posts.

Having avowed myself a British officer, I have nothing to reveal but what relates to myself, which is true on the honour of an officer, and a gentleman.

The request I have made to your excellency, and I am conscious that I address myself well, is, that in any rigour policy may dictate, a decency of conduct towards me may mark, that though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonourable; as no motive could be mine, but the service of my king, and as I was involuntarily an impostor.

Another request is, that I may be permitted to write an open letter to Sir Henry Clinton, and another to a friend for cloaths and linen.

I take the liberty to mention the condition of some gentlemen at Charles-town, who, being either on parole, or under protection, were engaged in a conspiracy against us. Though their situation is not similar, they are objects who may be sent in exchange for me, or are persons whom the treatment I receive might affect.

It is no less, Sir, in a confidence in the generosity of your mind, than on account of your superior station, that I have chosen to importune you with this letter. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your excellency's most obedient,

and most humble servant,

JOHN ANDRE, Adj. Gen.

His Excellency Gen. Washington, &c.

He then said, that he came on shore from the Vulture sloop of war, in the night of the twenty-first of September inst. somewhere under the Haverstraw Mountain; that the boat he came on shore in carried no flag, and that he had on a surtout coat over his regimentals, and that he wore his surtout coat when he was taken:—That he met General Arnold on the shore, and had an interview with him there. He also said, that when he left the Vulture sloop of war, it was understood he was to return that night; but it was then doubted: and if he could not return he was promised to be concealed on shore in a place of safety, until the next night, when he was to return in the same manner he came on shore; and when the next day came, he was solicitous to get back, and made enquiries in the course of the day, how he should return, when he was informed he could not return that way, and he must take the route he did afterwards. He also said, that the first notice he had of his being within any of our posts, was, being challenged by the sen-

try, which was the firſt night he was on the ſhore. He alſo ſaid, that the evening of the twenty-ſecond of September inſtant, he paſſed King's Ferry, between our poſts of Stoney and Verplank's Points, in the dreſs he is at preſent in, and which he ſaid was not his regimentals; and which dreſs he procured after he landed from the Vulture, and when he was within our poſt; and that he was proceeding to New York, but was taken on his way at Tarrytown, as he mentioned in his letter, on Saturday the 23d of September inſtant, about nine o'clock in the morning.

The following papers were laid before the board, and ſhewn to Major Andrè, who confeſſed to the board, that they were found on him when he was taken; and ſaid they were concealed in his boot, except the paſs:——

A paſs from General Arnold to *John Anderſon*, which *name* Major Andrè *acknowledged he aſſumed.*

Artillery orders, September 5, 1780.

Eſtimate of the force at Weſt-Point and its dependencies, September 1780.

Eſtimate of men to man the works at Weſt-point, &c.

Return of ordnance at Weſt-point, September, 1780.

Remarks on works at Weſt-point.

Copy of a ſtate of matters laid before a council of war, by his Excellency General Waſhington, held the 6th of September, 1780.

A letter ſigned *John Anderſon*, dated September 7, 1780, to Colonel Sheldon *, was alſo laid before the board, and ſhewn to Major Andrè, which he *acknowledged* to have been written by *him*, and is as follows:

New York, Sept. 7, 1780.

SIR,

I AM told *my name* is made known to you, and that I may hope your indulgence in permitting me to meet a friend near your out-poſts. I will endeavour to obtain permiſſion to go out with a flag which will be ſent to Dobb's Ferry, on Monday next, the 11th, at 12 o'clock, when I ſhall be happy to meet Mr. G—— †. Should I not be allowed to go, the officer who is to command the eſcort, between whom and myſelf no diſtinction need be made, can ſpeak on the affair.

Let me intreat you, Sir, to

* Leſt it ſhould be ſuppoſed that Colonel Sheldon, to whom the above letter is addreſſed, was privy to the plot carrying on by General Arnold, it is to be obſerved, that the letter was found among Arnold's papers, and had been tranſmitted by Colonel Sheldon, who, it appears from a letter on the 9th of September to Arnold, which incloſed it, had never heard of John Anderſon before. Arnold, in his anſwer on the 10th, acknowledged he had not communicated it to him, though he had informed him, that he expected a perſon would come from New York, for the purpoſe of bringing him intelligence.

† It appears by the ſame letter that Arnold had written to Mr. Anderſon, under the ſignature of Guſtavus. His words are, "I was obliged to write with great caution to him, my letter was ſigned Guſtavus, to prevent any diſcovery, in caſe it fell into the hands of the enemy."

favour

favour a matter so interesting to the parties concerned, and which is of so private a nature, that the public on neither side can be injured by it.

I shall be happy, on my part, in doing any act of kindness to you, in a family or property concern of a similar nature.

I trust I shall not be detained: but should any old grudge be a cause for it, I should rather risk that, than neglect the business in question, or assume a mysterious character to carry on an innocent affair; and, as friends have advised, get your lines by stealth. I am, Sir, with all regard,

Your most obedient,
humble servant,
JOHN ANDERSON.

Colonel Sheldon.

Major Andrè observed, that this letter could be of no force in the case in question, as it was written in New York, when he was under the orders of General Clinton, but that it tended to prove, that it was not his intentions to come within our lines.

The board having interrogated Major Andrè, about his conception of his coming on shore under the sanction of a flag, he said, "that it was impossible for him to suppose he came on shore under that sanction; and added, that if he came on shore under that sanction, he certainly might have returned under it."

Major Andrè having acknowledged the preceding facts, and being asked whether he had any thing to say respecting them, answered, he left them to operate with the board.

The examination of Major Andrè being concluded, he was remanded into custody.

The following letters were laid before the board and read:—Benedict Arnold's letter to Gen. Washington, dated September 25, 1780; Colonel Robinson's letter to General Washington, dated September 25, 1780; and General Clinton's letter, dated the 26th of September, 1780, (inclosing a letter of the same date from Benedict Arnold) to General Washington.

On board the Vulture, Sept. 25 1780.

SIR,

THE heart which is conscious of its own rectitude, cannot attempt to palliate a step which the world may censure as wrong. I have ever acted from a principle of love to my country, since the commencement of the present unhappy contest between Great Britain and her Colonies: the same principle of love to my country actuates my present conduct, however it may appear inconsistent to the world, who very seldom judge right of any man's actions.

I have no favour to ask for myself. I have too often experienced the ingratitude of my country to attempt it; but from the known humanity of your excellency, I am induced to ask your protection for Mrs. Arnold, from every insult and injury that a mistaken vengeance of my country may expose her to. It ought to fall only on me: she is as good and as innocent as an angel, and is incapable of doing wrong. I beg she may be permitted to return to her friends in Philadelphia, or to come to me, as she may chuse. From your excellency I have no

fears on her account, but she may suffer from the mistaken fury of the country.

I have to request that the inclosed letter may be delivered to Mrs. Arnold, and she permitted to write to me.

I have also to ask that my cloaths and baggage, which are of little consequence, may be sent to me; if required, their value shall be paid in money. I have the honour to be, with great regard and esteem, your excellency's most obedient servant,

B. ARNOLD.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

N. B. In justice to the gentlemen of my family, Colonel Warwick, and Major Franks, I think myself in honour bound to declare, that they, as well as Joshua Smith, Esq; (who I know is suspected) are totally ignorant of any transactions of mine, that they had reason to believe were injurious to the public.

Vulture, off Sinsink, Sept. 25, 1780.

SIR,

I AM this moment informed, that Major André, Adjutant-general of his majesty's army in America, is detained as a prisoner by the army under your command. It is therefore incumbent on me to inform you of the manner of his falling into your hands: he went up with a flag, at the request of General Arnold, on public business with him, and had his permit to return by land to New York. Upon these circumstances, Major André cannot be detained by you, without the greatest violation of flags, and contrary to the custom and usage of all nations; and as I imagine you will see this in the same manner as I do, I must desire you will order him to be set at liberty, and allowed to return immediately. Every step Major André took, was by the advice and direction of General Arnold, even that of taking a feigned name, and of course not liable to censure for it.

I am, Sir, not forgetting our former acquaintance, your very humble servant,

BEV. ROBINSON,
Col. Roy. Americ.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

New York, Sept. 26, 1780.

SIR,

BEING informed that the king's Adjutant-general in America has been stopt, under Major-general Arnold's passports, and is detained a prisoner in your excellency's army, I have the honour to inform you, Sir, that I permitted Major André to go to Major-general Arnold, at the particular request of that general officer. You will perceive, Sir, by the inclosed paper, that a flag of truce was sent to receive Major André, and passports granted for his return. I therefore cannot have a doubt but your excellency will immediately direct, that this officer has permission to return to my orders at New York.

I have the honour to be, your excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

H. CLINTON.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

New York, Sept. 26, 1780.

SIR,

IN answer to your excellency's message, respecting your Adjutant-general, Major André, and delivering

vering my ideas of the reaſon why he is detained, being under my paſſports, I have the honour to inform you, that I apprehend a few hours muſt return Major Andrè to your Excellency's orders, as that officer is aſſuredly under the protection of a flag of truce, ſent by me to him, for the purpoſe of a converſation, which I requeſted to hold with him relating to myſelf, and which I wiſhed to communicate, through that officer, to your Excellency.

I commanded at the time at Weſt-point, and had an undoubted right to ſend my flag of truce for Major Andrè, who came to me under that protection; and having held my converſation with him, I delivered him confidential papers in my own hand-writing, to deliver to your Excellency. Thinking it much properer he ſhould return by land, I directed him to make uſe of the feigned name of John Anderſon, under which he had by my direction come on ſhore, and gave him my paſſports to go to the White Plains, on his way to New-York.——This officer cannot, therefore, fail of being immediately ſent to New-York, as he was invited to a converſation with me, for which I ſent him a flag of truce, and finally gave him paſſports for his ſafe return to your excellency; all which I had then a right to do, being in the actual ſervice of America, under the orders of General Waſhington, and commanding-general at Weſt-point, and its dependencies.

I have the honour to be your excellency's moſt obedient, and very humble ſervant,

B. ARNOLD.

His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

The Board having conſidered the letter from his Excellency General Waſhington reſpecting Major Andrè, Adjutant-general to the Britiſh army, the confeſſion of Major Andrè, and the papers produced to them, report to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, the following facts, which appear to them relative to Major Andrè:

Firſt, That he came on ſhore from the Vulture ſloop of war, in the night of the 21ſt of September inſtant, on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and ſecret manner.

Secondly, That he changed his dreſs within our lines; and under a feigned name, and in a diſguiſed habit, paſſed our works at Stoney and Verplank's points, the evening of the 22d of September inſtant, and was taken the morning of the 23d of September inſtant, at Tarry-town, in a diſguiſed habit, he being then on his way for New-York; and when taken, he had in his poſſeſſion ſeveral papers, which contained intelligence for the enemy.

The Board having maturely conſidered theſe facts, do alſo report to his Excellency General Waſhington, that Major Andrè, Adjutant-general to the Britiſh army, ought to be conſidered as a *ſpy* from the enemy, and that, agreeable to the law and uſage of nations, it is their opinion, he ought to ſuffer death.

Nathaniel Green, major-general, preſident; Stirling, major-general; La Fayette, major-general; Ar. St. Clair, major-general; R. Howe, major-general; Steuben, major-general; Samuel H. Parſons, brigadier-general; James Clinton, brigadier-general; Henry

Knox, brigadier-general artillery; John Glover, brigadier-general; John Patterſon, brigadier-general; Edward Hand, brigadier-general; J. Huntington, brigadier-general; John Starke, brigadier-general; John Laurence, judge-advocate-general.

APPENDIX.

Copy of a Letter from Major André, *Adjutant-general, to Sir* Henry Clinton, *K. B. &c. &c.*

Tappan, Sept. 29, 1780.

SIR,

YOUR excellency is doubtleſs already appriſed of the manner in which I was taken, and poſſibly of the ſerious light in which my conduct is conſidered, and the rigorous determination that is impending.

Under theſe circumſtances, I have obtained General Waſhington's permiſſion to ſend you this letter, the object of which is, to remove from your breaſt any ſuſpicion that I could imagine I was bound by your excellency's orders to expoſe myſelf to what has happened. The events of coming within an enemy's poſts, and of changing my dreſs, which led me to my preſent ſituation, were contrary to my own intentions, as they were to your orders; and the circuitous route which I took to return, was impoſed, (perhaps unavoidably) without alternative, upon me.

I am perfectly tranquil in mind, and prepared for any fate to which an honeſt zeal for my king's ſervice may have devoted me.

In addreſſing myſelf to your excellency on this occaſion, the force of all my obligations to you, and of the attachment and gratitude I bear you, recurs to me. With all the warmth of my heart, I give you thanks for your excellency's profuſe kindneſs to me! and I ſend you the moſt earneſt wiſhes for your welfare, which a faithful, affectionate, and reſpectful attendant can frame.

I have a mother and three ſiſters, to whom the value of my commiſſion would be an object, as the loſs of Grenada has much affected their income. It is needleſs to be more explicit on this ſubject; I am perſuaded of your excellency's goodneſs.

I receive the greateſt attention from his excellency General Waſhington, and from every perſon under whoſe charge I happen to be placed.

I have the honour to be, with the moſt reſpectful attachment, your excellency's moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN ANDRE, Adjutant-gen.

(Addreſſed)

His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

Copy of a Letter from his Excellency General Waſhington, *to his Excellency Sir* Henry Clinton.

Head-Quarters, Sept. 30, 1780.

SIR,

IN anſwer to your excellency's letter of the 26th inſtant, which I had the honour to receive, I am to inform you, that Major André was taken under ſuch circumſtances, as would have juſtified the moſt ſummary proceedings againſt him. I determined, however, to refer his caſe to the examination and deciſion of a board of general officers, who have reported, on his free and voluntary confeſſion and letters,

letters, "That he came on shore from the Vulture sloop of war, in the night of the 21st of September," &c. &c. as in the report of the board of general officers.

From these proceedings it is evident, Major Andrè was employed in the execution of measures very foreign to the objects of flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to authorize or countenance in the most distant degree; and this gentleman confessed, with the greatest candour, in the course of his examination, "That it was impossible for him to suppose, he came on shore under the sanction of a flag."

I have the honour to be your excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

(Addressed)

His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

In this letter, Major Andrè's, of the 29th of September, to Sir Henry Clinton, was transmitted.

New-York, Sept. 26, 1780.

SIR,

PERSUADED that you are inclined rather to promote than prevent the civilities and acts of humanity, which the rules of war permit between civilized nations, I find no difficulty in representing to you, that several letters and messages sent from hence, have been disregarded, are unanswered, and the flags of truce that carried them detained. As I ever had treated all flags of truce with civility and respect, I have a right to hope, that you will order my complaint to be immediately redressed.

Major Andrè, who visited an officer commanding in a district at his own desire, and acted in every circumstance agreeable to his direction, I find is detained a prisoner: my friendship for him leads me to fear, he may suffer some inconvenience for want of necessaries; I wish to be allowed to send him a few, and shall take it as a favour if you will be pleased to permit his servant to deliver them. In Sir Henry Clinton's absence, it becomes a part of my duty to make this representation and request.

I am, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

JAMES ROBERTSON, Lieut. Gen.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

Tappan, Sept. 30, 1780.

SIR,

I HAVE just received your letter of the 26th. Any delay which may have attended your flags has proceeded from accident, and the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, not from any intentional neglect, or violation. The letter that admitted of an answer, has received one as early as it could be given with propriety, transmitted by a flag this morning. As to messages, I am uninformed of any that have been sent.

The necessaries for Major Andrè will be delivered to him, agreeable to your request.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

G. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Lieut. Gen. Robertson, New-York.

New-

New-York, Sept. 30, 1780.

SIR,

FROM your excellency's letter of this date, I am perſuaded the Board of General officers, to whom you referred the caſe of Major Andrè, cannot have been rightly informed of all the circumſtances on which a judgment ought to be formed. I think it of the higheſt moment to humanity, that your excellency ſhould be perfectly apprized of the ſtate of this matter, before you proceed to put that judgment in execution.

For this reaſon, I ſhall ſend his Excellency Lieutenant-general Robertſon, and two other gentlemen, to give you a true ſtate of facts, and to declare to you my ſentiments and reſolutions. They will ſet out to-morrow as early as the wind and tide will permit, and wait near Dobb's-ferry for your permiſſion and ſafe conduct, to meet your Excellency, or ſuch perſons as you may appoint, to converſe with them on this ſubject.

I have the honour to be your Excellency's moſt obedient and humble ſervant,

H. CLINTON.

P. S. The Hon. Andrew Elliot, Eſq; Lieutenant-governor, and the Hon. William Smith, Chief Juſtice of this province, will attend his Excellency Lieutenant-general Robertſon. H. C.

His Excellency Gen. Waſhington.

Lieutenant-general Robertſon, Mr. Elliot, and Mr. Smith, came up in a flag veſſel to Dobb's-ferry, agreeable to the above letter. The two laſt were not ſuffered to land. General Robertſon was permitted to come on ſhore, and was met by Major-general Greene, who verbally reported, that General Robertſon mentioned to him in ſubſtance what is contained in his letter of the 2d of October, to General Waſhington,

New-York, Oct. 1, 1780.

SIR,

I TAKE this opportunity to inform your Excellency, that I conſider myſelf no longer acting under the commiſſion of Congreſs: their laſt to me being among my papers at Weſt-Point, you, Sir, will make ſuch uſe of it as you think proper.

At the ſame time I beg leave to aſſure your Excellency, that my attachment to the true intereſt of my country is invariable, and that I am actuated by the ſame principle which has ever been the governing rule of my conduct in this unhappy conteſt.

I have the honour to be, very reſpectfully, your Excellency's moſt obedient humble ſervant.

B. ARNOLD.

His Excellency Gen. Waſhington.

Greyhound Schooner, Flag of Truce, Dobb's-Ferry, Oct. 2, 1780.

SIR,

A NOTE I have from General Greene, leaves me in doubt if his memory had ſerved him to relate to you, with exactneſs, the ſubſtance of the converſation that had paſſed between him and myſelf, on the ſubject of Major Andrè: in an affair of ſo much conſequence to my friend, to the two armies, and humanity, I would leave no poſſibility of a miſunderſtanding, and therefore take the liberty

liberty to put in writing the ſubſtance of what I ſaid to General Greene.

I offered to prove, by the evidence of Colonel Robinſon, and the officers of the Vulture, that Major Andrè went on ſhore at General Arnold's deſire, in a boat ſent for him with a flag of truce; that he not only came aſhore with the knowledge and under the protection of the general who commanded in the diſtrict, but that he took no ſtep while on ſhore, but by the direction of General Arnold, as will appear by the incloſed letter from him to your Excellency. Under theſe circumſtances, I could not, and hoped you would not, conſider Major Andrè as a ſpy, for any improper phraſe in his letter to you.

The facts he relates correſpond with the evidence I offer; but he admits a concluſion that does not follow. The change of cloaths and name was ordered by General Arnold, under whoſe directions he neceſſarily was while within his command.

As General Greene and I did not agree in opinion, I wiſhed, that diſintereſted gentlemen of knowledge of the law of war and nations might be aſked their opinion on the ſubject, and mentioned Monſieur Knyphauſen and General Rochambault.

I related, that a Captain Robinſon had been delivered to Sir Henry Clinton as a ſpy, and undoubtedly was ſuch; but that it being ſignified to him, that you were deſirous that the man ſhould be exchanged, he had ordered him to be exchanged.

I wiſhed that an intercourſe of ſuch civilities, as the rules of war admit of, might take off many of its horrors. I admitted that Major Andrè had a great ſhare of Sir Henry Clinton's eſteem, and that he would be infinitely obliged by his liberation; and that, if he was permitted to return with me, I would engage to have any perſon you would be pleaſed to name, ſet at liberty.

I added, that Sir Henry Clinton had never put to death any perſon for a breach of the rules of war, though he had, and now has, many in his power. Under the preſent circumſtances, much good may ariſe from humanity, much ill from the want of it. If that could give any weight, I beg leave to add, that your favourable treatment of Major Andrè, will be a favour I ſhould ever be intent to return to any you hold dear.

My memory does not retain, with the exactneſs I could wiſh, the words of the letter which General Greene ſhewed me from Major Andrè to your Excellency. For Sir Henry Clinton's ſatisfaction, I beg you will order a copy of it to be ſent to me at New-York.

I have the honour to be your Excellency's moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

JAMES ROBERTSON.

His Excellency Gen. Waſhington.

New-York, Oct. 1, 1780.

SIR,

THE polite attention ſhewn by your Excellency and the gentlemen of your family to Mrs. Arnold, when in diſtreſs, demands my grateful acknowledgment and thanks, which I beg leave to preſent.

From

From your Excellency's letter to Sir Henry Clinton, I find a Board of General Officers have given it as their opinion, that Major Andrè comes under the deſcription of a ſpy: my good opinion of the candour and juſtice of thoſe gentlemen leads me to believe, that if they had been made fully acquainted with every circumſtance reſpecting Major Andrè, they would by no means have conſidered him in the light of a ſpy, or even of a priſoner. In juſtice to him, I think it my duty to declare, that he came from on board the Vulture at my particular requeſt, by a flag ſent on purpoſe for him by Joſhua Smith, Eſq; who had permiſſion to go to Dobb's-ferry to carry letters, and for other purpoſes not mentioned, and to return. This was done as a blind to the ſpy-boats. Mr. Smith at the ſame time had my private directions to go on board the Vulture, and bring on ſhore Colonel Robinſon, or Mr. John Anderſon, which was the name I had requeſted Major Andrè to aſſume: at the ſame time I deſired Mr. Smith to inform him, that he ſhould have my protection, and a ſafe paſſport to return in the ſame boat, as ſoon as our buſineſs was completed. As ſeveral accidents intervened to prevent his being ſent on board, I gave him my paſſport to return by land. Major Andrè came on ſhore in his uniform (without diſguiſe) which, with much reluctance, at my particular and preſſing inſtance, he exchanged for another coat. I furniſhed him with a horſe and ſaddle, and pointed out the route by which he was to return: and as commanding officer in the department, I had an undoubted right to tranſact all theſe matters, which, if wrong, Major Andrè ought by no means to ſuffer for them.

But if, after this juſt and candid repreſentation of Major Andrè's caſe, the Board of General Officers adhere to their former opinion, I ſhall ſuppoſe it dictated by paſſion and reſentment; and if that gentleman ſhould ſuffer the ſeverity of their ſentence, I ſhould think myſelf bound by every tie of duty and honour, to retaliate on ſuch unhappy perſons of your army as may fall within my power, that the reſpect due to flags, and to the law of nations, may be better underſtood and obſerved.

I have farther to obſerve, that forty of the principal inhabitants of South Carolina have juſtly forfeited their lives, which have hitherto been ſpared by the clemency of his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, who cannot in juſtice extend his mercy to them any longer, if Major Andrè ſuffers; which, in all probability, will open a ſcene of blood, at which humanity will revolt.

Suffer me to intreat your Excellency, for your own, and the honour of humanity, and the love you have of juſtice, that you ſuffer not an unjuſt ſentence to touch the life of Major Andrè.

But if this warning ſhould be diſregarded, and he ſuffer, I call heaven and earth to witneſs, that your Excellency will be juſtly anſwerable for the torrent of blood that may be ſpilt in conſequence.

I have the honour to be, with due reſpect, your Excellency's moſt obedient and very humble ſervant,

B. ARNOLD.

His Excellency Gen. Waſhington.

Tappan,

Tappan, Oct. 1, 1780.

SIR,

BUOYED above the terror of death, by the conſciouſneſs of a life devoted to honourable purſuits, and ſtained with no action that can give me remorſe, I truſt that the requeſt I make to your Excellency at this ſerious period, and which is to ſoften my laſt moments, will not be rejected.

Sympathy towards a ſoldier will ſurely induce your Excellency and a military tribunal to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honour.

Let me hope, Sir, that if aught in my character impreſſes you with eſteem towards me, if aught in my misfortunes marks me as the victim of policy, and not of reſentment, I ſhall experience the operation of theſe feelings in your breaſt, by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet.

I have the honour to be your Excellency's moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN ANDRE,
Adj. Gen. to the Britiſh Army.

The time which elapſed between the capture of Major Andrè, which was the 23d of September, and his execution, which did not take place till twelve o'clock on the 2d of October; the mode of trying him; his letter to Sir Henry Clinton, K. B. on the 29th of September, in which he ſaid, "I receive the greateſt attention from his Excellency General Waſhington, and from every perſon under whoſe charge I happen to be placed;" not to mention many other acknowledgments which he made of the good treatment he received; muſt evince, that the proceedings againſt him were not guided by paſſion or reſentment. The practice and uſage of war were againſt his requeſt, and made the indulgence he ſolicited, circumſtanced as he was, inadmiſſible.

Publiſhed by order of Congreſs,

CHARLES THOMSON.

General Arnold's *Addreſs to the Inhabitants of America, after having abandoned the Service of the Congreſs.*

New-York, Oct. 7, 1780.

I SHOULD forfeit, even in my own opinion, the place I have ſo long held in your's, if I could be indifferent to your approbation, and ſilent on the motives which have induced me to join the king's arms.

A very few words, however, ſhall ſuffice upon a ſubject ſo perſonal; for to the thouſands who ſuffer under the tyranny of the uſurpers in the revolted provinces, as well as to the great multitude who have long wiſhed for its ſubverſion, this inſtance of my conduct can want no vindication; and as to the claſs of men who are criminally protracting the war from ſiniſter views at the expence of the public intereſt, I prefer their enmity to their applauſe. I am, therefore, only concerned in this addreſs to explain myſelf to ſuch of my countrymen, as want abilities or opportunities to detect the artifices by which they are duped.

Having fought by your ſide when the love of our country animated our arms, I ſhall expect, from your juſtice and candour, what your deceivers, with more art and leſs honeſty,

honeſty, will find it inconſiſtent with their own views to admit.

When I quitted domeſtic happineſs for the perils of the field, I conceived the rights of my country in danger, and that duty and honour called me to her defence. A redreſs of grievances was my only object and aim; however, I acquieſced in a ſtep which I thought precipitate, the declaration of independence: to juſtify this meaſure, many plauſible reaſons were urged, which could no longer exiſt, when Great Britain, with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace us as children, and grant the wiſhed-for redreſs.

And now that her worſt enemies are in her own boſom, I ſhould change my principles, if I conſpired with their deſigns; yourſelves being judges, was the war the leſs juſt, becauſe fellow-ſubjects were conſidered as our foe? You have felt the torture in which we have raiſed our arms againſt a brother. God incline the guilty protracters of theſe unnatural diſſenſions to reſign their ambition, and ceaſe from their deluſions, in compaſſion to kindred blood!

I anticipate your queſtion, Was not the war a defenſive one, until the French joined in the combination? I anſwer, that I thought ſo. You will add, Was it not afterwards neceſſary, till the ſeparation of the Britiſh empire was complete? By no means; in contending for the welfare of my country, I am free to declare my opinion, that this end attained, all ſtrife ſhould have ceaſed.

I lamented, therefore, the impolicy, tyranny, and injuſtice, which, with a ſovereign contempt of the people of America, ſtudiouſly neglected to take their collective ſentiments of the Britiſh propoſals of peace, and to negociate, under a ſuſpenſion of arms, for an adjuſtment of differences; I lamented it as a dangerous ſacrifice of the great intereſts of this country, to the partial views of a proud, ancient, and crafty foe. I had my ſuſpicions of ſome imperfections in the councils, on propoſals prior to the parliamentary commiſſion of 1778; but having then leſs to do in the cabinet than the field (I will not pronounce peremptorily, as ſome may, and perhaps juſtly, that Congreſs have veiled them from the public eye) I continued to be guided in the negligent confidence of a ſoldier. But the whole world ſaw, and all America confeſſed, that the overtures of the ſecond commiſſion exceeded our wiſhes and expectations; and if there was any ſuſpicion of the national liberality, it aroſe from its exceſs.

Do any believe we were at that time really entangled by an alliance with France? Unfortunate deception! they have been duped by a virtuous credulity, in the incautious moments of intemperate paſſion, to give up their felicity to ſerve a nation wanting both the will and power to protect us, and aiming at the deſtruction both of the mother country and the provinces. In the plainneſs of common ſenſe, for I pretend to no caſuiſtry, did the pretended treaty with the court of Verſailles, amount to more than an overture to America? Certainly not, becauſe no authority had been given by the people to conclude it, nor to this very hour have they authoriſed its ratification. The articles

of confederation remain ſtill unſigned.

In the firm perſuaſion, therefore, that the private judgment of an individual citizen of this country is as free from all conventional reſtraints, ſince as before the inſidious offers of France, I preferred thoſe from Great-Britain; thinking it infinitely wiſer and ſafer to caſt my confidence upon her juſtice and generoſity, than to truſt a monarchy too feeble to eſtabliſh your independency, ſo perilous to her diſtant dominions; the enemy of the Proteſtant faith, and fraudulently avowing an affection for the liberties of mankind, while ſhe holds her native ſons in vaſſalage and chains.

I affect no diſguiſe, and therefore frankly declare, that in theſe principles I had determined to retain my arms and command for an opportunity to ſurrender them to Great Britain; and in concerting the meaſures for a purpoſe, in my opinion, as grateful as it would have been beneficial to my country, I was only ſolicitous to accompliſh an event of deciſive importance, and to prevent, as much as poſſible, in the execution of it, the effuſion of blood.

With the higheſt ſatisfaction I bear teſtimony to my old fellow-ſoldiers and citizens, that I find ſolid ground to rely upon the clemency of our ſovereign, and abundant conviction that it is the generous intention of Great-Britain not only to leave the rights and privileges of the colonies unimpaired, together with their perpetual exemption from taxation, but to ſuperadd ſuch farther benefits as may conſiſt with the common proſperity of the empire. In ſhort, I fought for much leſs than the parent country is as willing to grant to her colonies as they can be to receive or enjoy.

Some may think I continued in the ſtruggle of theſe unhappy days too long, and others that I quitted it too ſoon.—To the firſt I reply, that I did not ſee with their eyes, nor perhaps had ſo favourable a ſituation to look from, and that to our common maſter I am willing to ſtand or fall. In behalf of the candid among the latter, ſome of whom I believe ſerve blindly but honeſtly—in the bands I have left, I pray God to give them all the lights requiſite to their own ſafety before it is too late: and with reſpect to that herd of cenſurers, whoſe enmity to me originates in their hatred to the principles by which I am now led to devote my life to the re-union of the Britiſh empire, as the beſt and only means to dry up the ſtreams of miſery that have deluged this country, they may be aſſured, that, conſcious of the rectitude of my intentions, I ſhall treat their malice and calumnies with contempt and neglect.

B. Arnold.

Addreſs of Sir George Savile *to his Conſtituents.*

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the County of York.

Gentlemen,

I VENTURE once more to make you a tender of my ſervice in Parliament. Give me leave, at the ſame time, to offer you my cordial thanks for all the indulgencies you have ſhewn me; and for your kind acceptance of my endeavours to perform the duty I had

had undertaken. I look upon that partiality and favour as a moſt honourable teſtimony, becauſe it proves that you entertain a conviction of the purity of my intentions, ſufficient to make you overlook every thing amiſs which did not proceed from the will.

In renewing my deſire to continue in your ſervice, I think it, however, my duty to confeſs to you, that it has not been without much ſerious conſideration, and more than common heſitation, that I have determined upon it. I muſt not omit making you aware, that it is by no means probable I ſhould be able even to perform the mere duty of attendance as punctually as I have hitherto done; eſpecially if the duration of parliament ſhould prove to be for ſeven years. By what I have in ſome degree experienced already, I have no reaſon to believe ſo long a continuance of ſuch an attendance would be perfectly conſiſtent with my health.

But there is ſomething more ſerious I have to ſay to you on this ſubject. The ſatisfaction and honour of attending your buſineſs have ever overbalanced the labour: but my attendance during the laſt parliament has been ſomething worſe than laborious; it has been diſcouraging, grievous, and painful. Look back, for a moment, upon the things which have been done, or (being done) have been approved of, by that body, of which I have been a conſtituent part. Compare the preſent with the paſt ſituation of public affairs. Whether glory, conqueſt, and riches; or peace, content, liberty, and the enjoyment of your conſtitutional rights, be your principal objects—In which of them have you been gratified? I have been, in my collective capacity, a party to all theſe changes, and to all the meaſures which have produced them: ſupported in this mortifying ſituation with one only conſolation, a very great one indeed to my own mind, that of being able to aſſure you, that there has been no one meaſure, of all thoſe that have proved ſo ruinous and fatal, which I have not, as an individual, reſiſted, to the utmoſt of my power. A poor, barren, ineffectual negative; and a miſerable claim to your favour, to have failed (as far as my power and ſlender efforts are in queſtion) almoſt in every point regarding thoſe rights, and that proſperity, which I was ſpecially choſen to cultivate and maintain.

I return to you, therefore, baffled and diſpirited, and I am ſorry that truth obliges me to add, with hardly a ray of hope of ſeeing any change in the miſerable courſe of public calamities.

On this melancholy day of account in rendering up to you my truſt, I deliver to you your ſhare of a country maimed and weakened, its treaſure laviſhed and miſſpent, its honours faded, and its conduct the laughing-ſtock of Europe; our nation in a manner without allies or friends, except ſuch as we have hired to deſtroy our fellow-ſubjects, and to ravage a country, in which we once claimed an invaluable ſhare. I return to you ſome of your principal privileges impeached and mangled. And, laſtly, I leave you, as I conceive, at this hour and moment, fully, effectually, and abſolutely under the diſcretion and power

power of a military] force, which is to act without waiting for the authority of the civil magistrates; for it is fit you should know, if you are not already informed, that an order issued in London (at a moment when the violence of the riots, and the remissness of the civil magistrate might render necessary an extraordinary and violent temporary exertion of the military) that order, I say, has, as I have good grounds to believe, been extended to the whole kingdom; where neither of those causes existed in any degree sufficient to justify so decisive and extraordinary a measure; and I do not know of that order being recalled.

In this state of public affairs, and with this account to render of my commission, judge whether I can boldly and chearfully, or supported by any rational confidence, boast to you as candidates are wont to do, of what I will do, and what I will undertake for your service.

For this reason, avoiding even the usual style of such addresses, and forbearing as well the forward promises as the superficial humbleness of phrase in use on these occasions, I make it a solemn duty to lay before you, without disguise or palliation, the present state of your concerns as they appear to me, and the gloomy prospect which lies before us.

Some have been accused of exaggerating the public misfortunes, nay of having endeavoured to help forward the mischief, that they might afterwards raise discontents. I am willing to hope, that neither my temper, nor my situation in life, will be thought naturally to urge me to promote misery, discord, or confusion; or to exult in the subversion of order, or in the ruin of property. I have no reason to contemplate with pleasure the poverty of our country, the increase of our debts, and of our taxes: or the decay of our commerce—Trust not, however, to my report. Reflect, compare, and judge for yourselves.

But under all these disheartening circumstances, I could yet entertain a chearful hope, and undertake again the commission with alacrity, as well as zeal, if I could see any effectual steps taken to remove the original cause of the mischief. "Then would there be a hope."

Till the purity of the constituent body, and thereby that of the representative be restored, there is NONE.

While the electors sell their voices to the member, and the member distresses his fortune to buy them, parliament will be the purchase of the minister. Parliament-men will find ways of partaking other advantages than merely their share in common with you, of those good measures which they shall promote, and of those good laws which they shall enact for your government and their own: and the modern improved arts of corruption, by contracts, subscriptions, and jobs, is attended with this perverse and vexatious consequence; that their benefit is not only unconnected with your's, but it grows upon your distress. They feed on the expence; they fatten on every extravagance that art and ill conduct can engraft on the natural disadvantages of a remote, rash, ill-fated, impolitic, and unsuccessful war: the mi-

niſter's direct intereſt (nay his ſafety) mean while, requiring him to puſh the deſperate game, and even in ſelf-defence, to increaſe that very expence which is his crime; to entrench himſelf ſtill deeper in corruption, and by headlong and unmeaſured extravagance, to have the means of juſtifying to the faithful Commons, his former miſmanagement and miſdeeds.—See where this ends, but forget not where it begins.

I am led here very naturally to ſpeak upon the ſubject of certain regulations, which have been the object of your late aſſemblies and deliberations. Indeed, I have brought myſelf to this matter almoſt unavoidably, but not unwillingly. I gladly embrace this moſt public opportunity of delivering my ſentiments, not only to all my conſtituents, but to thoſe likewiſe, not my conſtituents, whom yet in the large ſenſe I repreſent, and am faithfully to ſerve; not only to twenty thouſand, my electors, but to hundreds of thouſands, in the county I repreſent, (to go no farther) who are to ſuffer under the bad conduct of parliament; and of declaring my intentions, regarding the two chief articles contained in the reſolutions agreed to at your late meetings; I mean, rendering parliaments triennial, and adding to the number of county repreſentatives.

I do intend to give my voice, if I have the honour of continuing in your ſervice, for the change of ſeptennial parliaments. And this, not becauſe I am ſo ſanguine as ſome are, in a full perſuaſion, that it will be a cure for all our evils; no, nor even that I promiſe myſelf it will be attended with any ſuch ſure hope of conſiderable advantage, (at leaſt, if unaccompanied by ſome other ſteps tending to purify the ſources of election and repreſentation) but chiefly, becauſe, on the beſt information I have obtained, I have reaſon to believe it is the mind and deſire of a very large number of my conſtituents: this ſeeming to me to be the one point (at leaſt with diſtinguiſhed preference) on which the ſender, not he who is ſent, has the perfect right to judge; and that, even if after all, I ſhould have miſtaken their general ſenſe, it will be at leaſt the ſafer error; ſince there is a manifeſt difference between the obtruding one's ſelf for ſeven years on him who wiſhes to have his choice again at the end of three; and returning for his approbation at three, when he might perhaps, have been well content to truſt one for ſeven.

I have a momentary pleaſure in adding (eſpecially when ſupported by your opinions) that I am willing to flatter myſelf, rather good than evil may ariſe from the change.

But I look upon reſtoring election and repreſentation in ſome degree (for I expect no miracles) to their original purity, to be that, without which all other efforts will be vain and ridiculous. The tenant-right, or good-will of a leaſe of three years, is as ſaleable as that of a leaſe of ſeven. It will find its price at both the London and country markets. It will be bought, it will be ſold. The member will be as manageable, if the conſtituent be as venal. And they will not be afraid to meet at market as often as you pleaſe.

The adding to the county repreſentation, if by no means a perfect

cure, ſeems yet to me to be the plaineſt and beſt propoſition for this purpoſe, that has yet come under my obſervation. I truſt, likewiſe, it may be practicable. I therefore embrace it, not only from a deference to your opinion, but with an approbation of my own. Yet, not flattering you, that it appears to me one of thoſe matters eaſy of execution, or to be done with a thought; on the contrary, it is more complicated (as it ſeems to me more effectual) than the firſt-mentioned alteration. But this is no time to talk of ſmall rubs, or difficulties. If ſomething be not done, you may, indeed, retain the outward form of your conſtitution, but not the power thereof.

For it is too ſerious a truth to be concealed, and, indeed, it is too late ſeriouſly to attempt to conceal it, that if the electors, forgetting the ſolemn duty they owe to the millions of their fellow-ſubjects, whoſe rights they are in the firſt inſtance intruſted with; if, forgetting the ſacred truſt repoſed in them, of chooſing thoſe who are to govern thoſe millions; if, forgetting that they are therefore a ſort of repreſentatives of all the people (who would be too numerous to vote themſelves); I ſay, if forgetting theſe things, and ſhamefully proſtituting themſelves, they are become ſo profligate as to ſell themſelves and their country; let them not wonder (nay, ſcarcely can they complain without ſhame) if thoſe whom they chooſe, imitating their conduct, retail daily thoſe rights which they have bought, whether it be at the ſeptennial, triennial, or annual fairs, and markets. We can converſe thus without a bluſh.

Neither time permits, nor does propriety allow me to enter into arguments in ſupport of a ſentiment of which (much I think to your honour) you have declared your approbation. But although it ſuits neither the time, nor the circumſtance, to argue and debate, I truſt you will not think I am out of the line of propriety, of duty, or of the reſpect I owe you, in thus making a public declaration of my opinions and intentions in matters concerning which, after the tender I have made of my ſervice, you have an unqueſtionable right, as you muſt have a natural with, to be informed.

When I began this paper, I had reaſon to believe the time preſſed; I was ſoon confirmed in what I had heard. It was become material to addreſs you quickly, if at all: but although what I have written has been the work of a few hours, do not think that the matter has not again and again been the ſubject of deliberate thought. I ſhould not have dared to have preſented you with crude nnd undigeſted ideas, or the fancy of a moment: but, on the other hand, ſo inattentive have I been to the advantages this addreſs might receive, in its form, from the aſſiſtance of abler perſons than myſelf, that I venture to ſubmit it thus publicly to you, without the opportunity of communicating it to thoſe whoſe principles, judgment, and line of conduct in the public walk, I have been habituated to look up to with hgh reſpect and eſteem.

My buſineſs is not to write ably to you, but to write with ſincerity.

The

The relation that ſtands now between us, gives you a right, if I may ſo ſpeak, to my unmended ſentiments; and I willingly ſubmit every defect to your cenſure, rather than be ſuppoſed to uſe management and art, or to conſult what is conformable to perſonal or party conſiderations, inſtead of that which unbridled truth (according to my conception of it) requires of me. What farther ſteps may be in contemplation towards obtaining the laudable object of our wiſhes, I do not know: but it is not probable that what has lately ariſen will ſlacken the zeal of thoſe who have already ſtepped forward in the buſineſs. With that idea upon my mind, it is impoſſible for me to conclude without expreſſing an earneſt wiſh, that whatever is thought of may be purſued with that true ſpirit of firmneſs and moderation, which belongs to the cauſe of juſtice; and above all, that by every means that can be deviſed, a good underſtanding and union may be inſured amongſt reſpectable men of all ranks and deſcriptions, who agree in the main principles of liberty; although there may be ſhades of difference in ſmaller points, or in matters not calling for immediate diſcuſſion. Indeed, you will find it true wiſdom, and a very honourable policy, to ſtrengthen the cauſe of your country with every honeſt aid that can be obtained.—No public cauſe was ever carried by divided efforts.

Till I have the honour of meeting you in the exerciſe of the great and reſpectable function of chooſing your repreſentatives, I beg leave to ſubſcribe myſelf, Gentlemen, with perfect reſpect, and a remembrance of all your kindneſs,

Your moſt obliged,
and faithful humble ſervant,

G. SAVILLE.

Newcaſtle upon Tyne, Sept. 5, 1780.

CHA-

CHARACTERS.

Character and Manners of the Venetians. *From a View of Society and Manners in Italy, by Dr.* Moore.

I AM very ſenſible, that it requires a longer reſidence at Venice, and better opportunities than I have had, to enable me to give a character of the Venetians. But were I to form an idea of them from what I have ſeen, I ſhould paint them as a lively ingenious people, extravagantly fond of public amuſements, with an uncommon reliſh for humour, and yet more attached to the real enjoyments of life, than to thoſe which depend on oſtentation, and proceed from vanity.

The common people of Venice diſplay ſome qualities very rarely to be found in that ſphere of life, being remarkably ſober, obliging to ſtrangers, and gentle in their intercourſe with each other. The Venetians in general are tall and well made. Though equally robuſt, they are not ſo corpulent as the Germans. The latter alſo are of fair complexions, with light grey or blue eyes; whereas the Venetians are for the moſt part of a ruddy brown colour, with dark eyes. You meet in the ſtreets of Venice many fine manly countenances, reſembling thoſe tranſmitted to us by the pencils of Paul Veroneſe and Titian. The women are of a fine ſtyle of countenance, with expreſſive features, and a ſkin of a rich carnation. They dreſs their hair in a fanciful manner, which becomes them very much. They are of an eaſy addreſs, and have no averſion to cultivating an acquaintance with thoſe ſtrangers who are preſented to them by their relations, or have been properly recommended.

Strangers are under leſs reſtraint here, in many particulars, than the native inhabitants. I have known ſome, who, after having tried moſt of the capitals of Europe, have preferred to live at Venice, on account of the variety of amuſements, the gentle manners of the inhabitants, and the perfect freedom allowed in every thing, except in blaming the meaſures of government. I have already mentioned in what manner the Venetians are in danger of being treated who give themſelves that liberty. When a ſtranger is ſo imprudent as to declaim againſt the form or the meaſures of government, he will either receive a meſſage to leave the territories of the ſtate, or one of the Sbirri will be ſent to accompany him to the Pope's or the Emperor's dominions.

The houſes are thought inconvenient by many of the Engliſh: they are better calculated, however, for the climate of Italy, than if they were built according to the London model, which, I ſuppoſe, is the plan thoſe critics approve. The floors are of a kind of red plaiſter, with a brilliant gloſſy ſurface, much more beautiful than wood, and far preferable in caſe of fire, whoſe progreſs they are calculated to check.

The principal apartments are on the ſecond floor. The Venetians ſeldom inhabit the firſt, which is often intirely filled with lumber: perhaps they prefer the ſecond, becauſe it is fartheſt removed from the moiſture of the lakes; or perhaps they prefer it, becauſe it is better lighted, and more cheerful; or they may have ſome better reaſon for this preference than I am acquainted with, or can imagine. Though the inhabitants of Great Britain make uſe of the firſt floors for their chief apartments, this does not form a complete demonſtration that the Venetians are in the wrong for preferring the ſecond. When an acute ſenſible people univerſally follow one cuſtom, in a mere matter of conveniency, however abſurd that cuſtom may appear in the eyes of a ſtranger at firſt ſight, it will generally be found, that there is ſome real advantage in it, which compenſates all the apparent inconveniences.

I had got, I don't know how, the moſt contemptuous opinion of the Italian drama. I had been told, there was not a tolerable actor at preſent in Italy, and I had been long taught to conſider their comedy as the moſt deſpicable ſtuff in the world, which could not amuſe, or even draw a ſmile from any perſon of taſte, being quite deſtitute of true humour, full of ribaldry, and only proper for the meaneſt of the vulgar. Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, and eager to give his Grace a full demonſtration of their juſtneſs, I accompanied the D— of H— to the ſtage-box of one of the play-houſes the very day of our arrival at Venice.

The piece was a comedy, and the moſt entertaining character in it was that of a man who ſtuttered. In this defect, and in the ſingular grimaces with which the actor accompanied it, conſiſted a great part of the amuſement.

Diſguſted at ſuch a pitiful ſubſtitution for wit and humour, I expreſſed a contempt for an audience which could be entertained by ſuch buffoonery, and who could take pleaſure in the exhibition of a natural infirmity.

While we inwardly indulged ſentiments of ſelf-approbation, on account of the refinement and ſuperiority of our own taſte, and ſupported the dignity of thoſe ſentiments by a diſdainful gravity of countenance, the ſtutterer was, giving a piece of information to Harlequin, which greatly intereſted him, and to which he liſtened with every mark of eagerneſs. This unfortunate ſpeaker had juſt arrived at the moſt important part of his narrative, which was, to acquaint the impatient liſtener where his miſtreſs was concealed, when he unluckily ſtumbled on a word of ſix or ſeven ſyllables, which completely obſtructed the progreſs of his narration. He attempted it again and again, but always

always without ſucceſs. You may have obſerved that, though many other words would explain his meaning equally well, you may as ſoon make a ſaint change his religion, as prevail on a ſtutterer to accept of another word in place of that at which he has ſtumbled. He adheres to his firſt word to the laſt, and will ſooner expire with it in his throat, than give it up for any other you may offer. Harlequin, on the preſent occaſion, preſented his friend with a dozen; but he rejected them all with diſdain, and perſiſted in his unſucceſsful attempts on that, which had firſt come in his way. At length, making a deſperate effort, when all the ſpectators were gaping in expectation of his ſafe delivery, the cruel word came up with its broad ſide foremoſt, and ſtuck directly acroſs the unhappy man's wind-pipe. He gaped, and panted, and croaked; his face ſluſhed, and his eyes ſeemed ready to ſtart from his head. Harlequin unbuttoned the ſtutterer's waiſtcoat, and the neck of his ſhirt; he fanned his face with his cap, and held a bottle of hartſhorn to his noſe. At length, fearing his patient would expire, before he could give the deſired intelligence, in a fit of deſpair he pitched his head full in the dying man's ſtomach, and the word bolted out of his mouth to the moſt diſtant part of the houſe.

This was performed in a manner ſo perfectly droll, and the humorous abſurdity of the expedient came ſo unexpectedly upon me, that I immediately burſt into a moſt exceſſive fit of laughter, in which I was accompanied by the D—, and by your young friend Jack, who was along with us; and our laughter continued in ſuch loud, violent, and repeated fits, that the attention of the audience being turned from the ſtage to our box, occaſioned a renewal of the mirth all over the playhouſe with greater vociferation than at firſt.

The number of playhouſes in Venice is very extraordinary, conſidering the ſize of the town, which is not thought to contain above one hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, yet there are eight or nine theatres here, including the opera-houſes. You pay a trifle at the door for admittance; this entitles you to go into the pit, where you may look about, and determine what part of the houſe you will ſit in. There are rows of chairs placed in the front of the pit, next the orcheſtra; the ſeats of theſe chairs are folded to their backs, and faſtened by a lock. Thoſe who chooſe to take them, pay a little more money to the door-keeper, who immediately unlocks the ſeat. Very decent-looking people occupy theſe chairs; but the back part of the pit is filled with footmen and gondoliers, in their common working clothes. The nobility, and better ſort of citizens, have boxes retained for the year; but there are always a ſufficient number to be let to ſtrangers: the price of thoſe varies every night, according to the ſeaſon of the year, and the piece acted.

A Venetian playhouſe has a diſmal appearance in the eyes of people accuſtomed to the brilliancy of thoſe of London. Many of the boxes are ſo dark, that the faces of the company in them can hardly

be diſtinguiſhed at a little diſtance, even when they do not wear maſks. The ſtage, however, is well illuminated, ſo that the people in the boxes can ſee, perfectly well, every thing that is tranſacted there; and when they chooſe to be ſeen themſelves, they order lights into their boxes. Between the acts you ſometimes ſee ladies walking about, with their Cavalieri Serventés, in the back part of the pit, when it is not crowded. As they are maſked, they do not ſcruple to reconnoitre the company, with their ſpying-glaſſes, from this place: when the play begins, they return to their boxes. This continual moving about from box to box, and between the boxes and the pit, muſt create ſome confuſion, and, no doubt, is diſagreeable to thoſe who attend merely on account of the piece. There muſt, however, be found ſome *douceur* in the midſt of all this obſcurity and confuſion, which, in the opinion of the majority of the audience, overbalances theſe obvious inconveniences.

The muſic of the opera here is reckoned as fine as in any town in Italy; and, at any rate, is far ſuperior to the praiſe of ſo very poor a judge as I am. The dramatic and poetical parts of thoſe pieces are little regarded; the poet is allowed to indulge himſelf in as many anachroniſms, and other inconſiſtencies, as he pleaſes. Provided the muſic receives the approbation of the critic's ear, his judgment is not offended with any abſurdities in the other parts of the compoſition. The celebrated Metaſtaſio has diſdained to avail himſelf of this indulgence in his operas, which are fine dramatic compoſitions. He has preſerved the alliance which ought always to ſubſiſt between ſenſe and muſic.

At the comic opera I have ſometimes ſeen action alone excite the higheſt applauſe, independent of either the poetry or the muſic. I ſaw a duo performed by an old man and a young woman, ſuppoſed to be his daughter, in ſuch an humorous manner, as drew an univerſal *encora* from the ſpectators. The merit of the muſical part of the compoſition, I was told, was but very moderate, and as for the ſentiment you ſhall judge.

The father informs his daughter, in a ſong, that he has found an excellent match for her; who, beſides being rich, and very prudent, and not too young, was over and above a particular friend of his own, and in perſon and diſpoſition much ſuch a man as himſelf; he concludes, by telling her, that the ceremony will be performed next day. She thanks him, in the gayeſt air poſſible, for his obliging intentions, adding, that ſhe ſhould have been glad to have ſhewn her implicit obedience to his commands, provided there had been any chance of the man's being to her taſte; but as, from the account he had given, there could be none, ſhe declares ſhe will not marry him next day, and adds, with a *very long* quaver, that if ſhe were to live to *eternity* ſhe ſhould continue of the ſame opinion. The father, in a violent rage, tells her, that inſtead of tomorrow, the marriage ſhould take place that very day; to which ſhe replies, non: he rejoins, ſi; ſhe, non, non; he, ſi, ſi; the daughter, non, non, nen; the father,

ther, ſi, ſi, ſi; and ſo the ſinging continues for five or ſix minutes. You perceive there is nothing marvellouſly witty in this; and for a daughter to be of a different opinion from her father, in the choice of a huſband, is not a very new dramatic incident. Well, I told you the duo was encored — they immediately performed it a ſecond time, and with more humour than the firſt. The whole houſe vociferated for it again; and it was ſung a third time in a manner equally pleaſant, and yet perfectly different from any of the former two.

I thought the houſe would have been brought down about our ears, ſo extravagant were the teſtimonies of approbation.

The two actors were obliged to appear again, and ſing this duo a fourth time; which they executed in a ſtyle ſo new, ſo natural, and ſo exquiſitely droll; that the audience now thought there had been ſomething deficient in all their former performances, and that they had hit on the true comic only this laſt time.

Some people began to call for it again; but the old man, now quite exhauſted, begged for mercy; on which the point was given up. I never before had any idea that ſuch ſtrong comic powers could have been diſplayed in the ſinging of a ſong.

Though the Venetian government is ſtill under the influence of jealouſy, that gloomy dæmon is now entirely baniſhed from the boſoms of individuals. Inſtead of the confinement in which women were formerly kept at Venice, they now enjoy a degree of freedom unknown even at Paris. Of the two extremes, the preſent, without doubt, is the preferable.

Along with jealouſy, *poiſon* and the *ſtiletto* have been baniſhed from Venetian gallantry, and the innocent maſk is ſubſtituted in their places. According to the beſt information I have received, this ſame maſk is a much more innocent matter than is generally imagined. In general it is not intended to conceal the perſon who wears it, but only uſed as an apology for his not being in full dreſs. With a maſk ſtuck in the hat, and a kind of black mantle, trimmed with lace of the ſame colour, over the ſhoulders, a man is ſufficiently dreſſed for any aſſembly at Venice.

Thoſe who walk the ſtreets, or go to the playhouſes with maſks actually covering their faces, are either engaged in ſome love intrigue, or would have the ſpectators think ſo; for this is a piece of affectation which prevails here, as well as elſewhere; and I have been aſſured, by thoſe who have reſided many years at Venice, that *refined* gentlemen, who are fond of the reputation, though they ſhrink from the cataſtrophe of an intrigue, are no uncommon characters here; and I believe it the more readily, becauſe I daily ſee many feeble gentlemen tottering about in maſks, for whom a baſon of warm reſtorative ſoup ſeems more expedient than the moſt beautiful woman in Venice.

One evening at St. Mark's place, when a gentleman of my acquaintance was giving an account of this curious piece of affectation, he deſired me to take notice of a Venetian nobleman of his acquaintance, who, with an air

of myſtery, was conducting a female maſk into his caſſino. My acquaintance knew him perfectly well, and aſſured me he was the moſt innocent creature with women he had ever been acquainted with. When this gallant perſon perceived that we were looking at him, his maſk fell to the ground, as if by accident; and after we had got a complete view of his countenance, he put it on with much hurry, and immediately ruſhed, with his partner, into the caſſino.

—Fugit ad ſalices, ſed ſe cupit antevideri.

You have heard, no doubt, of thoſe little apartments near St. Mark's place, called caſſinos. They have the misfortune to labour under a very bad reputation; they are accuſed of being temples entirely conſecrated to lawleſs love, and a thouſand ſcandalous tales are told to ſtrangers concerning them. Thoſe tales are certainly not believed by the Venetians themſelves, the proof of which is, that the caſſinos are allowed to exiſt; for I hold it perfectly abſurd to imagine, that men would ſuffer their wives to enter ſuch places, if they were not convinced that thoſe ſtories were ill-founded; nor can I believe, after all we have heard of the profligacy of Venetian manners, that women, even of indifferent reputations, would attend caſſinos in the open manner they do, if it were underſtood that more liberties were taken with them there than elſewhere.

The opening before St. Mark's church is the only place in Venice where a great number of people can aſſemble. It is the faſhion to walk here a great part of the evening, to enjoy the muſic, and other amuſements; and although there are coffee-houſes, and Venetian manners permit ladies, as well as gentlemen, to frequent them, yet it was natural for the noble and moſt wealthy to prefer little apartments of their own, where, without being expoſed to intruſion, they may entertain a few friends in a more eaſy and unceremonious manner than they could do at their palaces. Inſtead of going home to a formal ſupper, and returniug afterwards to this place of amuſement, they order coffee, lemonade, fruit, and other refreſhments, to the caſſino.

That thoſe little apartments may be occaſionally uſed for the purpoſes of intrigue, is not improbable; but that this is the ordinary and avowed purpoſe for which they are frequented is, of all things, the leaſt credible.

Some writers who have deſcribed the manners of the Venetians, as more profligate than thoſe of other nations, aſſert at the ſame time, that the government encourages this profligacy, to relax and diſſipate the minds of the people, and prevent their planning, or attempting any thing againſt the conſtitution. Were this the caſe, it could not be denied, that the Venetian legiſlators diſplay their patriotiſm in a very extraordinary manner, and have fallen upon as extraordinary means of rendering their people good ſubjects. They firſt erect a deſpotic court to guard the public liberty, and next they corrupt the morals of the people, to keep them from plotting againſt the ſtate. This laſt piece of refinement, however, is no more than a conjecture of ſome theoretical politicians, who are apt to take

take facts for granted, without ſufficient proof, and afterwards diſplay their ingenuity in accounting for them. That the Venetians are more given to ſenſual pleaſures than the inhabitants of London, Paris, or Berlin, I imagine will be difficult to prove; but as the ſtate inquiſitors do not think proper, and the eccleſiaſtical are not allowed to interfere in affairs of gallantry; as a great number of ſtrangers aſſemble twice or thrice a year at Venice, merely for the ſake of amuſement; and, above all, as it is the cuſtom to go about in maſks, an idea prevails, that the manners are more licentious here than elſewhere.

Of the Modern Romans. *From the ſame.*

IN their external deportment, the Italians have a grave ſolemnity of manner, which is ſometimes thought to ariſe from a natural gloomineſs of diſpoſition. The French, above all other nations, are apt to impute to melancholy, the ſedate ſerious air which accompanies reflection.

Though in the pulpit, on the theatre, and even in common converſation, the Italians make uſe of a great deal of action; yet Italian vivacity is different from French; the former proceeds from ſenſibility, the latter from animal ſpirits.

The inhabitants of this country have not the briſk look, and elaſtic trip, which is univerſal in France; they move rather with a ſlow compoſed pace: their ſpines, never having been forced into a ſtraight line, retain the natural bend; and the people of the moſt

finiſhed faſhion, as well as the neglected vulgar, ſeem to prefer the unconſtrained attitude of the Antinous, and other antique ſtatues, to the artificial graces of a French dancing-maſter, or the erect ſtrut of a German ſoldier. I imagine I perceive a great reſemblance between many of the living countenances I ſee daily, and the features of the ancient buſts and ſtatues; which leads me to believe, that there are a greater number of the genuine deſcendants of the old Romans in Italy, than is generally imagined.

I am often ſtruck with the fine character of countenance to be ſeen in the ſtreets of Rome. I never ſaw features more expreſſive of reflection, ſenſe, and genius; in the very loweſt ranks there are countenances which announce minds fit for the higheſt and moſt important ſituations; and we cannot help regretting, that thoſe to whom they belong, have not received an education adequate to the natural abilities we are convinced they poſſeſs, and been placed where theſe abilities could be brought into action.

Of all the countries in Europe, Switzerland is that, in which the beauties of nature appear in the greateſt variety of forms, and on the moſt magnificent ſcale; in that country, therefore, the young landſcape painter has the beſt chance of ſeizing the moſt ſublime ideas: but Italy is the beſt ſchool for the hiſtory painter, not only on account of its being enriched with the works of the greateſt maſters, and the nobleſt models of antique ſculpture; but alſo on account of the fine expreſſive ſtyle of the Italian countenance.

Strangers, on their arrival at Rome, form no high idea of the beauty of the Roman women, from the ſpecimens they ſee in the faſhionable circles to which they are firſt introduced. There are ſome exceptions; but in general it muſt be acknowledged, that the preſent race of women of high rank are more diſtinguiſhed by their other ornaments, than by their beauty. Among the citizens, however, and in the lower claſſes, you frequently meet with the moſt beautiful countenances. For a brilliant red and white, and all the charms of complexion, no women are equal to the Engliſh. If a hundred, or any greater number, of Engliſh women were taken at random, and compared with the ſame number of the wives and daughters of the citizens of Rome, I am convinced, that ninety of the Engliſh would be found handſomer than ninety of the Romans; but the probability is, that two or three in the hundred Italians would have finer countenances than any of the Engliſh. Engliſh beauty is more remarkable in the country, than in towns; the peaſantry of no country in Europe can ſtand a compariſon, in point of looks, with thoſe of England. That race of people have the conveniencies of life in no other country in ſuch perfection; they are no where ſo well fed, ſo well defended from the injuries of the ſeaſons; and no where elſe do they keep themſelves ſo perfectly clean, and free from all the vilifying effects of dirt. The Engliſh country girls, taken collectively, are, unqueſtionably, the handſomeſt in the world. The female peaſants of moſt other countries, indeed, are ſo hard worked, ſo ill fed, ſo much tanned by the ſun, and ſo dirty, that it is difficult to know whether they have any beauty or not. Yet I have been informed, by ſome amateurs, ſince I came here, that, in ſpite of all theſe diſadvantages, they ſometimes find, among the Italian peaſantry, countenances highly intereſting, and which they prefer to all the cherry cheeks of Lancaſhire.

Beauty, doubtleſs, is infinitely varied; and, happily for mankind, their taſte and opinions, on the ſubject, are equally various. Notwithſtanding this variety, however, a ſtyle of face, in ſome meaſure peculiar to its own inhabitants, has been found to prevail in each different nation of Europe. This peculiar countenance is again greatly varied, and marked with every degree of diſcrimination between the extremes of beauty and uglineſs. I will give you a ſketch of the general ſtyle of the moſt beautiful female heads in this country, from which you may judge whether they are to your taſte or not.

A great profuſion of dark hair, which ſeems to encroach upon the forehead, rendering it ſhort and narrow; the noſe generally either aquiline, or continued in a ſtraight line from the lower part of the brow; a full and ſhort upper lip; (by the way, nothing has a worſe effect on a countenance, than a large interval between the noſe and mouth;) the eyes are large, and of a ſparkling black. The black eye certainly labours under one diſadvantage, which is, that, from the iris and pupil being of the ſame colour, the contraction and

and dilatation of the latter is not ſeen, by which the eye is abridged of half its powers. Yet the Italian eye is wonderfully expreſſive; ſome people think it ſays too much. The complexion, for the moſt part, is of a clear brown, ſometimes fair, but very ſeldom florid, or of that bright fairneſs which is common in England and Saxony. It muſt be owned, that thoſe features which have a fine expreſſion of ſentiment and meaning in youth, are more apt, than leſs expreſſive faces, to become ſoon ſtrong and maſculine. In England and Germany, the women, a little advanced in life, retain the appearance of youth longer than in Italy.

There are no theatrical entertainments permitted in this city, except during the Carnival; but they are then attended with a degree of ardour unknown in capitals whoſe inhabitants are under no ſuch reſtraint. Every kind of amuſement, indeed, in this gay ſeaſon, is followed with the greateſt eagerneſs. The natural gravity of the Roman citizens is changed into a mirthful vivacity; and the ſerious, *ſombre* city of Rome exceeds Paris itſelf in ſprightlineſs and gaiety. This ſpirit ſeems gradually to augment, from its commencement; and is at its height in the laſt week of the ſix which comprehend the carnival. The citizens then appear in the ſtreets, maſked, in the characters of harlequins, pantaloons, punchinellos, and all the fantaſtic variety of a maſquerade. This humour ſpreads to men, women, and children; deſcends to the loweſt ranks, and becomes univerſal. Even thoſe who put on no maſk, and have no deſire to remain unknown, reject their uſual clothes, and aſſume ſome whimſical dreſs. The coachmen, who are placed in a more conſpicuous point of view than others of the ſame rank in life, and who are perfectly known by the carriages they drive, generally affect ſome ridiculous diſguiſe; Many of them chuſe a woman's dreſs, and have their faces painted, and adorned with patches. However dull theſe fellows may be, when in breeches, they are, in petticoats, conſidered as the pleaſanteſt men in the world; and excite much laughter in every ſtreet in which they appear. I obſerved to an Italian of my acquaintance, that, conſidering the ſtaleneſs of the joke, I was ſurpriſed at the mirth it ſeemed to raiſe. "When "a whole city," anſwered he, "are reſolved to be merry for a "week together, it is exceedingly convenient to have a "few eſtabliſhed jokes ready "made; the young laugh at the "novelty, and the old from preſcription. This metamorphoſis of the coachmen is certainly not the moſt refined kind of "wit; however, it is more "harmleſs than the burning of "heretics, which formerly was "a great ſource of amuſement to "our populace."

The ſtreet called the *corſo*, is the great ſcene of theſe maſquerades. It is crowded every night with people of all conditions: Thoſe of rank come in coaches, or in open carriages, made on purpoſe. A kind of civil war is carried on by the company, as they paſs each other. The greateſt mark of attention you can ſhew your friends and acquaintance, is,

to

to throw a handful of little white balls, reſembling ſugar-plums, full in their faces; and, if they are not deficient in politeneſs, they will inſtantly return you the compliment. All who wiſh to make a figure in the corſo, come well ſupplied in this kind of amunition.

Sometimes two or three open carriages, on a ſide, with five or ſix perſons of both ſexes in each, draw up oppoſite to each other, and fight a pitched battle. On theſe occaſions, the combatants are provided with whole bags full of the ſmall ſhot above mentioned, which they throw at each other, with much apparent fury, till their ammunition is exhauſted, and the field of battle is as white as ſnow.

The peculiar dreſſes of every nation of the globe, and of every profeſſion, beſides all the fantaſtic characters uſual at maſquerades, are to be ſeen on the corſo. Thoſe of harlequin and pantaloon are in great vogue among the men. The citizens wives and daughters generally affect the pomp of women of quality; while their brothers, or other relations, appear as train-bearers and attendants. In general, they ſeem to delight in characters the moſt remote from their own. Young people aſſume the long beard, tottering ſtep, and other concomitants of old age; the aged chuſe the bib and rattle of childhood; and the women of quality, and women of the town, appear in the characters of country maidens, nuns, and veſtal virgins. All endeavour to ſupport the aſſumed characters to the beſt of their ability; but none, in my opinion, ſucceed ſo well as thoſe who repreſent children.

Towards the duſk of the evening, the horſe race takes place. As ſoon as this is announced, the coaches, cabriolets, triumphal cars, and carriages of every kind, are drawn up, and line the ſtreet, leaving a ſpace in the middle for the racers to paſs. Theſe are five or ſix horſes trained on purpoſe for this diverſion; they are drawn up a breaſt in the Piazza del Popolo, exactly where the Corſo begins. Certain balls, with little ſharp ſpikes, are hung along their ſides, which ſerve to ſpur them on. As ſoon as they begin to run, thoſe animals, by their impatience to be gone, ſhew that they underſtand what is required of them, and that they take as much pleaſure as the ſpectators in the ſport. A broad piece of canvas, ſpread acroſs the entrance of the ſtreet, prevents them from ſtarting too ſoon: the dropping that canvas is the ſignal for the race to begin. The horſes fly off together, and, without riders, exert themſelves to the utmoſt; impelled by emulation, the ſhouts of the populace, and the ſpurs above mentioned. They run the whole length of the corſo; and the proprietor of the victor is rewarded by a certain quantity of fine ſcarlet or purple cloth, which is always furniſhed by the Jews.

Maſking and horſe-races are confined to the laſt eight days; but there are theatrical entertainments, of various kinds, during the whole ſix weeks of the carnival. The ſerious opera is moſt frequented by people of faſhion, who generally take boxes for the whole ſeaſon. The opera, with which this theatre

theatre opened, was received with the higheſt applauſe, though the muſic only was new. The Italians do not think it always neceſſary to compoſe new words for what is called a new opera; they often ſatisfy themſelves with new muſic to the affecting dramas of Metaſtaſio. The audience here ſeem to lend a more profound and continued attention to the muſic, than at Venice. This is probably owing to the entertainment being a greater rarity in the one city than in the other; for I could perceive that the people of faſhion, who came every night, began, after the opera had been repeated ſeveral nights, to abate in their attention, to receive viſitors in their boxes, and to liſten only when ſome favourite airs were ſinging: whereas the audience in the pit uniformly preſerve the moſt perfect ſilence, which is only interrupted by gentle murmurs of pleaſure from a few individuals, or an univerſal burſt of applauſe from the whole aſſembly. I never ſaw ſuch genuine marks of ſatisfaction diſplayed by any aſſembly, on any occaſion whatever. The ſenſibility of ſome of the audience gave me an idea of the power of ſounds, which the dulneſs of my own auditory nerves could never have conveyed to my mind. At certain airs, ſilent enjoyment was expreſſed in every countenance; at others, the hands were claſped together, the eyes half ſhut, and the breath drawn in, with a prolonged ſigh, as if the ſoul was expiring in a torrent of delight. One young woman, in the pit, called out, "O "*Dio, dove ſono! che piacer via* "*caccia l'alma?*"

On the firſt night of the opera, after one of theſe favourite airs, an univerſal ſhout of applauſe took place, intermingled with demands that the compoſer of the muſic ſhould appear. *Il maeſtro! il maeſtro!* reſounded from every corner of the houſe. He was preſent, and led the band of muſic; he was obliged to ſtand upon the bench, where he continued bowing to the ſpectators, till they were tired of applauding him. One perſon, in the middle of the pit, whom I had remarked diſplaying great ſigns of ſatisfaction from the beginning of the performance, cried out, "He deſerves to be "made chief muſician to the Vir-"gin, and to lead a choir of an-"gels!" This expreſſion would be thought ſtrong, in any country; but it has peculiar energy here, where it is a popular opinion, that the Virgin Mary is very fond, and an excellent judge, of muſic. I received this information on Chriſtmas morning, when I was looking at two poor Calabrian pipers doing their utmoſt to pleaſe her, and the Infant in her arms. They played for a full hour to one of her images which ſtands at the corner of a ſtreet. All the other ſtatues of the Virgin, which are placed in the ſtreets, are ſerenaded in the ſame manner every Chriſtmas morning. On my enquiring into the meaning of that ceremony, I was told the above-mentioned circumſtance of her character, which, though you may have always thought highly probable, perhaps you never before knew for certain. My informer was a pilgrim, who ſtood liſtening with great devotion to the pipers. He told me, at the ſame time, that the Virgin's taſte

was too refined to have much satisfaction in the performance of those poor Calabrians, which was chiefly intended for the Infant; and he desired me to remark, that the tunes were plain, simple, and such as might naturally be supposed agreeable to the ear of a child of his time of life.

Of Naples, *and the Manners of its Inhabitants. From the same.*

NAPLES was founded by the Greeks. The charming situation they have chosen, is one proof among thousands, of the fine taste of that ingenious people.

The bay is about thirty miles in circumference, and twelve in diameter; it has been named *crater*, from its supposed resemblance to a bowl. This bowl is ornamented with the most beautiful foliage, with vines, with olive, mulberry, and orange trees; with hills, dales, towns, villas, and villages.

At the bottom of the bay of Naples, the town is built in the form of a vast amphitheatre, sloping from the hills towards the sea.

If, from the town, you turn your eyes to the east, you see the rich plains leading to mount Vesuvius, and Portici. If you look to the west, you have the grotto of Pausilippo, the mountain on which Virgil's tomb is placed, and the fields leading to Puzzoli and the coast of Baia. On the north, are the fertile hills, gradually rising from the shore to the Campagna Felice. On the south, is the bay, confined by the two promontories of Misenum and Minerva, the view being terminated by the islands Procida, Ischia, and Caprea; and as you ascend to the castle of St. Elmo, you have all these objects under your eye at once, with the addition of a great part of the Campagna.

Independent of its happy situation, Naples is a very beautiful city. The style of architecture, it must be confessed, is inferior to what prevails at Rome; but tho' Naples cannot vie with that city in the number of palaces, or in the grandeur and magnificence of the churches, the private houses in general are better built, and are more uniformly convenient; the streets are broader and better paved. No street in Rome equals in beauty the Strada di Toledo at Naples; and still less can any of them be compared with those beautiful streets which are open to the bay. This is the native country of the zephyrs; here the excessive heat of the sun is often tempered with sea breezes, and with gales, wafting the perfumes of the Campagna Felice.

The houses, in general, are five or six stories in height, and flat at the top; on which are placed numbers of flower vases or fruit trees, in boxes of earth, producing a very gay and agreeable effect.

The fortress of St. Elmo is built on a mountain of the same name. The garrison stationed here have the entire command of the town, and could lay it in ashes at pleasure. A little lower, on the same mountain, is a convent of Carthusians. The situation of this convent is as advantageous and beautiful as can be imagined; and much expence has been lavished to render the building, the apartments, and the gardens, equal to the situation.

Though

Though Naples is admirably ſituated for commerce, and no kingdom produces the neceſſaries and luxuries of life in greater profuſion, yet trade is but in a languiſhing condition; the beſt ſilks come from Lyons, and the beſt woollen goods from England.

The chief articles manufactured here, at preſent, are, ſilk ſtockings, ſoap, ſnuff-boxes, or tortoiſe-ſhells; and the lava of Mount Veſuvius, tables, and ornamental furniture, of marble.

They are thought to embroider here better than even in France; and their macaroni is preferred to that made in any other part of Italy. The Neapolitans excel alſo in liqueurs and confections; particularly in one kind of confection, which is ſold at a very high price, called *Diabolonis*. This drug, as you will gueſs from its name, is of a very hot and ſtimulating nature, and what I ſhould think by no means requiſite to Neapolitan conſtitutions.

The inhabitants of this town are computed at three hundred and fifty thouſand. I make no doubt of their amounting to that number; for though Naples is not one third of the ſize of London, yet many of the ſtreets here are more crowded than the Strand. In London and Paris, the people who fill the ſtreets are mere paſſengers, hurrying from place to place on buſineſs; and when they chooſe to converſe, or to amuſe themſelves, they reſort to the public walks or gardens: at Naples the citizens have fewer avocations of buſineſs to excite their activity; no public walks, or gardens, to which they can reſort; and are, therefore, more frequently ſeen ſauntering and converſing in the ſtreets, where a great proportion of the pooreſt ſort, for want of habitations, are obliged to ſpend the night as well as the day. While you ſit in your chamber at London, or at Paris, the uſual noiſe you hear from the ſtreets, is that of carriages; but at Naples, where they talk with uncommon vivacity, and where whole ſtreets full of talkers are in continual employment, the noiſe of carriages is completely drowned in the aggregated clack of human voices. In the midſt of all this idleneſs, fewer riots or outrages of any kind happen, than might be expected in a town where the police is far from being ſtrict, and where ſuch multitudes of poor unemployed people meet together every day. This partly proceeds from the national character of the Italians, which, in my opinion, is quiet, ſubmiſſive, and averſe to riot or ſedition; and partly to the common people being univerſally ſober, and never inflamed with ſtrong and ſpirituous liquors, as they are in the northern countries. Iced water and lemonade are among the luxuries of the loweſt vulgar; they are carried about in little barrels, and ſold in half-penny's worth. The half naked lazzarone is often tempted to ſpend the ſmall pittance deſtined for the maintenance of his family on this bewitching beverage, as the moſt diſſolute of the low people in London ſpend their wages on gin and brandy; ſo that the ſame extravagance which cools the mob of the one city, tends to inflame that of the other to acts of exceſs and brutality.

There

There is not, perhaps, a city in the world, with the ſame number of inhabitants, in which ſo few contribute to the wealth of the community by uſeful, or by productive labour, as Naples; but the numbers of prieſts, monks, fiddlers, lawyers, nobility, footmen, and lazzaronis, ſurpaſs all reaſonable proportion; the laſt alone are computed at thirty or forty thouſand. If theſe poor fellows are idle, it is not their own fault; they are continually running about the ſtreets, as we are told of the artificers of China, offering their ſervice, and begging for employment; and are conſidered, by many, as of more real utility than any of the claſſes above mentioned.

The Neapolitan nobility are exceſſively fond of ſplendour and ſhow. This appears in the brilliancy of their equipages, the number of their attendants, the richneſs of their dreſs, and the grandeur of their titles.

I am aſſured, that the king of Naples counts a hundred perſons with the title of prince, and ſtill a greater number with that of duke, among his ſubjects. Six or ſeven of theſe have eſtates, which produce from ten to twelve or thirteen thouſand pounds a year; a conſiderable number have fortunes of about half that value; and the annual revenue of many is not above one or two thouſand pounds. With reſpect to the inferior orders of nobility, they are much poorer; many counts and marquiſſes have not above three or four hundred pounds a year of paternal eſtate, many ſtill leſs, and not a few enjoy the title without any eſtate whatever.

When we conſider the magnificence of their entertainments, the ſplendour of their equipages, and the number of their ſervants, we are ſurpriſed that the richeſt of them can ſupport ſuch expenſive eſtabliſhments. I dined, ſoon after our arrival, at the prince of Franca Villa's; there were about forty people at table; it was meagre day; the dinner conſiſted entirely of fiſh and vegetables, and was the moſt magnificent entertainment I ever ſaw, comprehending an infinite variety of diſhes, a vaſt profuſion of fruit, and the wines of every country in Europe. I dined ſince at the prince Iacci's. I ſhall mention two circumſtances, from which you may form an idea of the grandeur of an Italian palace, and the number of domeſtics which ſome of the nobility retain. We paſſed through twelve or thirteen large rooms before we arrived at the dining-room; there were thirty-ſix perſons at table, none ſerved but the prince's domeſtics, and each gueſt had a footman behind his chair; other domeſtics belonging to the prince remained in the adjacent rooms, and in the hall. We afterwards paſſed through a conſiderable number of other rooms in our way to one from which there is a very commanding view.

No eſtate in England could ſupport ſuch a number of ſervants, paid and fed as Engliſh ſervants are; but here the wages are very moderate indeed, and the greater number of men ſervants, belonging to the firſt families, give their attendance through the day only, and find beds and proviſions for themſelves. It muſt be remembered, alſo, that few of the nobles give entertainments, and thoſe who

who do not, are ſaid to live very ſparingly; ſo that the whole of their revenue, whatever that may be, is exhauſted on articles of ſhow.

As there is no opera at preſent, the people of faſhion generally paſs part of the evening at the corſo, on the ſea-ſhore. This is the great ſcene of Neapolitan ſplendour and parade; and, on grand occaſions, the magnificence diſplayed here will ſtrike a ſtranger very much. The fineſt carriages are painted, gilt, varniſhed, and lined, in a richer and more beautiful manner, than has as yet become faſhionable either in England or France; they are often drawn by ſix, and ſometimes by eight horſes.

It is the mode here to have two running footmen, very gaily dreſſed, before the carriage, and three or four ſervants in rich liveries behind; theſe attendants are generally the handſomeſt young men that can be procured. The ladies or gentlemen within the coaches, glitter in all the brilliancy of lace, embroidery, and jewels. The Neapolitan carriages, for gala days, are made on purpoſe, with very large windows, that the ſpectators may enjoy a full view of the parties within. Nothing can be more ſhowy than the harneſs of the horſes; their heads and manes are ornamented with the rareſt plumage, and their tails ſet off with ribband and artificial flowers, in ſuch a graceful manner that you are apt to think they have been adorned by the ſame hands that dreſſed the heads of the ladies, and not by common grooms.

His Neapolitan majeſty ſeems to be about the age of ſix or ſeven-and-twenty. He is a prince of great activity of body, and a good conſtitution; he indulges in frequent relaxations from the cares of government and the fatigue of thinking, by hunting and other exerciſes; and (which ought to give a high idea of his natural talents) he never fails to acquire a very conſiderable degree of perfection in thoſe things to which he applies. He is very fond, like the king of Pruſſia, of reviewing his troops, and is perfectly maſter of the whole myſtery of the manual exerciſe. I have had the honour, oftener than once, of ſeeing him exerciſe the different regiments which form the garriſon here: he always gave the word of command with his own royal mouth, and with a preciſion which ſeemed to aſtoniſh the whole court. This monarch is alſo a very excellent ſhot; his uncommon ſucceſs at this diverſion is thought to have rouſed the jealouſy of his moſt catholic majeſty, who alſo values himſelf on his ſkill as a markſman. The correſpondence between thoſe two great perſonages often relates to their favourite amuſement.—A gentleman, who came lately from Madrid, told me, that the king, on ſome occaſion, had read a letter which he had juſt received from his ſon at Naples, wherein he complained of his bad ſucceſs on a ſhooting party, having killed no more than eighty birds in a day: and the Spaniſh monarch, turning to his courtiers, ſaid, in a plaintive tone of voice, "Mio filio piange "di non aver' fatto piu di ottante "beccacie in uno giorno, quando "mi crederei l'uomo il piu felice "del mondo ſe poteſſe fare qua-"ranta." All who take a becoming

coming ſhare in the afflictions of a royal boſom, will no doubt join with me, in wiſhing better ſucceſs to this good monarch, for the future. Fortunate would it be for mankind, if the happineſs of their princes could be purchaſed at ſo eaſy a rate! and thrice fortunate for the generous people of Spain, if the family connections of their monarch, often at variance with the real intereſt of that country, ſhould never ſeduce him into a more ruinous war, than that which he now wages againſt the beaſts of the field, and the birds of the air. His Neapolitan majeſty, as I am informed, poſſeſſes many other accompliſhments; I particulariſe thoſe only to which I have myſelf been a witneſs. No king in Europe is ſuppoſed to underſtand the game of billiards better. I had the pleaſure of ſeeing him ſtrike the moſt brilliant ſtroke that perhaps ever was ſtruck by a crowned head. The ball of his antagoniſt was near one of the middle pockets, and his own in ſuch a ſituation, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to make it rebound from two different parts of the cuſhion, before it could pocket the other. A perſon of leſs enterprize would have been contented with placing himſelf in a ſafe ſituation, at a ſmall loſs, and never have riſqued any offenſive attempt againſt the enemy; but the difficulty and danger, inſtead of intimidating, ſeemed rather to animate the ambition of this Prince. He ſummoned all his addreſs; he eſtimated, with a mathematical eye, the angles at which the ball muſt fly off; and he ſtruck it with an undaunted mind and a ſteady hand. It rebounded obliquely, from the oppoſite ſide-cuſhion to that at the end, from which it moved in a direct line towards the middle pocket, which ſeemed to ſtand in gaping expectation to receive it. The hearts of the ſpectators beat thick as it rolled along; and they ſhewed, by the contortions of their faces and perſons, how much they feared that it ſhould move one hair-breadth in a wrong direction. —I muſt here interrupt this important narrative, to obſerve, that when I talk of contortions, if you form your idea from any thing of that kind which you may have ſeen around an Engliſh billiard-table or bowling-green, you can have no juſt notion of thoſe which were exhibited on this occaſion: your imagination muſt triple the force and energy of every Engliſh grimace, before it can do juſtice to the nervous twiſt of an Italian countenance.—At length the royal ball reached that of the enemy, and with a ſingle blow drove it off the plain. An univerſal ſhout of joy, triumph, and applauſe, burſt from the beholders; but,

O thoughtleſs mortals, ever blind to fate,
Too ſoon dejected, and too ſoon elate!

the victorious ball, purſuing the enemy too far, ſhared the ſame fate, and was buried in the ſame grave, with the vanquiſhed. This fatal and unforeſeen event ſeemed to make a deep impreſſion on the minds of all who were witneſſes to it; and will no doubt be recorded in the annals of the preſent reign, and quoted by future poets and hiſtorians, as a ſtriking inſtance of the inſtability of ſublunary felicity. In domeſtic life, this Prince is generally allowed to be an eaſy maſter, a good-natured huſband,

husband, a dutiful son, and an indulgent father.

The queen of Naples is a beautiful woman, and seems to possess the affability, good-humour, and benevolence, which distinguish, in such an amiable manner, the Austrian family.

The hereditary jurisdiction of the nobles over their vassals subsists, both in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, in the full rigour of the feudal government. The peasants therefore are poor; and it depends entirely on the personal character of the masters, whether their poverty is not the least of their grievances.

The court of Naples has not yet ventured, by one open act of authority, to abolish the immoderate power of the lords over their tenants. But it is believed that the minister secretly wishes for its destruction; and in cases of flagrant oppression, when complaints are brought before the legal courts, or directly to the king himself, by the peasants against their lord, it is generally remarked that the minister favours the complainant. Notwithstanding this, the masters have so many opportunities of oppressing, and such various methods of teazing, their vassals, that they generally chuse to bear their wrongs in silence; and perceiving that those who hold their lands immediately from the crown, are in a much easier situation than themselves, without raising their hopes to perfect freedom, the height of their wishes is to be sheltered from the vexations of little tyrants, under the unlimited power of one common master. The objects of royal attention, they fondly imagine, are too sublime, and the minds of kings too generous, to stoop to, or even to countenance, in their servants, the minute and unreasonable exactions, which are wrung at present from the hard hands of the exhausted labourer.

Though the Neapolitan nobility still retain the ancient feudal authority over the peasants, yet their personal importance depends, in a great measure, on the favour of the king; who, under pretext of any offence, can confine them to their own estates, or imprison them at pleasure; and who, without any alledged offence, and without going to such extremes, can inflict a punishment, highly sensible to them, by not inviting them to the amusements of the court, or not receiving them with smiles when they attend on any ordinary occasion. Unless this prince were so very impolitic as to disgust all the nobility at once, and so unite the whole body against him, he has little to fear from their resentment. Even in case of such an union, as the nobles have lost the affection and attachment of their peasants, what could they do in opposition to a standing army of thirty thousand men, entirely devoted to the crown? The establishment of standing armies has universally given stability to the power of the prince, and ruined that of the great lords. No nobility in Europe can now be said to inherit political importance, or to act independent of, or in opposition to, the influence of the crown; except the *temporal peers of that part of Great Britain called England.*

The citizens of Naples form a society of their own, perfectly distinct from the nobility; and

although they are not the moſt induſtrious people in the world, yet, having ſome degree of occupation, and their time being divided between buſineſs and pleaſure, they probably have more enjoyment than thoſe, who, without internal reſources, or opportunities of active exertion, paſs their lives in ſenſual gratifications, and in waiting the returns of appetite around a gaming table. In the moſt reſpectable claſs of citizens, are comprehended the lawyers, of whom there are an incredible number in this town. The moſt eminent of this profeſſion hold, indeed, a kind of intermediate rank between the nobility and citizens; the reſt are on a level with the phyſicians, the principal merchants, and the artiſts; none of whom can make great fortunes, however induſtrious they may be; but a moderate income enables them to ſupport their rank in ſociety, and to enjoy all the conveniences, and many of the luxuries, of life.

England is perhaps the only nation in Europe where ſome individuals, of every profeſſion, even of the loweſt, find it poſſible to accumulate great fortunes; the effect of this very frequently is, that the ſon deſpiſes the profeſſion of the father, commences gentleman, and diſſipates, in a few years, what coſt a life to gather. In the principal cities of Germany and Italy, we find, that the anceſtors of many of thoſe citizens who are the moſt eminent in their particular buſineſſes, have tranſmitted the art to them through ſeveral generations. It is natural to imagine, that this will tend to the improvement of the art, or ſcience, or profeſſion, as well as the family fortune; and that the third generation will acquire knowledge from the experience, as well as wealth from the induſtry, of the former two; whereas, in the caſes alluded to above, the wheel of fortune moves differently. A man, by aſſiduity in a particular buſineſs, and by genius, acquires a great fortune and a high reputation; the ſon throws away the fortune, and ruins his own character by extravagance; and the grandſon is obliged to recommence the buſineſs, unaided by the wealth or experience of his anceſtors. This, however, is pointing out an evil which I ſhould be ſorry to ſee remedied; becauſe it certainly originates in the riches and proſperity of the country in which it exiſts.

The number of prieſts, monks, and eccleſiaſtics of all the various orders that ſwarm in this city, is prodigious; and the proviſion appropriated for their uſe, is as ample. I am aſſured, that the clergy are in poſſeſſion of conſiderably above one-third of the revenue of the whole kingdom, over and above what ſome particular orders among them acquire by begging for the uſe of their convents, and what is gotten in legacies by the addreſs and aſſiduity of the whole. The unproductive wealth, which is lodged in the churches and convents of this city, amounts alſo to an amazing value. Not to be compared in point of architecture to the churches and convents of Rome, thoſe of Naples ſurpaſs them in riches, in the value of their jewels, and in the quantity of ſilver and golden crucifixes, veſſels, and implements of various kinds. This wealth, whatever it amounts

amounts to, is of as little uſe to the kingdom, as if it ſtill remained in the mines of Peru; and the greater part of it, ſurely, affords as little comfort to the clergy and monks as to any other part of the community; for though it belongs to their church, or their convent, yet it can no more be converted to the uſe of the prieſts and monks of ſuch churches and convents, than to the tradeſmen who inhabit the adjacent ſtreets. For this reaſon I am a good deal ſurpriſed, that no pretext, or ſubterfuge, has been found, no expedient fallen on, no treaty or convention made, for appropriating part of this at leaſt to the uſe of ſome ſet of people or other. If the clergy were to lay their hands on it, this might be found fault with by the king; if his majeſty dreamt of taking any part of it for the exigencies of the ſtate, the clergy would undoubtedly raiſe a clamour; and if both united, the Pope would think he had a right to pronounce his vote: but if all theſe three powers could come to an underſtanding, and ſettle their proportions, I am apt to think a partition might be made as quietly as that of Poland.

Whatever ſcruples the Neapolitan clergy may have to ſuch a project, they certainly have none to the full enjoyment of their revenues. No claſs of men can be leſs diſpoſed to offend Providence by a peeviſh neglect of the good things which the bounty of heaven has beſtowed. Self-denial is a virtue, which I will not ſay they poſſeſs in a ſmaller degree, but which, I am ſure, they affect leſs than any other eccleſiaſtics I know; they live very much in ſociety, both with the nobles and citizens. All of them, the monks not excepted, attend the theatre, and ſeem to join moſt cordially in other diverſions and amuſements; the common people are no ways offended at this, or imagine that they ought to live in a more recluſe manner. I am informed, that a very conſiderable diminution in the number of monks has taken place in the kingdom of Naples ſince the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits, and ſince a liberty of quitting the cowl was granted by the late Pope; but ſtill there is no reaſon to complain of a deficiency in this order of men. The richeſt and moſt commodious convents in Europe, both for male and female votaries, are in this city; the moſt fertile and beautiful hills of the environs are covered with them; a ſmall part of their revenue is ſpent in feeding the poor, the monks diſtributing bread and ſoup to a certain number every day before the doors of the convents. Some of the friars ſtudy phyſic and ſurgery, and practiſe theſe arts with great applauſe. Each convent has an apothecary's ſhop belonging to it, where medicines are delivered gratis to the poor, and ſold to thoſe who can afford to pay. On all theſe accounts the monks in general are greater favourites with the common people than even the ſecular clergy.

The lazzaroni, or black-guards, as has been already obſerved, form a conſiderable part of the inhabitants of Naples; and have, on ſome well-known occaſions, had the government for a ſhort time in their own hands. They are computed at above thirty thouſand; the greater part of them have no

dwelling-houſes, but ſleep every night under porticos, piazzas, or any kind of ſhelter they can find. Thoſe of them who have wives and children, live in the ſuburbs of Naples near Pauſilippo, in huts, or in caverns or chambers dug out of that mountain. Some gain a livelihood by fiſhing, others by carrying burdens to and from the ſhipping; many walk about the ſtreets ready to run on errands, or to perform any labour in their power for a very ſmall recompence. As they do not meet with conſtant employment, their wages are not ſufficient for their maintenance; the ſoup and bread diſtributed at the door of the convents ſupply the deficiency. The lazzaroni are generally repreſented as a lazy, licentious, and turbulent ſet of people; what I have obſerved gives me a very different idea of their character. Their idleneſs is evidently the effect of neceſſity, not of choice; they are always ready to perform any work, however laborious, for a very reaſonable gratification. It muſt proceed from the fault of government, when ſuch a number of ſtout active citizens remain unemployed; and ſo far are they from being licentious and turbulent, that I cannot help thinking they are by much too tame and ſubmiſſive. Though the inhabitants of the Italian cities were the firſt who ſhook off the feudal yoke, and though in Naples they have long enjoyed the privilege of municipal juriſdiction, yet the external ſplendour of the nobles, and the authority they ſtill exerciſe over the peaſants, impoſe upon the minds of the lazzaroni; and however bold and reſentful they may be of injuries offered by others, they bear the inſolence of the nobility as paſſively as peaſants fixed to the ſoil. A coxcomb of a volanti tricked out in his fantaſtical dreſs, or any of the liveried ſlaves of the great, make no ceremony of treating theſe poor fellows with all the inſolence and inſenſibility natural to their maſters; and for no viſible reaſon, but becauſe he is dreſſed in lace, and the others in rags. Inſtead of calling to them to make way, when the noiſe in the ſtreets prevents the common people from hearing the approach of the carriage, a ſtroke acroſs the ſhoulders with the cane of the running footman, is the uſual warning they receive. Nothing animates this people to inſurrection, but ſome very preſſing and very univerſal cauſe; ſuch as a ſcarcity of bread: every other grievance they bear as if it were their charter. When we conſider thirty thouſand human creatures without beds or habitations, wandering almoſt naked in ſearch of food through the ſtreets of a well built city; when we think of the opportunities they have of being together, of comparing their own deſtitute ſituation with the affluence of others, one cannot help being aſtoniſhed at their patience.

Let the prince be diſtinguiſhed by ſplendour and magnificence; let the great and the rich have their luxuries; but, in the name of humanity, let the poor, who are willing to labour, have food in abundance to ſatisfy the cravings of nature, and raiment to defend them from the inclemencies of the weather!

If their governors, whether from weakneſs or neglect, do not ſupply them with theſe, they certainly have

have a right to help themſelves.—Every law of equity and common ſenſe will juſtify them, in revolting againſt ſuch governors, and in ſatisfying their own wants from the ſuperfluities of lazy luxury.

Of the poetical Rehearſers and Improviſatori.

AS I ſauntered along the Strada Nuova lately, I perceived a groupe of people liſtening, with much attention, to a perſon who harangued them in a raiſed, ſolemn voice, and with great geſticulation. I immediately made one of the auditory, which increaſed every moment; men, women, and children bringing ſeats from the neighbouring houſes, on which they placed themſelves around the orator. He repeated ſtanzas from Arioſto, in a pompous, recitativo cadence, peculiar to the natives of Italy; and he had a book in his hand, to aſſiſt his memory when it failed. He made occaſional commentaries in proſe, by way of bringing the poet's expreſſion nearer to the level of his hearers' capacities. His cloak hung looſe from one ſhoulder; his right arm was diſengaged, for the purpoſes of oratory. Sometimes he waved it with a flow, ſmooth motion, which accorded with the cadence of the verſes; ſometimes he preſſed it to his breaſt, to give energy to the pathetic ſentiments of the poet. Now he gathered the hanging folds of the right ſide of his cloak, and held them gracefully up, in imitation of a Roman ſenator; and anon he ſwung them acroſs his left ſhoulder, like a citizen of Naples. He humoured the ſtanza by his voice, which he could modulate to the key of any paſſion, from the boiſterous burſts of rage, to the ſoft notes of pity or love. But, when he came to deſcribe the exploits of Orlando, he truſted neither to the powers of his own voice, nor the poet's genius; but, throwing off his cloak, and graſping his cane, he aſſumed the warlike attitude and ſtern countenance of that hero; repreſenting, by the moſt animated action, how he drove his ſpear through the bodies of ſix of his enemies at once; the point at the ſame time killing a ſeventh, who would alſo have remained transfixed with his companions, if the ſpear could have held more than ſix men of an ordinary ſize upon it at a time.

Il Cavalier d'Anglante ove più ſpeſſe
Vide le genti e l'arme, abbaſsò l'aſta,
Ed uno in quella, e poſcia un altro meſſe
E un altro, e un altro, che ſembrar di paſta,
E fino a ſei ve n'infilzò, e li reſſe
Tutti una lancia; e perche' ella non baſta
A più capir, laſciò il ſettimo fuore
Ferito, ſi che di quel colpo muore.

This ſtanza our declaimer had no occaſion to comment upon, as Arioſto has thought fit to illuſtrate it in a manner which ſeemed highly to the taſte of this audience. For, in the verſe immediately following, Orlando is compared to a man killing frogs in marſhy ground, with a bow and arrow made for that purpoſe; an amuſement very common in Italy, and ſtill more ſo in France.

Non altrimente nell' eſtrema arena
Veggiam le rane de' canali e foſſe
Dal cauto arcier ne i fianchi, e nella ſchiena
L'una vicina all' altera eſſer percoſſe,
Ne dalla freccia, fin che tutta piena
Non ſia da un capo all' altero eſſer rimoſſe.

I muſt however do this audience the juſtice to acknowledge, that they ſeemed to feel the pathetic and ſublime, as well as the ludicrous, parts of the ancient bard.

This practice of rehearſing the verſes of Arioſto, Taſſo, and other poets, in the ſtreet, I have not obſerved in any other town of Italy; and I am told it is leſs common here than it was formerly. I remember indeed, at Venice, to have frequently ſeen mountebanks, who gained their livelihood by amuſing the populace at St. Mark's Place, with wonderful and romantic ſtories in proſe.—"Liſten, "gentlemen," ſaid one of them, "let me crave your attention, ye "beautiful and virtuous ladies; I "have ſomething equally affecting "and wonderful to tell you; a "ſtrange and ſtupendous adven-"ture, which happened to a gal-"lant knight."—Perceiving that this did not ſufficiently intereſt the hearers, he exalted his voice, calling out that his knight was uno Cavalliero Criſtiano. The audience ſeemed ſtill a little fluctuating. He raiſed his voice a note higher, telling them that this chriſtian knight was one of their own victorious countrymen, "un' "Eroe Veneziano." This fixed them; and he proceeded to relate how the knight, going to join the chriſtian army, which was on its march to recover the ſepulchre of Chriſt from the hands of the infidels, loſt his way in a vaſt wood, and wandered at length to a caſtle, in which a lady of tranſcendent beauty was kept priſoner by a gigantic Saracen, who, having failed in all his endeavours to gain the heart of this peerleſs damſel, reſolved to gratify his paſſion by force; and had actually begun the horrid attempt, when the ſhrieks of this chaſte maiden reached the ears of the Venetian hero; who, ever ready to relieve virgins in diſtreſs, ruſhed into the apartment from whence the cries iſſued. The brutal raviſher, alarmed at the noiſe, quits the ſtruggling lady, at the very inſtant when her ſtrength began to fail; draws his flaming ſword; and a dreadful combat begins between him and the chriſtian knight, who performs miracles of courage and addreſs in reſiſting the blows of this mighty giant; till, his foot unfortunately ſlipping in the blood which flowed on the pavement, he fell at the feet of the Saracen; who, immediately ſeizing the advantage which chance gave him, raiſed his ſword with all his might, and——Here the orator's hat flew to the ground, open to receive the contributions of the liſteners; and he continued repeating, "raiſed "his ſword over the head of the "chriſtian knight"—"raiſed his "bloody, murderous brand, to "deſtroy your noble, valiant coun-"tryman."—But he proceeded no farther in his narrative, till all who ſeemed intereſted in it had thrown ſomething into the hat. He then pocketed the money with great gravity, and went on to inform them, that, at this critical moment, the Lady, ſeeing the danger which threatened her deliverer, redoubled her prayers to the Bleſſed Mary, who, a virgin herſelf, is peculiarly attentive and propitious to the prayers of virgins. Juſt as the Saracen's ſword was deſcending on the head of the Venetian, a large bee flew, quick as thought, in at the window, ſtung the

the former very ſmartly on the left temple, diverted the blow, and gave the chriſtian knight time to recover himſelf. The fight then recommenced with freſh fury; but, after the Virgin Mary had taken ſuch a decided part, you may believe it was no match. The infidel ſoon fell dead at the feet of the believer. But who do you think this beauteous maiden was, on whoſe account the combat had begun? Why no other than the ſiſter of the Venetian hero.—This young lady had been ſtolen from her father's houſe, while ſhe was yet a child, by an Armenian merchant, who dealt in no other goods than women. He concealed the child till he found means to carry her to Egypt; where he kept her in bondage, with other young girls, till the age of fifteen, and then ſold her to the Saracen. I do not exactly remember whether the recognition between the brother and ſiſter was made out by means of a mole on the young lady's neck, or by a bracelet on her arm, which, with ſome other of her mother's jewels, happened to be in her pocket when ſhe was ſtolen; but, in whatever manner this came about, there was the greateſt joy on the happy occaſion; and the lady joined the army with her brother, and one of the chriſtian commanders fell in love with her, and their nuptials were ſolemnized at Jeruſalem; and they returned to Venice, and had a very numerous family of the fineſt children you ever beheld.

At Rome, thoſe ſtreet-orators ſometimes entertain their audience with intereſting paſſages of real hiſtory. I remember having heard one, in particular, give a full and true account how the bloody heathen emperor Nero ſet fire to the city of Rome, and ſat at a window of his golden palace, playing on a harp, while the town was in flames. After which the hiſtorian proceeded to relate, how this unnatural emperor murdered his own mother; and he concluded by giving the audience the ſatisfaction of hearing a particular detail of all the ignominious circumſtances attending the murderer's own death.

This buſineſs of ſtreet-oratory, while it amuſes the populace, and keeps them from leſs innocent and more expenſive paſtimes, gives them at the ſame time ſome general ideas of hiſtory. Street-orators, therefore, are a more uſeful ſet of men than another claſs, of which there are numbers at Rome, who entertain companies with extemporaneous verſes on any given ſubject. The laſt are called Improviſatoris; and ſome people admire theſe performances greatly. For my own part, I am too poor a judge of the Italian language either to admire or condemn them; but, from the nature of the thing, I ſhould imagine they are but indifferent. It is ſaid, that the Italian is peculiarly calculated for poetry, and that verſes may be made with more facility in this than in any other language. It may be more eaſy to find ſmooth lines, and make them terminate in rhime in Italian, than in any language; but to compoſe verſes with all the qualities eſſential to good poetry, I imagine leiſure and long reflection are requiſite. Indeed I underſtand, from thoſe who are judges, that thoſe extempore compoſitions of the Improviſatori are in general but mean productions, conſiſting of a few

fulſome compliments to the company, and ſome common-place obſervations, put into rhime, on the ſubject propoſed. There is, however, a lady of an amiable character, Signora Corilla, whoſe extempore productions, which ſhe repeats in the moſt graceful manner, are admired by people of real taſte. While we were at Rome, this lady made an appearance one evening, at the aſſembly of the Arcadi, which charmed a very numerous company; and of which our friend Mr. R—y has given me ſuch an account, as makes me regret that I was not preſent. After much entreaty, a ſubject being given, ſhe began, accompanied by two violins, and ſung her unpremeditated ſtrains with great variety of thought and elegance of language. The whole of her performance laſted above an hour, with three or four pauſes, of about five minutes each, which ſeemed neceſſary, more that ſhe might recover her ſtrength and voice, than for recollection; for that gentleman ſaid, that nothing could have more the air of inſpiration, or what we are told of the Pythian Propheteſs. At her firſt ſetting out, her manner was ſedate, or rather cold; but gradually becoming animated, her voice roſe, her eyes ſparkled, and the rapidity and beauty of her expreſſions and ideas ſeemed ſupernatural. She at laſt called on another member of the ſociety to ſing alternately with her, which he complied with; but Mr. R—y thought, though they were *Arcades ambo*, they were by no means *cantare pares*.

Naples is celebrated for the fineſt opera in Europe. This however happens not to be the ſeaſon of performing; but the common people enjoy *their* operas at all ſeaſons. Little concerts of vocal and inſtrumental muſic are heard every evening in the Strada Nuova, the Chiaca, the Strada di Toledo, and other ſtreets; and young men and women are ſeen dancing to the muſic of ambulatory performers all along this delightful bay. To a mere ſpectator, the amuſements of the common people afford more delight, than thoſe of the great; becauſe they ſeem to be more enjoyed by the one claſs, than by the other. This is the caſe every where, except in France; where the high appear as happy as thoſe of middle rank, and the rich are very near as merry as the poor. But, in moſt other countries, the people of great rank and fortune, though they flock to every kind of entertainment, from not knowing what to do with themſelves, yet ſeem to enjoy them leſs than thoſe of inferior rank and fortune.

I know not what may be the caſe at the opera; but I can aſſure you there are none of thoſe burſts among the auditories which the ſtreet-performers at Naples gather around them. I ſaw very lately a large cluſter of men, women, and children, entertained to the higheſt degree, and to all appearance made exceedingly happy, by a poor fellow with a maſk on his face, and a guitar in his hands. He aſſembled his audience by the ſongs he ſung to the muſic of his inſtrument, and by a thouſand merry ſtories he told them with infinite drollery. This aſſembly was in an open place, facing the bay, and near the palace. The old women ſat liſtening, with their diſtaffs, ſpinning a kind of coarſe flax,

flax, and wetting the thread with their ſpittle; their grand-children ſprawled at their feet, amuſed with the twirling of the ſpindle. The men and their wives, the youths and their miſtreſſes, ſat in a circle, with their eyes fixed on the muſician, who kept them laughing for a great part of the evening with his ſtories, which he enlivened occaſionally with tunes upon the guitar. At length, when the company was moſt numerous, and at the higheſt pitch of good humour, he ſuddenly pulled off his maſk, laid down his guitar, and opened a little box which ſtood before him, and addreſſed the audience in the following words, as literally as I can tranſlate them :— "Ladies and gentlemen, there is "a time for all things; we have "had enough of jeſting; innocent "mirth is excellent for the health "of the body; but other things "are requiſite for the health of "the ſoul. I will now, with "your permiſſion, my honourable "maſters and miſtreſſes, entertain "you with ſomething ſerious, and "of infinitely greater importance; "ſomething for which all of you "will have reaſon to bleſs me as "long as you live." Here he ſhook out of a bag a great number of little leaden crucifixes.—"I am "juſt come from the holy houſe "of Loretto, my fellow chriſtians," continued he, "on purpoſe to furniſh you with thoſe jewels, more "precious than all the gold of "Peru, and all the pearls of the "ocean. Now, my beloved brethren and ſiſters, you are afraid "that I ſhall demand a price for "thoſe ſacred croſſes, far above "your abilities, and ſomething "correſpondent with their value, "by way of indemnification for "the fatigue and expence of the "long journey which I have made "on your account, all the way "from the habitation of the Bleſſed "Virgin, to this thrice renowned "city of Naples, the riches and "liberality of whoſe inhabitants "are celebrated all over the globe. "No, my generous Neapolitans, "I do not wiſh to take the advantage of your pious and liberal "diſpoſitions. I will not aſk for "thoſe invaluable crucifixes (all "of which, let me inform you, "have touched the foot of the "holy image of the Bleſſed Virgin, "which was formed by the hands "of St. Luke; and, moreover, "each of them has been ſhaken in "the Santiſſima Scodella, the ſacred porringer in which the Virgin made the pap for the infant "Jeſus); I will not, I ſay, aſk "an ounce of gold, no, not even "a crown of ſilver; my regard "for you is ſuch, that I ſhall let "you have them for a penny a "piece."

Reflections on the Genius and Character of the Biſcayners. *From* Dillon's *Travels through* Spain.

THE Biſcayners give the name of republics to the different juriſdictions in their provinces, all which, except Orduna, their only city, and a few towns, are compoſed of hamlets, and lonely houſes, diſperſed up and down, according to the convenience of ſituation, in ſo cloſe and interſected a country. However, their houſes have every advantage of diſtribution, conſiſting of a principal ſtory, beſides the ground-floor,

floor, for offices, with an appendage of ſtables, granaries, outhouſes, courts, cellars, and gardens; with orchards, meadows, and often corn-fields, contiguous to the building, with cheſnut groves, and other improvements to the very foot of the mountains. Nothing can be more pleaſant to the traveller, than to ſee houſes and gardens during the whole courſe of his progreſs, particularly from Orduna to Bilbao, an extent of ſix leagues, which ſeems like one continued village. The upper part of the houſes were formerly of wood, but the new ones are of ſtone, and one ſeldom ſees an empty houſe, or any fallen in ruins; on the contrary, many new ones, both large and convenient, are conſtantly building; from whence it appears, that though population cannot well be conſiderably encreaſed, while new branches of induſtry are not introduced, (all the land being occupied) it ſeems rather to augment, notwithſtanding the many emigrations; and though ſome women emigrate likewiſe, few remain at home without huſbands. Theſe diſperſed families may be held as the moſt antient in Spain, and the country is indebted to them for population and culture. In the Biſcay language they are called *Echejaunas*; that is, lords of tenements, whoſe anceſtors have poſſeſſed them time immemorial, and will probably continue ſo for future ages, as ſelling or mortgaging is held in great diſrepute. Such lands as belong to rich families, are let out to others, and as they lie under their eye and inſpection, the whole is attended to, with the utmoſt activity; the parochial chuch ſtands in the centre of the pariſh, which, if too extenſive, has a chapel of eaſe, for the conveniency of the pariſhioners; many of whom repair to theſe churches from very great diſtances, in the ſevereſt weather. Their antiquity may be traced from their dedications, which are generally to the Bleſſed Virgin, to St. John, or the apoſtles and ſaints of the primitive church; and their livings muſt be comfortable, from the decent appearance of their paſtors.

Not only Biſcay, Guypuſcoa, and Alaba, but alſo the mountains of Burgos, are full of gentlemen's ſeats, known by the name of *Solares*, or *Caſas Solariegas*, worthy of much veneration from their antiquity; the owners of theſe are diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Hidalgos de Caſa Solar*, or *de Solar Conocido*—"Gentlemen of known property;" the moſt honourable appellation in Spain. They are generally ſtrong, plain ſtructures, with ſquare towers; but many of the towers have been deſtroyed; and in the modern repairs, they have followed the faſhion of the times.

The head of the family is called *Pariente Mayor*, and is greatly reſpected by all the collateral branches; ſome of theſe are of ſuch high antiquity, as to be thought to have dwelled there before the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity in that country, ſince their anceſtors were the founders of the churches, had the patronage of them, and were known, ſo far back as four centuries ago, to have, even then, been time immemorial, in receipt of the tythes; others, without any patronage, are deemed equally antient; many are

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so far reduced as to be obliged to cultivate their estates with their own hands, yet will not yield to the others, in nobility and descent, alledging that, though some branches have been more enriched by fortunate events, yet they are all equally sprung from one common ancestor. Their names have undoubtedly passed in a lineal succession from a more antient date than the ages of chivalry, the establishment of coat armour, or of archives and records; to which they pay little attention, as of no importance to illustrate their quality, the possession of one of these houses, or the constant tradition of being descended from a former possessor, being more than sufficient to ennoble their blood; many such having shined in the annals of Spain, by the noblest deeds, which have immortalized their names more than their ancient descent. These have settled in different parts of the kingdom, while the head of the family has continued at home, in a state of simplicity, ploughing his fields, and inspiring his children with sentiments suitable to the heroical ages: the daughters are brought up in a different manner from most other parts of the world; here the most opulent do not disdain the management of household affairs, and every branch of domestic œconomy, with a noble simplicity, that seems to recal those glorious ages of which Homer has sung. Whoever looks for innocence, health and content, will find it amongst the inhabitants of Biscay; and if they are not the richest, they may be well demed the happiest of mankind*.

It is pleasing to behold with what affability the rich demean themselves towards those who are less so than themselves, being obliged to this condescension from the natural spirit and pride of the people, added to their education and notions of freedom. Unaccustomed to brook the least scorn, or to comply with that submissive behaviour so usual from the poor to the rich, in more refined and opulent kingdoms; yet the common proverb of Castile, *Pobreza no es vileza*, "Poverty is not a blemish," has no sway here, for such are their notions of labour, and industry, that their spirit makes them consider it as an indignity to beg; and though the women are generally charitable, which cannot fail to attract mendicants, yet these are most commonly strangers.

The country people wear brogues, not unlike those of the highlands of Scotland, tied up with great neatness, being the most useful for a slippery and mountainous country. When they are not busy in the fields, they walk with a staff taller than themselves, which serves them to vault over gullies, and is an excellent weapon in case of assault, with which they will baffle the most dextrous swordsmen; they wear cloaks in the winter, the pipe is constantly in the mouth, as well for pleasure as

* Mr. Bowles relates, that the most opulent families make no scruple to bake, brew, dress victuals, and wash linen. For my part I cannot say I observed these circumstances amongst the opulent Biscayners, though I often experienced their open-hearted hospitality and benevolence.

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from a notion that tobacco preſerves them againſt the dampneſs of the air; all this, joined to their natural activity, ſprightlineſs, and vigour, gives them an appearance ſeeming to border on ferocity, were it not the reverſe of their manners, which are gentle and eaſy, when no motive is given to choler, which the leaſt ſpark kindles into violence.

It has been obſerved, that the inhabitants of mountains are ſtrongly attached to their country, which probably ariſes from the diviſion of lands, in which, generally ſpeaking, all have an intereſt. In this, the Biſcayners exceed all other ſtates, looking with fondneſs on their hills, as the moſt delightful ſcenes in the world, and their people as the moſt reſpectable, deſcended from the *aborigines* of Spain. This prepoſſeſſion excites them to the moſt extraordinary labour, and to execute things far beyond what could be expected, in ſo ſmall and rugged a country, where they have few branches of commerce: I cannot give a greater proof of their induſtry, than thoſe fine roads they have now made from Bilbao to Caſtile, as well as in Guypuſcoa and Alaba. When one ſees the paſſage over the tremendous mountain of Orduna, one cannot behold it without the utmoſt ſurprize and admiration.

The manners of the Biſcayners, and the ancient Iriſh, are ſo ſimilar on many occaſions, as to encourage the notion of the Iriſh being deſcended from them. Both men and women are extremely fond of pilgrimages, repairing from great diſtances to the churches of their patrons, or tutelary ſaints, ſinging and dancing till they almoſt drop down with fatigue. The Iriſh do the ſame at their *patrons*. The *Guizones* of Biſcay, and the *Boulamkeighs* of Ireland, are nearly alike: at all theſe aſſemblies, they knock out one another's brains, on the moſt trivial provocation, without malice or rancour, and without uſing a knife or a dagger. In both countries the common people are paſſionate, eaſily provoked if their family is ſlighted, or their deſcent called in queſtion. The *Chacoli* of Biſcay, or the *Shebeen* of Ireland, makes them equally frantic. In Ireland the poor eat out of one diſh with their fingers, and ſit in their ſmoaky cabbins without chimnies, as well as the Biſcayners. The brogue is alſo the ſhoe of Biſcay; the women tie a kercher round their heads, wear red petticoats, go barefoot, in all which they reſemble the Biſcayners, and with them have an equal good opinion of their ancient deſcent: the poor Biſcayner, though haughty, is laborious and active, an example worthy to be imitated by the Iriſh.

So many concurring circumſtances ſupport the idea of their having been originally one people. It cannot be denied, but that the old Iriſh, whether from ſimilitude of cuſtoms, religion, and traditional notions, or whatever elſe may be the cauſe, have always been attached to the Spaniards, who on their ſide, perhaps from political views, have treated them with reciprocal affection, granting them many privileges, and ſtiling them even *Oriundos* in their laws, as a colony deſcended from Spain; yet, with all theſe advantages, if we except thoſe gallant ſoldiers who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves

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in the field wherever they have ſerved, few Iriſh have made a conſpicuous figure in Spain, or have left great wealth to their families*.

The king of Spain has no other title over theſe free people, than that of, Lord of Biſcay, as the kings of England formerly held over Ireland; they admit of no biſhops, nor of cuſtom-houſes in their provinces, and as they pay leſs duties than the king's other ſubjects, they were not included in the late extenſions of the American commerce; however, they content themſelves with that renown which they have acquired for themſelves and their iſſue, inſomuch that upon only proving, to be originally belonging to that lordſhip, or deſcended from ſuch in the male line, lawfully begotten, they are entitled to claim public certificates, or executory letters, termed *Cartas executorias*, expreſſive of their being *Hidalgos de Sangre*, or "Gentlemen of blood;" their nobility having been confirmed to them, by the kings of Caſtile and Leon, lords of Biſcay, in the plenitude of their power.

The moſt lofty Caſtilians have conſtant rivals for antiquity and deſcent in the inhabitants of Biſcay, Aſturias, and the mountains of Leon: thus, in Don Quixote, Donna Rodriguez, the duenna, ſpeaking of her huſband, ſays, he was as well born as the king, becauſe he came from the mountains. *Y ſobre todo Hidalgo, como el Rey, porque era montanes*†.

Impreſſed with theſe flattering ideas, the high-minded Biſcayner leaves his native ſoil, and repairs to Madrid. Conſcious that his blood is pure, uncontaminated with mixtures of Jewiſh, or Mahometan race, he raiſes his hopes on honeſt induſtry and ſobriety, fulfilling his duties with zeal and ſubmiſſion; he often meets with relations in affluence, and ſometimes riſes to the higheſt employments. It ſhould ſeem that ſome ſuch character muſt have offended the immortal Cervantes, from his pointed reflections in his celebrated romance of Don Quixote, where he ſays that "an expreſs being arrived with diſpatches of moment directed to Don Sancho Panza, governor of the iſland of Barataria, into his own hands, or thoſe of his ſecretary, which being given to read to the major domo, by Sancho; the imaginary governor aſked, Who here is my ſecretary? To which one preſent anſwered, *I, ſir, am the perſon, becauſe I can read and*

* Another inſtance in which the Iriſh ſeem to have cloſely imitated the Spaniſh cuſtoms, is in the taking of ſnuff, of which Mr. Howel, who was in Spain in 1620, and went ſoon after to Ireland, gives us the following account, at an early period, after the firſt introduction of ſnuff into Europe: "The Spaniards and Iriſh take it moſt in powder, or ſmutchin, and it mightily refreſhes the brain, and I believe there is as much taken this way in Ireland, as there is in pipes in England. One ſhall commonly ſee the ſerving maid upon the waſhing block, and the ſwain upon the ploughſhare, when they are tired with labour, take out their boxes of ſmutchin, and draw it into their noſtrils with a quill, and it will beget new ſpirits in them, with a freſh vigour to fall to their work again."——Epiſtolæ Hœlianæ. London, 1726.

† Don Quixote, part 2. tom. 4. cap. ci. Madrid, 1771.

"*write,*

"write, and am moreover a Biſ-
"cayner. With this addition, re-
"plied Sancho, you are fit to
"be a ſecretary, even to an em-
"peror."*

Deſcription of the Town of Bilbao, *and the Manners of its Inhabitants.*

THE town of Bilbao, on the banks of the river Ybaizabal, is about two leagues from the ſea, and contains about eight hundred houſes, with a large ſquare by the water ſide, well ſhaded with pleaſant walks, which extend to the outlets, on the banks of the river, with numbers of houſes and gardens, which form a moſt pleaſing proſpect, particularly as you ſail up the river; for, beſides the beautiful verdure, numerous objects open gradually to the eye, and the town appearing as an amphitheatre, enlivens the landſcape, and completes the ſcenery.

The houſes are ſolid and lofty, the ſtreets well paved and level; water is conveyed into the ſtreets, and they may be waſhed at pleaſure, which renders Bilbao one of the neateſt towns in Europe. Coaches are not in uſe, by which means, inequality of wealth is not ſo perceptible, exterior oſtentation is avoided, and the poor man walks by the ſide of the rich, with equal eaſe and content.

The air is generally damp, covers iron with ruſt, deſtroys furniture in the upper apartments, extracts the ſalt out of dried fiſh, and multiplies flies beyond meaſure, yet the town is remarkably healthy, and its inhabitants enjoy, to a great degree, the three principal bleſſings of life, perfect health, ſtrength of body, and a chearful diſpoſition, attended with longevity; in proof of which, though the town is very populous, the hoſpital is frequently empty, and in the nine months, that Mr. Bowles reſided there, only nine perſons were buried, four of which were above eighty. Every day one may ſee men above that age walking upright, in chearful converſe with youth. Burning fevers, which the Spaniards dread ſo much, and call *tabardillos*, are not known here, and they are ſeldom troubled with agues. What is then the reaſon that Bilbao, on the ſide of a river in ſo damp a ſituation, and chiefly built on piles, like the cities in Holland, ſhould be ſo remarkably healthy, with every indication againſt it? I ſhall endeavour to account for it.

The adjacent mountains ſtop the clouds that ariſe from the ſaline vapours of the ocean, rains are frequent, but they are ſeldom without a ſea breeze, or a land wind; the current of the air being thus continually ventilated, never leaves the moiſt vapours at reſt, and prevents their forming thoſe putrid combinations, which heat generally occaſions, on ſtagnated waters. Thus the vicinity of the ſea, the rains, and, more than all, the ſtrong currents of air, are the phyſical cauſes of its ſalubrity at Bilbao, as, on the contrary, the continued heat which rarifies the exhalations of ſuch rives as have a ſlow motion, as well as the ſtagnated waters in ponds or lakes, where there is great heat in the

* Don Quixote, part 2. tom. 4. chap. c. Madrid, 1771.

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air, and little wind, will be the cauſes of putrifying the vapours, and bring on fevers and other diſtempers. For this reaſon, the inhabitants of La Mancha are ſo ſubject to agues, and uſe as much bark as in Holland, becauſe the air has little motion in ſummer, notwithſtanding the country is open, and the ſurface is dry. In the ſame manner, a new houſe is dangerous to dwell in, where the damp vapours are confined, though one may ſleep very ſafely in the deepeſt gallery of a mine, if the air has a free circulation.

To theſe favourable circumſtances, the Biſcayners owe their good ſpirits, freſhneſs of complexion, and chearful diſpoſition. In other countries, women are oppreſſed with the ſlighteſt fatigue; here they work as much as the ſtrongeſt men, unload the ſhips, carry burdens, and do all the buſineſs of porters. The very felons, confined to hard labour in the mines of Almaden, do nothing in compariſon with theſe females; they go bare-footed, and are remarkably active, carrying burthens on their heads which require two men to lift up. The wife yields not in ſtrength to the huſband, nor the ſiſter to the brother, and after a chearful glaſs, though heavily loaded, they move on with alacrity, returning home in the evening, without the appearance of laſſitude, often arm in arm, dancing and ſinging to the tabor and pipe.

Their muſic is defrayed at the expence of the town, after the manner of the antient Greeks. On holidays they play under the trees in the great ſquare; the moment they begin, the concourſe is great, men, women, and children, of all ages, are engaged at the ſame time, down to the very infants. The dances are active, ſuitable to their ſtrength, but diveſted of indecent attitudes or geſtures. Theſe ſurpriſing women, though conſtantly expoſed to the air, have good complexions, with lively eyes, and fine black hair, in which they pride themſelves greatly, and braid to uncommon advantage. Married women wrap a white handkerchief round their heads, ſo knotted, as to fall down in three plaits behind, and over this the Montera cap: they have a haughty look, and work in the fields like the men. Their language is the *Baſcuenſe*, which, without doubt, is original, and as antient as the peopling of the country, being totally diſtinct, and without any connection with any Spaniſh dialect; thoſe who underſtand it, aſſure us it is very ſoft and harmonious, as well as energetic *.

A general

* In the mountains of Biſcay and Navarre, the Spaniſh language, or *romance*, is neither ſpoken or underſtood.

See the following books.

De la antigua lengua, poblaciones, y Comarcas de las Eſpanas en que de paſo ſe tocan algunas colas de la Cantabria por Andres de Poza—Bilbao, 1587, 4to.

El impoſible vencido: Arte de la lengua baſconcada por manuel de Larramendi. Salamanca, 1729.

Diccionario Trilingue del Caſtillano, Baſcuenſe y Latin por manuel de Larramendi, 1745.

From

A general neatneſs prevails every where in the town of Bilbao. The ſhambles is a Tuſcan building, in the centre of the town, with an open court and a fountain in the middle; nothing can be more cleanly or better contrived, free from all bad ſcents, or any thing diſguſting, as it is copiouſly ſupplied with water to carry away every thing offenſive. The meat is delivered ſo freſh and clean, as not to require being waſhed, as practiſed in other parts of Spain, which deprives it of its ſubſtance and flavour; the veal is white and delicate, and the poultry excellent: the woods afford plenty of birds, beſides five ſorts of birds of paſſage called *chimbos*, which fatten ſoon after their arrival, and are greatly eſteemed.

Among the different ſorts of fiſh, common at Bilbao, there are two peculiar to that river, which the inhabitants are remarkably fond of; theſe are a peculiar ſort of eels in winter, and the cuttle fiſh in ſummer: the eels are ſmall like the quill of a pigeon, of a pale colour, about three inches long, and without a back bone, which they catch at low tides in prodigious quantities. In a word, every thing is in plenty at Bilbao, for beſides a well ſupplied market, their gardens abound in pulſe and fruit of all kinds: ſo that one can live no where better than here, when we take into the account the hoſpitable diſpoſition of the inhabitants, which ſoon falls off, if you ſlight their cordiality, or attribute it to motives of adulation or intereſt. Such is the happy life of the inhabitants of Bilbao, free from the luxuries, as well as the ambitious paſſions which agitate the minds of their neighbours, they paſs their lives in tranquillity, governed by wholeſome laws; amongſt which, they are ſaid even to have one againſt ingratitude, with a puniſhment affixed to it.

Of the Character of our Debt Laws, and of Mr. Howard. *From Mr.* Burke's *Speech to his Conſtituents at* Briſtol.

THERE are two capital faults in our law with relation to civil debts. One is, that every man is preſumed ſolvent. A preſumption, in innumerable caſes, directly againſt truth. Therefore the debtor is ordered, on a ſuppoſition of ability and fraud, to be coerced his liberty until he makes payment. By this means, in all caſes of civil inſolvency, without a pardon from his creditor, he is to be impriſoned for life:—and thus a miſerable miſtaken invention of artificial ſcience, operates to change a civil into a criminal judgment, and to ſcourge miſfortune or indiſcretion with a pu-

From whence it is evident that the Baſcuenſe is totally different from the Spaniſh, which is the common language of the two Caſtiles, Leon, Eſtremadura, Andaluſia, Aragon, Navarre, Rioxa, and the mountains of Burgos; and is generally underſtood in Aſturias, Galicia, Valencia, and Catalonia, though not the language of thoſe provinces, where they have a dialect varying more or leſs from the Spaniſh, in proportion to their ſituation and proximity to neighbouring kingdoms.

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niſhment which the law does not inflict on the greateſt crimes.

The next fault is, that the inflicting of that puniſhment is not on the opinion of an equal and public judge; but is referred to the arbitrary diſcretion of a private, nay intereſted, and irritated, individual. He, who formally is, and ſubſtantially ought to be, the judge, is in reality no more than miniſterial, a mere executive inſtrument of a private man, who is at once judge and party. Every idea of judicial order is ſubverted by this procedure. If the inſolvency be no crime, why is it puniſhed with arbitrary impriſonment? If it be a crime, why is it delivered into private hands to pardon without diſcretion, or to puniſh without mercy and without meaſure?

To theſe faults, groſs and cruel faults in our law, the excellent principle of Lord Beauchamp's bill applied ſome ſort of remedy. I know that credit muſt be preſerved; but equity muſt be preſerved too; and it is impoſſible, that any thing ſhould be neceſſary to commerce, which is inconſiſtent with juſtice. The principle of credit was not weakened by that bill. God forbid! The enforcement of that credit was only put into the ſame public judicial hands on which we depend for our lives, and all that makes life dear to us. But, indeed, this buſineſs was taken up too warmly both here and elſewhere. The bill was extremely miſtaken. It was ſuppoſed to enact what it never enacted; and complaints were made of clauſes in it as novelties, which exiſted before the noble Lord that brought in the bill was born. There was a fallacy that run through the whole of the objections. The gentlemen who oppoſed the bill, always argued, as if the option lay between that bill and the antient law.—But this is a grand miſtake. For practically, the option is between, not that bill and the old law, but between that bill and thoſe occaſional laws called acts of grace. For the operation of the old law is ſo ſavage, and ſo inconvenient to ſociety, that for a long time paſt, once in every parliament, and lately twice, the legiſlature has been obliged to make a general arbitrary jail-delivery, and at once to ſet open, by its ſovereign authority, all the priſons in England.

Gentlemen, I never reliſhed acts of grace; nor ever ſubmitted to them but from deſpair of better. They are a diſhonourable invention, by which, not from humanity, not from policy, but merely becauſe we have not room enough to hold theſe victims of the abſurdity of our laws, we turn looſe upon the public three or four thouſand naked wretches, corrupted by the habits, debaſed by the ignominy of a priſon. If the creditor had a right to thoſe carcaſes as a natural ſecurity for his property, I am ſure we have no right to deprive him of that ſecurity. But if the few pounds of fleſh were not neceſſary to his ſecurity, we had not a right to detain the unfortunate debtor, without any benefit at all to the perſon who confined him.—Take it as you will, we commit injuſtice. Now Lord Beauchamp's bill intended to do deliberately, and with great caution and circumſpection, upon each ſeveral caſe, and with all attention

to the juſt claimant, what acts of grace do in a much greater meaſure, and with very little care, caution, or deliberation,

I ſuſpect that here too, if we contrive to oppoſe this bill, we ſhall be found in a ſtruggle againſt the nature of things. For as we grow enlightened, the public will not bear, for any length of time, to pay for the maintenance of whole armies of priſoners; nor, at their own expence, ſubmit to keep jails as a ſort of garriſons, merely to fortify the abſurd principle of making men judges in their own cauſe. For credit has little or no concern in this cruelty. I ſpeak in a commercial aſſembly. You know that credit is given, becauſe capital *muſt* be employed; that men calculate the chances of inſolvency; and they either withhold the credit, or make the debtor pay the riſque in the price. The counting-houſe has no alliance with the jail. Holland underſtands trade as well as we, and ſhe has done much more than this obnoxious bill intended to do. There was not, when Mr. Howard viſited Holland, more than one priſoner for debt in the great city of Rotterdam. Although Lord Beauchamp's act (which was previous to this bill, and intended to feel the way for it) has already preſerved liberty to thouſands; and though it is not three years ſince the laſt act of grace paſſed, yet by Mr. Howard's laſt account, there were near three thouſand again in jail. I cannot name this gentleman without remarking, that his labours and writings have done much to open the eyes and hearts of mankind. He has viſited all Europe,—not to ſurvey the ſumptuouſneſs of palaces, or the ſtateline ſs of temples; not to make accurate meaſurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a ſcale of the curioſity of modern art; not to collect medals, or collate manuſcripts:—but to dive into the depths of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hoſpitals; to ſurvey the manſions of ſorrow and pain; to take the gage and dimenſions of miſery, depreſſion, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to viſit the forſaken, and to compare and collate the diſtreſſes of all men in all countries. His plan is original; and it is as full of genius as it is of humanity. It was a voyage of diſcovery; a circumnavigation of charity. Already the benefit of his labour is felt more or leſs in every country: I hope he will anticipate his final reward, by ſeeing all its effects fully realized in his own. He will receive, not by retail but in groſs, the reward of thoſe who viſit the priſoner; and he has ſo foreſtalled and monopolized this branch of charity, that there will be, I truſt, little room to merit by ſuch acts of benevolence hereafter.

Of the Popiſh penal Laws; with the Characters of Sir George Savile *and Mr.* Dunning. *From the ſame.*

GENTLEMEN, The condition of our nature is ſuch, that we buy our bleſſings at a price. The Reformation, one of the greateſt periods of human improvement, was a time of trouble and confuſion. The vaſt ſtructure

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of ſuperſtition and tyranny, which had been for ages in rearing, and which was combined with the intereſt of the great and of the many; which was moulded into the laws, the manners, and civil inſtitutions of nations, and blended with the frame and policy of ſtates; could not be brought to the ground without a fearful ſtruggle; nor could it fall without a violent concuſſion of itſelf and all about it. When this great revolution was attempted in a more regular mode by government, it was oppoſed by plots and ſeditions of the people; when by popular efforts, it was repreſſed as rebellion by the hand of power; and bloody executions (often bloodily returned) marked the whole of its progreſs through all its ſtages. The affairs of religion, which are no longer heard of in the tumult of our preſent contentions, made a principal ingredient in the wars and politics of that time; the enthuſiaſm of religion threw a gloom over the politics; and political intereſts poiſoned and perverted the ſpirit of religion upon all ſides. The Proteſtant religion in that violent ſtruggle, infected, as the Popiſh had been before, by worldly intereſts and worldly paſſions, became a perſecutor in its turn, ſometimes of the new ſects, which carried their own principles further than it was convenient to the original reformers; and always of the body from whom they parted; and this perſecuting ſpirit aroſe, not only, from the bitterneſs of retaliation, but from the mercileſs policy of fear.

It was long before the ſpirit of true piety and true wiſdom, involved in the principles of the Reformation, could be depurated from the dregs and feculence of the contention with which it was carried through. However, until this be done, the Reformation is not complete; and thoſe who think themſelves good Proteſtants, from their animoſity to others, are in that reſpect no Proteſtants at all. It was at firſt thought neceſſary, perhaps, to oppoſe to Popery another Popery, to get the better of it. Whatever was the cauſe, laws were made in many countries, and in this kingdom in particular, againſt Papiſts, which are as bloody as any of thoſe which had been enacted by the Popiſh princes and ſtates; and where thoſe laws were not bloody, in my opinion, they were worſe; as they were ſlow, cruel outrages on our nature, and kept men alive only to inſult in their perſons, every one of the rights and feelings of humanity. I paſs thoſe ſtatutes, becauſe I would ſpare your pious ears the repetition of ſuch ſhocking things; and I come to that particular law, the repeal of which has produced ſo many unnatural and unexpected conſequences.

A ſtatute was fabricated in the year 1699, by which the ſaying maſs (a church-ſervice in the Latin tongue, not exactly the ſame as our Liturgy, but very near it, and containing no offence whatſoever againſt the laws, or againſt good morals) was forged into a crime puniſhable with perpetual impriſonment. The teaching ſchool, an uſeful and virtuous occupation, even the teaching in a private family, was in every Catholic ſubjected to the ſame unproportioned puniſhment. Your induſtry, and the bread of your children, was taxed for a pecuniary reward to

ſtimulate avarice to do what nature refuſed, to inform and proſecute on this law. Every Roman Catholic was, under the ſame act, to forfeit his eſtate to his neareſt Proteſtant relation, until, through a profeſſion of what he did not believe, he redeemed by his hypocriſy, what the law had transferred to the kinſman as the recompence of his profligacy. When thus turned out of doors from his paternal eſtate, he was diſabled from acquiring any other by any induſtry, donation, or charity: but was rendered a foreigner in his native land, only becauſe he retained the religion, along with the property, handed down to him from thoſe who had been the old inhabitants of that land before him.

Does any one who hears me approve this ſcheme of things, or think there is common juſtice, common ſenſe, or common honeſty in any part of it? If any does, let him ſay it, and I am ready to diſcuſs the point with temper and candour. But inſtead of approving, I perceive a virtuous indignation beginning to riſe in your minds on the mere cold ſtating of the ſtatute.

But what will you feel, when you know from hiſtory how this ſtatute paſſed, and what were the motives, and what the mode of making it? A party in this nation, enemies to the ſyſtem of the Revolution, were in oppoſition to the government of King William. They knew, that our glorious deliverer was an enemy to all perſecution. They knew that he came to free us from ſlavery and Popery, out of a country, where a third of the people are contented Catholics under a Proteſtant government. He came with a part of his army compoſed of thoſe very Catholics, to overſet the power of a Popiſh prince. Such is the effect of a tolerating ſpirit; and ſo much is liberty ſerved in every way, and by all perſons, by a manly adherence to its own principles. Whilſt freedom is true to itſelf, every thing becomes ſubject to it; and its very adverſaries are an inſtrument in its hands.

The party I ſpeak of (like ſome amongſt us who would diſparage the beſt friends of their country) reſolved to make the king either violate his principles of toleration, or incur the odium of protecting Papiſts. They therefore brought in this bill, and made it purpoſely wicked and abſurd that it might be rejected. The then court party, diſcovering their game, turned the tables on them, and returned their bill to them ſtuffed with ſtill greater abſurdities, that its loſs might lie upon its original authors. They, finding their own ball thrown back to them, kicked it back again to their adverſaries. And thus this act, loaded with the double injuſtice of two parties, neither of whom intended to paſs, what they hoped the other would be perſuaded to reject, went thro' the legiſlature, contrary to the real wiſh of all parts of it, and of all the parties that compoſed it. In this manner theſe inſolent and profligate factions, as if they were playing with balls and counters, made a ſport of the fortunes and the liberties of their fellow-creatures. Other acts of perſecution have been acts of malice. This was a ſubverſion of juſtice from wantonneſs and petulance. Look into

into the hiſtory of Biſhop Burnet. He is a witneſs without exception.

The effects of the act have been as miſchievous, as its origin was ludicrous and ſhameful. From that time every perſon of that communion, lay and eccleſiaſtic, has been obliged to fly from the face of day. The clergy, concealed in garrets of private-houſes, or obliged to take a ſhelter (hardly ſafe to themſelves, but infinitely dangerous to their country) under the privileges of foreign miniſters, officiated as their ſervants, and under their protection. The whole body of the Catholics, condemned to beggary and to ignorance in their native land, have been obliged to learn the principles of letters, at the hazard of all their other principles, from the charity of your enemies. They have been taxed to their ruin at the pleaſure of neceſſitous and profligate relations, and according to the meaſure of their neceſſity and profligacy. Examples of this are many and affecting. Some of them are known by a friend who ſtands near me in this hall. It is but ſix or ſeven years ſince a clergyman of the name of Malony, a man of morals, neither guilty nor accuſed of any thing noxious to the ſtate, was condemned to perpetual impriſonment for exerciſing the functions of his religion; and after lying in jail two or three years, was relieved by the mercy of government from perpetual impriſonment, on condition of perpetual baniſhment. A brother of the Earl of Shrewſbury, a Talbot, a name reſpectable in this county, whilſt its glory is any part of its concern, was hauled to the bar of the Old Bailey among common felons, and only eſcaped the ſame doom, either by ſome error in the proceſs, or that the wretch who brought him there could not correctly deſcribe his perſon; I now forget which.—In ſhort, the perſecution would never have relented for a moment, if the judges, ſuperſeding (though with an ambiguous example) the ſtrict rule of their artificial duty by the higher obligation of their conſcience, did not conſtantly throw every difficulty in the way of ſuch informers. But ſo ineffectual is the power of legal evaſion againſt legal iniquity, that it was but the other day, that a lady of condition, beyond the middle of life, was on the point of being ſtripped of her whole fortune by a near relation, to whom ſhe had been a friend and benefactor: and ſhe muſt have been totally ruined, without a power of redreſs or mitigation from the courts of law, had not the legiſlature itſelf ruſhed in, and by a ſpecial act of parliament reſcued her from the injuſtice of its own ſtatutes. One of the acts authoriſing ſuch things was that which we in part repealed, knowing what our duty was; and doing that duty as men of honour and virtue, as good Proteſtants, and as good citizens. Let him ſtand forth that diſapproves what we have done!

Gentlemen, bad laws are the worſt ſort of tyranny. In ſuch a country as this, they are of all bad things the worſt, worſe by far than any where elſe; and they derive a particular malignity even from the wiſdom and ſoundneſs of the reſt of our inſtitutions. For very obvious reaſons you cannot truſt the crown with a diſpenſing power over any of your laws. How-

ever, a government, be it as bad as it may, will, in the exercise of a discretionary power, discriminate times and persons; and will not ordinarily pursue any man, when its own safety is not concerned. A mercenary informer knows no distinction. Under such a system, the obnoxious people are slaves, not only to the government, but they live at the mercy of every individual; they are at once the slaves of the whole community, and of every part of it; and the worst and most unmerciful men are those on whose goodness they most depend.

In this situation men not only shrink from the frowns of a stern magistrate; but they are obliged to fly from their very species. The seeds of destruction are sown in civil intercourse, in social habitudes. The blood of wholesome kindred is infected. Their tables and beds are surrounded with snares. All the means given by Providence to make life safe and comfortable, are perverted into instruments of terror and torment. This species of universal subserviency, that makes the very servant who waits behind your chair, the arbiter of your life and fortune, has such a tendency to degrade and abase mankind, and to deprive them of that assured and liberal state of mind, which alone can make us what we ought to be, that I vow to God I would sooner bring myself to put a man to immediate death for opinions I disliked, and so to get rid of the man and his opinions at once, than to fret him with a feverish being, tainted with the jail-distemper of a contagious servitude, to keep him above ground, an animated mass of putrefaction, corrupted himself, and corrupting all about him

The act repealed was of this direct tendency; and it was made in the manner which I have related to you. I will now tell you by whom the bill of repeal was brought into parliament. I find it has been industriously given out in this city (from kindness to me unquestionably) that I was the mover or the seconder. The fact is, I did not once open my lips on the subject during the whole progress of the bill. I do not say this as disclaiming my share in that measure. Very far from it. I inform you of this fact, lest I should seem to arrogate to myself the merits which belong to others. To have been the man chosen out to redeem our fellow-citizens from slavery; to purify our laws from absurdity and injustice; and to cleanse our religion from the blot and stain of persecution, would be an honour and happiness to which my wishes would undoubtedly aspire; but to which nothing but my wishes could possibly have entitled me. That great work was in hands in every respect far better qualified than mine. The mover of the bill was Sir George Savile.

When an act of great and signal humanity was to be done, and done with all the weight and authority that belonged to it, the world could cast its eyes upon none but him. I hope that few things, which have a tendency to bless or to adorn life, have wholly escaped my observation in my passage through it. I have sought the acquaintance of that gentleman, and have seen him in all situations. He is a true genius; with an understanding

derſtanding vigorous, and acute, and refined, and diſtinguiſhing even to exceſs; and illuminated with a moſt unbounded, peculiar, and original caſt of imagination. With theſe he poſſeſſes many external and inſtrumental advantages; and he makes uſe of them all. His fortune is among the largeſt; a fortune which, wholly unincumbered, as it is, with one ſingle charge from luxury, vanity, or exceſs, ſinks under the benevolence of its diſpenſer. This private benevolence, expanding itſelf into patriotiſm, renders his whole being the eſtate of the public, in which he has not reſerved a *peculium* for himſelf of profit, diverſion, or relaxation. During the ſeſſion, the firſt in, and the laſt out of the houſe of commons; he paſſes from the ſenate to the camp; and, ſeldom ſeeing the ſeat of his anceſtors, he is always in parliament to ſerve his country, or in the field to defend it. But in all well-wrought compoſitions, ſome particulars ſtand out more eminently than the reſt; and the things which will carry his name to poſterity, are his two bills; I mean that for a limitation of the claims of the crown upon landed eſtates; and this for the relief of the Roman Catholics. By the former, he has emancipated property; by the latter, he has quieted conſcience; and by both, he has taught that grand leſſon to government and ſubject,—no longer to regard each other as adverſe parties.

Such was the mover of the act that is complained of by men, who are not quite ſo good as he is; an act, moſt aſſuredly not brought in by him from any partiality to that ſect which is the object of it. For, among his faults, I really cannot help reckoning a greater degree of prejudice againſt that people, than becomes ſo wiſe a man. I know that he inclines to a ſort of diſguſt, mixed with a conſiderable degree of aſperity, to the ſyſtem; and he has few, or rather no habits with any of its profeſſors. What he has done was on quite other motives. The motives were theſe, which he declared in his excellent ſpeech on his motion for the bill; namely, his extreme zeal to the Proteſtant religion, which he thought utterly diſgraced by the act of 1699; and his rooted hatred to all kind of oppreſſion, under any colour or upon any pretence whatſoever.

The ſeconder was worthy of the mover, and the motion. I was not the ſeconder; it was Mr. Dunning, recorder of this city. I ſhall ſay the leſs of him, becauſe his near relation to you makes you more particularly acquainted with his merits. But I ſhould appear little acquainted with them, or little ſenſible of them, if I could utter his name on this occaſion without expreſſing my eſteem for his character. I am not afraid of offending a moſt learned body, and moſt jealous of its reputation for that learning, when I ſay he is the firſt of his profeſſion. It is a point ſettled by thoſe who ſettle every thing elſe; and I muſt add (what I am enabled to ſay from my own long and cloſe obſervation) that there is not a man, of any profeſſion, or in any ſituation, of a more erect and independent ſpirit; of a more proud honour;

a more manly mind; a more firm and determined integrity. Assure yourselves, that the names of two such men will bear a great load of prejudice in the other scale, before they can be entirely outweighed.

With this mover, and this seconder, agreed the *whole* House of commons; the *whole* house of lords; the *whole* bench of bishops; the king; the ministry; the opposition; all the distinguished clergy of the establishment; all the eminent lights (for they were consulted) of the Dissenting churches. This according voice of national wisdom ought to be listened to with reverence. To say that all these descriptions of Englishmen unanimously concurred in a scheme for introducing the Catholic religion, or that none of them understood the nature and effects of what they were doing, so well as a few obscure clubs of people, whose names you never heard of, is shamelessly absurd. Surely it is paying a miserable compliment to the religion we profess, to suggest, that every thing eminent in the kingdom is indifferent, or even adverse to that religion, and that its security is wholly abandoned to the zeal of those, who have nothing but their zeal to distinguish them. In weighing this unanimous concurrence of whatever the nation has to boast of, I hope you will recollect, that all these concurring parties do by no means love one another enough to agree in any point, which was not both evidently, and importantly, right.

Adventures of Eyles Irwin, *Esq; in a Voyage up the* Red-Sea, *and in a Journey through the Deserts of* Thebais. *From his Letters, 4to.*

IN the year 1777, Mr. Irwin, a gentleman in the East-India Company's service, was sent from Madrass with dispatches for England. He embarked on board the snow Adventure, Captain Bacon, in company with three other gentlemen, Major Alexander, Mr. Hammond, and Lieutenant * * *, a gentleman whose name is kindly suppressed, for a reason that will appear in due time; bound for Mocha on the coast of Arabia Felix: with a resolution, either to reach Suez by a voyage up the Red-Sea, or to proceed by land to the port of Alexandria, and thence to take shipping for Europe. In eight weeks, owing to the lateness of the season, they effected a passage to Mocha. Here the East-India Company have a resident, and Mr. Irwin and his party staid till the ship had laid in stores for the voyage up the Red-Sea. Of the customs of the country he gives the following account:

The women in Arabia are kept in much stricter confinement, than those of their religion in India. The females of rank are shut up in their apartments, and never stir abroad, except now and then, to accompany their husbands on an excursion to the vallies. They are veiled at these times from head to foot, and sent off upon horse-back under cover of the night. But this simple recreation does not fall often to their lot. The civilized Arabs are of all nations the least inclined

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to action; and it is to be ſuppoſed, that women born here live and die, without ſtirring out of the walls of Mocha; ſuch is the tax that is laid on birth and greatneſs, even in the remote country of Arabia.

To thoſe of a lower degree, there is ſome deviation permitted from the ſeverity of this cuſtom. Though there are no public Hummums for the women to reſort to as in Turky, they are indulged with the freedom of viſiting their neighbours, when the duſk of the evening can ſkreen their perſons from obſervation: for the thick veils in which their faces are buried utterly preclude the poſſibility of diſtinguiſhing their features. We have met them ourſelves in the ſtreets, and have conceived a favourable idea of their faces, from the ſymmetry of their figures.

Incontinence is held much more criminal among the ſingle than married females. Though adultery is puniſhed with a heavy fine, the ſeduction of a virgin is attended by a more ſerious correction In this they differ from the laws of more enlightened kingdoms, where an injury of this nature is not only unpuniſhable by any courſe of law, but the matter itſelf is treated in a very light manner. And here the character of the Arabian Legiſlator riſes far beyond the boaſted policy of European ſtates. To his juſtice it is owing, that the deſtruction of innocence is held in ſuch abhorrence; and to his rectitude of thinking, that the mere accomplice of a lewd woman ſhould encounter leſs rigorous treatment, than the mean betrayer of unexperienced ſimplicity.

We were ſurprized at the number of Chriſtian renegadoes that reſide at Mocha. Not, that the apoſtacy of men, who perhaps had no ſenſe of religion until they profeſſed Mahometaniſm, could provoke our wonder; but how their worldly intereſts could be advanced by the change. Reduced to a pitiful ſubſiſtence, and held in deſerved contempt by the natives, we ſhould have ſurmiſed their defection to be merely the effects of deſpair; and that the fugitives from juſtice alone ſought their ſafety at this price, had not the example of a Greek prieſt ſomewhat ſhaken our opinion. This prieſt, by name Ananias, I remember to have heard mentioned in Bengal, as a miracle of piety. And yet in the ſeventieth year of his age did he publicly abjure the Chriſtian religion, in the courſe of a pilgrimage to Mount Sinai. He was circumciſed, and received into the Mahometan church; and, to crown the whole of this ſtrange proceeding, was led about the city for three days, according to cuſtom, mounted on an aſs, to receive the alms of the faithful, which every convert is entitled to on his admiſſion to their myſteries. This happened during our ſhort ſtay at Mocha; and is one of the greateſt inſtances of the infirmity of human nature, which has come within the ſphere of my obſervation.

Having taken in proper proviſions, they re-imbarked on a voyage up the Red Sea to Suez, which is but a ſhort journey from Grand Cairo. The paſſage up the Red-Sea, little known to Europeans, is rendered extremely dangerous by rocks and ſhoals, and, the wind

wind being againſt them, they could not run more than thirty miles upon one tack: their method was to make one ſhore about ſun-ſet, then to tack and ſtand over for the oppoſite ſhore until day-break.

When the veſſel had beat up in that manner for ſome time, they ſuddenly found themſelves about ſun-ſet on a hazy evening driven by the current among a line of rocks and ſhoals on the Arabian coaſt, and in imminent danger of deſtruction. The ſnow Aurora had been loſt in the ſame place, about ſix months before. After an anxious perilous night, and various intricate traverſes, they took refuge in the harbour of Yambo, that appeared in ſight in the morning. Here they congratulated themſelves with a concluſion of their troubles, having heard of the hoſpitality of the place, from the crew of the above ſhip-wrecked veſſel, who had owed their ſafety to the inhabitants. This port was in the neighbourhood of Medina; and as the Adventure had landed a conſiderable ſum of money at Mocha, being a preſent from the Nabob of the Carnatic to the temple of Mecca, they doubted not of receiving the moſt favourable treatment at Yambo.

Nevertheleſs, after the gentlemen with the captain had been decoyed aſhore by the moſt plauſible invitation from the vizier of the town; and being amuſed in their negociations for a pilot to conduct the ſhip to Suez; they were at length refuſed all aſſiſtance by the vizier, under pretence of waiting for an order from the Xerif of Mecca, and in the mean time a guard was placed over them, and they were kept in ſtrict confinement. In the evening, the vizier ſent to the captain to deſire he would order the ſhip into the harbour. They now began to ſuſpect that ſome black deſign was in agitation, and their firſt reſolution was to attempt to gain their boat by force, and return on board. But whilſt they were conſulting on this point, their boat's crew was ſent to the ſame place of confinement, and the boat itſelf removed to ſome ſecret place—freſh injunctions alſo were ſent to the captain to order the ſhip into harbour. As they had no doubts but that this was done with a deſign to get the veſſel into their power, and thereby prevent the diſcovery of their villainy: they reſolved, as the only chance of ſaving their lives, to ſend poſitive orders to the mate to weigh or ſlip his anchor with the firſt favourable wind, make the beſt of his way to Judda, and acquaint the Engliſh ſhips there with their ſituation. This was accordingly done—a faithful Arabian who had been their interpreter, and had attached himſelf to them, carried the letter to the vizier—his ignorance of our language favoured their deſign, and the interpreter paſſed it off for an order to come immediately into harbour. For two days, the wind being unfavourable, they were in the moſt dreadful ſuſpence. At length they ſaw the ſhip getting under way; but the weather ſuddenly changing, ſhe ran amongſt the breakers: the Arabians attacked her from the ſhore, and the people on board were afraid of defend-

defending themſelves, as the conſequence of killing an Arabian, would have been the certain death of the party on ſhore. They ſoon after got poſſeſſion of the ſhip, and took out all the guns and ſmall arms.

During the three days they had now been here, many trading boats having ſailed in and out of the harbour, the vizier was deprived of all hopes of making a ſecret prize of the veſſel. He therefore entered into a kind of treaty with the priſoners, and after extorting conſiderable ſums of money from them, and detaining them a month, by which time, the northern monſoons ſet in, he agreed to ſend them away to Suez in a boat, for which, they were to pay the extravagant price of 650 dollars. However, they had nothing left but to ſubmit, and the company, conſiſting of Mr. Irwin, Major Alexander, Lieutenant * * *, attended by four ſervants and Ibrahim, the Arabian interpreter, embarked on board their boat. This boat, which from the price they paid for her, they named the Impoſition, afforded theſe four gentlemen no more accommodation than a ſquare of about five feet diameter, being formed of their cheſts, with no defence againſt the mid-day ſun or mid-night dews. Their ſervants and the boat's crew ſufficiently occupied the reſt.

At the commencement of this voyage, the lieutenant before-mentioned diſcovered by many extravagances, that the treatment they had received at Yambo had diſordered his intellects. He had betrayed fears for his life from his firſt entrance into the boat, and retarded their departure by eſcaping aſhore, where he went back to the vizier to communicate his apprehenſions. He was brought on board again, where every thing was done to quiet his mind, and divert him; but with ſo little ſucceſs, that the Arabs were in turn alarmed at his mad freaks, and poſitively refuſed to proceed on their voyage, if he remained on board. In this dilemma they were forced to ſend the poor man back to Yambo, with a recommendation to the care of Captain Bacon of the Adventure; and had afterward the ſatisfaction to hear of his recovery.

After a tedious coaſting voyage up the Arabian ſhore for a month, the boatmen, when they arrived at the gulph of Suez, ſtood over to the Egyptian ſhore under the advantage of the night, and made for the port of Coſire, which is about half way between Yambo and Suez. The gentlemen now found that the boat was originally bound only for Coſire, and that the vizier of Yambo, by making an exorbitant charge for a voyage to Suez, had doubly cheated them; beſide expoſing them to a much longer and more dangerous journey by land, than if they had been conveyed to the port for which they had paid their paſſage.

Coſire, which ſtands in 26 deg. 20 min. north latitude, is deſcribed as the ſouthernmoſt port on the coaſt of Egypt, and to have been of great note, and to be ſtill conſiderable, for the exportation of grain to Arabia, which is brought in caravans from the Nile. The town is however in a miſerable ſtate of decay, and the aſpect of the country round is dreary; the eye cannot catch a verdant

verdant ſpot, and this deſert is the barrier to the celebrated and fertile land of Upper Egypt.

There was now no remedy, but to land at the place to which they were carried; and to wait the ſetting out of a caravan with which they might travel to the Nile. The novelty of their European dreſs procured them many viſitors; to leſſen therefore the notice they attracted, they reſolved to aſſume the veſtments of the Eaſterns; and as being alſo better adapted to the nature of the climate. Their ſtay in this place was at a continual expence of preſents of one kind or other, which their new acquaintances contrived to get from them by inſinuations and importunities; having conceived high ideas of their wealth by their baggage. The delay of the arrival of the expected caravan, by the return of which they were to proceed to the Nile, proved a good opening to the Arabian Shaik to profit by their eagerneſs to depart. He offered to procure them as many camels as they required for them and their baggage; for which, however, they were to pay double price of camel-hire to Ghinnah, on account of the ſcarcity of thoſe animals at that time. To this meaſure they would have agreed, had not the price he demanded exceeded trebly what it ought to have done according to his own calculation. The news of the approach of the caravan put an end to the negociation, but afforded him opportunity to begin another for the loan of twenty dollars which he ſaid he wanted to purchaſe coffee; this requeſt, which their knowledge of the Arabs taught them to conſider but as an indirect mode of begging, their ſituation induced them to comply with; and the crafty veteran received them with many profeſſions of gratitude, and promiſes to expedite their journey.

The next morning was uſhered in by a viſit from the ſhaik, attended by the principal Arabs of the town, whoſe errand was to ſee what they could ſtrip the travellers of before their departure, 200 camels of the caravan having arrived the preceding evening. When the gentlemen determined to bring them to the point of naming the ſum total they were to pay for carriage to Ghinnah, they delivered the following bill:

	Dollars.
To the government of Coſire for its protection	100
To twelve camels from hence to Ghinnah	80
Two ſoldiers for a guard	10
To a preſent to the ſhaik for his company	15
	205

It is to be obſerved that the uſual hire of a camel for that journey was but two dollars; they paid the money however on the ſpot, to the great ſatisfaction of their viſitors, placing all their ſufferings to the account of the vizier of Yambo. The ſuſpicions of their concealed wealth would not let the ſhaik part with theſe travellers without ſtill more extortion; for he came the next morning and told them in plain terms, that he muſt have more money. He condeſcended indeed to place this requiſition to the account of the people of the town and country, who had been peſtering him for preſents from them;

them; that it was their misfortune to be considered by these people as men of vast wealth, whose trunks were filled with gold, precious stones, and rich merchandize, on which it was their custom to levy a tax. It was in vain to expostulate, the dependants of the shaik were yet to receive their mite; and he declared in a determined tone, that he could not pretend to send them in safety to the Nile, until he received orders from the bey of Cairo, unless the people were satisfied with a donation of twenty-five dollars. When his demand was satisfied, the clouds which loured on his countenance dispelled in a moment, and with infinite good humour he ordered the camels at the door to take up their baggage. After his departure, it was found that instead of twelve camels, as by agreement, he had only provided ten, and he had grace enough to avoid another interview, by sending his son to accompany them instead of attending himself.

Misfortune however still pursued them. The young shaik found means in the course of their journey to separate them from the rest of the caravan, and after they had suffered innumerable fatigues, he had the impudence to propose to leave them at Banute, a town considerably short of Ghinnah. This circumstance (says Mr. Irwin) was too barefaced not to alarm us, and we determined to push on, through an almost insupportable heat. This resolution was confirmed by Abdul Russar, our Arabian servant, who was entitled to credit from his past behaviour. Accordingly, at two o'clock, we mounted our camels, in spite of their importunities to wait until the evening, and moved on, in the most sultry day I had ever felt in the East. We soon rejoined the merchant's camels, which had taken shelter under a thorn-tree at some distance, and were ready to attend us. While united with this body, we did not fear going astray; and pursued our course, under a full security of being on the road to Ghinnah. We had no water, but what our earthen guglets contained; and this was soon expended. It is impossible to describe what we suffered from heat and thirst during this stage. A mouthful or two of dirty water, which one of our guards gave me, made me forget for the moment his recent insolence; and all our former apprehensions were insensibly swallowed up in the more painful idea of falling victims to thirst. Our tongues actually became parched to our palates; and we were obliged to wet them every now and then, with spirituous liquors, to prevent suffocation from the clouds of dust which continual whirlwinds threw around us. This expedient was but transitory, and served indeed to increase the rage of thirst. It was our common misfortune also to labour under a violent complaint in our bowels; and to the want of the bad water that occasioned it—a want which we had lamented in the most earnest manner—our preservation was probably owing. I was so afflicted myself with this disorder, that I could scarcely sit my camel through excess of pain. The wind and dust had equally affected our sight, so that we wandered on in agony and darkness. There is no doubt that

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our Arabian companions partook in ſome meaſure of our ſufferings; but they were too much accuſtomed to the ſun, to feel all the effects of his fury; and we had ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that their ſtock of water laſted long after ours had failed us. To crown this ſcene of diſtreſs, we at length overtook the ſhaik, who, we learnt, had been diſappointed in repleniſhing his ſkins, by the appearance of wild Arabs about the ſprings. This news ſounded like the knell of death in our ears; not from the neighbourhood of theſe robbers, who were once ſo formidable to our fears, but from the abſence of a fluid, on which we ſuppoſed our lives to depend. Faint and ſpiritleſs, therefore, we toiled on until eight o'clock at night, when we halted, without having encountered any foe in the way. But far different was this halting-place from any other we had come to. Without a draught of water to moiſten our throats, it was impracticable to force down a morſel of bread; and the pain and wearineſs under which our bodies laboured, were too extreme to admit of a momentary repoſe. Overwhelmed with hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, we ſat ourſelves upon the ground, and revolved our melancholy ſituation in ſilence. Every ſkin was alternately ranſacked by us for water, and not an article left untried that was likely to produce the leaſt moiſture. My companions and I had unluckily recourſe to raw onions, which were among the baggage. But no ſooner had we taſted of this potent root, than we repented of our raſhneſs. The effect was quite contrary to our hopes; and our drought was irritated to the higheſt degree. This ſtage was ſix hours, or fifteen miles.

After five days journey through theſe deſerts, they at length arrived at Ghinnah, on the banks of the Nile, where they again found themſelves in much worſe hands than at Coſire. Their landlord and the vizier of the city leagued together, and by ſundry artifices and farcical pleas of difficulties, contrived to detain them from their voyage down the river, and to drain them of their money and every valuable article, even to their arms and wearing apparel, that they ſaw in their poſſeſſion: theſe extortions they were obliged to ſubmit to, finding by experience that among theſe people reſiſtance never produced redreſs. After having been kept priſoners by their landlord, ſubject to a barefaced courſe of depredation, they were at length happily reſcued from theſe plunderers, by the long-expected arrival of the ſhaik Ul Arab, whoſe character and behaviour Mr. Irwin thus deſcribes:

Iſman Abu Ally, the great ſhaik of the Arabs—for ſuch we would render the ſhaik Ul Arab—is a ſhort fat man, of about five feet two inches high, and turned, as we learn, of ſeventy-five. His eyes are grey, and his complexion very fair; but, what at once gives him a ſingular and more youthful look, his beard, which is very buſhy, is coloured of a bright yellow. This exterior may not ſeem the moſt promiſing, and might create diſtaſte, if the benevolence that beams from his countenance, were not foremoſt to ſecure the heart of the beholder. Neither can the ſhrillneſs of his voice, which is harſh and diſſonant, deſtroy

ſtroy the beauty of the ſentiments, which it is made uſe of to convey. He is ſtill active, for a man of his ſize and age; and his ſpirits are ſo good, that were it not for the ravage that time has made among his teeth, he might paſs for a younger man by twenty years at leaſt. Except the viziers of Yambo and Ghinnah, whom we had found to be villains by ſad experience, we had hitherto dealt with the droſs of the nation. It was reſerved for this moment, for us to meet with the polite gentleman and the honeſt man, comprized in the perſon where they ought to be found, in the repreſentative of his people.

We had quickly cauſe to find, that we had not given the ſhaik too much credit for his integrity. His impatience to acquit himſelf in our opinion, of any connivance at the conduct of his ſervants, could ſcarcely be reſtrained by the forms of civility, which precluded buſineſs during our repaſt. But no ſooner was it ended, than he ſhifted the converſation, and came directly to the point which we were ſo much concerned in. He lamented the treatment which we had undergone, and which could only have happened in his abſence; and he vehemently reprobated the behaviour of his officers, which he was determined to puniſh in the moſt exemplary manner. After a few leading queſtions, which tended to confirm the report that had been made to him touching our ſtory, he profeſſed, that his return to Ghinnah had been haſtened on our account. That he had come purpoſely to do us ſtrict juſtice on our perſecutors, and to diſpatch us under a ſafe conduct to Cairo. As a proof of his ſincerity, he ordered Ally, the brother of Mahomet, their landlord, and a partaker in the ſpoil, to be brought before him. He had been previouſly taken into cuſtody, and was waiting without, to be examined. With this fellow came Sauker, one of the rogues who had aſſiſted to plunder us, and who of his own accord produced the things which had fallen to his ſhare, in the diviſion of the ſpoils. He laid them at the ſhaik's feet; and with the greateſt effrontery declared, that he had taken them, only to ſecure them from the thieves of the houſe: and that his truth might be deduced from his care of our property. Though his offence was palpable, this ſtep was ſufficient to ſkreen him from puniſhment in a country, where retribution is all that is required by the proſecutor, and where juſtice is generally to be appeaſed by pecuniary fines. But the ill-adviſed Ally did not eſcape in this manner. He boldly denied having robbed us of money or valuables, and was loudly exclaiming at the injuſtice of the accuſation, when the ſhaik raiſed his voice, and a dozen Abyſſinian ſlaves ſuddenly ſeized on the culprit, and hurried him out of the room. We were in pain for the fellow, and were meditating on the conſequences of his arreſt, when he was brought into our preſence again, bound hand and foot, with a chain about his neck, by which he was held. He was on the point of receiving the baſtinado on his knees, when he confeſſed the charge, and promiſed to return all that he had taken from us. The ſhaik was inclined to inflict the puniſh-

puniſhment on him; but by the interpoſition of thoſe about him, in which we joined, he remitted it for the preſent; and directed Ally to be led home, that he might produce the goods. Our triumph was complete. One of our ancient enemies had atoned for his crime, in a manner that outwent the moſt ſanguine idea of revenge. The other was humbled at our feet. He ſurvived indeed: but it was only to abaſe himſelf before us, and to depend upon our moderation for his ſecurity!

In about half an hour Ally returned, and produced a few of the leaſt valuable articles. He earneſtly requeſted until the morning to deliver up the reſt, and to repay us the money that he had cheated us out of. This was granted him at our deſire, and the priſoner committed to his own houſe, under the cuſtody of a ſtrong guard.

We breakfaſted betimes, and at ſeven o'clock went to the ſhaik's houſe. The court were already aſſembled in an open ſpot before the houſe, which was ſhaded by an high wall from the morning ſun. Here we found the ſhaik encompaſſed by his great men, with a number of ſoldiers and attendants at ſome diſtance in their front. Carpets were ſpread in the intermediate ſpace for our reception. Here we ſeated ourſelves, after making our obeiſance to the ſhaik, and waited in ſilence the iſſue of the trial. Next to the ſhaik's right hand was placed his nephew, and, as we underſtand, his declared ſucceſſor in the government.

Juſt before we came in, the culprit Ally had undergone a ſevere baſtinado, on again proving refractory; and the hakeem was ſent to ſearch his houſe for the ſtolen goods. This occaſioned a pauſe in the proceedings, which were interrupted by the ſudden appearance of the vizier, who, to our great aſtoniſhment, took a ſeat which was vacant next to the ſhaik's nephew. This confidence was unexpected, and filled us with unfavourable prognoſtics of the event of our ſuit. But our doubts were of ſhort continuance. He had entered unregarded by his maſter, and was talking with great eaſe to thoſe about him, when the ſhaik turned about, and in a ſolemn tone aſked him for the ſhauls and things, which he had received from the Engliſh gentlemen. The whole frame of this gay courtier was evidently diſcompoſed by this queſtion. He had probably laid his account with our ſuppreſſing the part he had taken againſt us, after the high hand with which he had once ſtopped the accuſation of Abdul Ruſſar, and was unprepared with an evaſion. His countenance inſtantly was diſrobed of its pleaſantry; his limbs trembled, and his tongue faultered in framing a reply, the ſubſtance of which was, that he was a ſtranger to the matter with which he was charged. We were aſhamed of the meanneſs of a man of his rank, but the wrath of the ſhaik was wound up to the higheſt pitch at the hearing of this falſehood. He was confirmed of the guilt from the ſymptoms which the offender diſplayed; and without calling any freſh evidence to corroborate it, he proceeded to decide. But he could hardly find utterance for his orders, which were to arreſt and

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flog the vizier immediately. A number of ſlaves ſtarted from the croud, to execute his orders. The aſtoniſhed miniſter could not believe his ears, and would fain have perſuaded himſelf that the affair was a jeſt. He was preſently convinced of his miſtake. The officers of juſtice laid violent hands upon his perſon, tumbled him from his proud ſeat, and in a rude manner hurried him away, in ſpite of his outcries and fruitleſs reſiſtance. This behaviour ſerved only to exaſperate the ſhaik. His eyes flaſhed with the honeſt indignation which lighted his boſom; his ſtrength could ſcarcely ſupport the agitations of mind; and after ſome effort, he raiſed himſelf from his carpet, and repeated his commands in a voice, that ſtruck terror into the breaſts of all preſent. He was immediately ſurrounded by a croud of his courtiers, who kiſſed his hands, embraced his knees, and interceded with him for the pardon of the vizier. Theſe nobles took no ſhare in the paſſions of their monarch, and were only attentive to exculpate one of their body, though at the expence of honour and juſtice.

I muſt own that I was concerned at the fearful ſituation of a man, who had never been guilty of any actual violence towards us, and whoſe greateſt treſpaſs was the receipt of preſents, on his aſſurances of protection, when he permitted our being plundered by our inhoſpitable hoſt and his adherents. Theſe, however, were crimes of the deepeſt dye, in the eyes of the good old ſhaik. When we directed Ibrahim to plead for the inoffenſive conduct of the vizier towards us, he would not hear of any apology for a villain, who had ſo little the honour of his country at heart, as to injure its character by winking at the mal-treatment of ſtrangers. He could the leſs overlook it in a ſervant of his own, and added, that it was at our inſtance only, he would remit the puniſhment due to his enormity. The mortification nevertheleſs was reſerved for the vizier, that he ſhould be brought before us, diſarrayed of his gay apparel, his hands bound behind him, and a chain faſtened about his neck. In this miſerable plight, he was told of the obligation he was under to our generous application; and led home by a guard, to produce his ill-gotten acquiſition, as his only hope of ſafety. We obſerved a general murmur among the grandees, at the compliment which was paid us on this occaſion. The diſgrace of one of their body excited no friendly ſentiments towards us; and not a few menacing looks were thrown upon us from the circle. On the other hand, the ſhaik harangued them in a ſenſible and pathetic ſpeech, on the honour of their nation. He caſt the moſt juſt and ſevere reproaches on the character of the abſent miniſter, and warned them in future, againſt ſuch inhuman practices towards Chriſtians and ſtrangers. He then turned to us with the kindeſt aſpect, and reaſſured us of his protection. He attributed the commiſſion of the offence to the neglect of the hakeem of Ghinnah, who had ſlumbered like an unwary centinel on his duty. For this he had been diſcharged from his office, and a ſlave of his own been ſent to take

care of us until his arrival. All that was now wanting to complete our satisfaction, was the recovery of our losses, which he would see effected; and our journey to Cairo, which he swore should be accomplished without any injury being offered to an hair of our heads.

Our ignorance of the Arabian language obliged us to have recourse to our interpreter, for an acknowledgment of these favours. But, at the same time, it saved us the confusion of appearing at a loss for a suitable reply. We sheltered ourselves under this fortunate circumstance, which, in a great measure, left our patron to conceive a gratitude, which words would have but poorly expressed.

A messenger now arrived with two shauls and my chreese, from the vizier. The other shaul, he said, he had parted with; and the pistols he had given to Ally. Once more, therefore, was the wretched Ally produced before the court; and on denying the receipt of them, the bastinado was again inflicted on him. Besides the articles which had been restored, there were still a silver urn, a pair of gold knee-buckles, and a quantity of valuable linen to be accounted for. Not to speak of the money which they obtained from us, under various pretences. But these were said to have fallen to Mahomet's share in the division; and his robbery and death were made a plea of by the family, to satisfy us for our loss. The shaik would not hear of this apology, which he termed false and evasive. And sooner than we should suffer by that family, he declared, that he would first order their substance to be disposed of, and if that would not repay us for our losses, Ally and the rest of them should be sold as slaves, to make up the sum. It was now time for us to interfere. The matter was exceeding the bounds to which we meant to push it; and policy, as well as humanity, prompted us to drop it. Our principal aim was to get from Ghinnah, under a proper protection. Our persecutors had been chastised, and it was preferable for us to put up with some inconvenience, rather than run the risk of being detained here, in the pursuit of full redress. On this account we listened to the mediation of the hakeem, and some of the courtiers, who beseeched us to withdraw our claim to all but eighty dollars of the remaining debt, which Ally might raise from the camels he possessed. Our acquiescence in this proposal gained us credit with all present, and drew a particular compliment from the worthy shaik; who protested, that he could not but admire our generosity, though it was exercised at the expence of their national character. The reader, perhaps, may agree with us, that we ought not to have subscribed to this insinuation, as such a man as was then before us, was enough to redeem his nation from obloquy.

The court now broke up, and we were dismissed, not a little pleased with this mode of administering justice. The punishment inflicted upon robbers in other countries, suppresses the growth of them in the general opinion. But when we reflect on the frequent robberies that are committed in our own, it seems doubtful, whether

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the ſeverity of the ſentence anſwers the expected end. As a ſmall token of our reſpect, on our return home, we made up ſuch a preſent as we judged would be moſt acceptable to a man of his turn of mind, and ſent it to the ſhaik by Ibrahim. It conſiſted of a couple of fine ſhauls, an Indian carpet, and a palampore, and an handſome ſabre and caſe of piſtols. The ſabre and piſtols, though articles of the greateſt value, he returned, and ſent us many thanks for our remembrance of him in the reſt, which he ſaid he would keep for our ſake. He alſo told Ibrahim, that he had directed a merchant to furniſh us with camels for our journey, as the river was too perilous for us to venture on."

The reader will undoubtedly be ſorry to hear of the death of this good old man. Egypt was then in a ſtate of convulſion, and in one of their revolutions his head was taken off. But ſuch events are matters of courſe in Africa and Aſia.

The good old ſhaik abovementioned, and who from circumſtances is ſuppoſed to be the ſame ſo favourably ſpoken of by Dr. Pococke, in his Travels, delivered Mr. Irwin and his fellow-ſufferers to the care of Hadgee Uttalah, the maſter of his camels; with a charge to convey them and their baggage ſafely to Cairo: adding, that, ſhould the leaſt complaint be made againſt his conduct, he ſhould anſwer it with his head; and he was ordered not to return without a letter under their hands and ſeals, to adviſe the ſhaik of their ſafety. To ſecure his fidelity beyond the reach of temptation, the ſhaik alſo directed, that the family of Hadgee Uttalah ſhould be placed under a guard, as the ſureſt hoſtage for his integrity.

On September 4, at 11 o'clock at night, as the moſt private hour, the Engliſh travellers left Ghinnah, where, notwithſtanding the redreſs they had received, they found their baggage reduced to one half of the bulk they brought into the town. Their journey lay through the deſert of Thebais, with eighteen camels for the accommodation of them, their baggage, attendants, and guard. On the third day of their journey in this deſert, they met with an adventure ſufficiently alarming, which we ſhall give in the author's own words, firſt premiſing that they had halted to dine.

"At half paſt three o'clock we were mounted again, and going through the ſame valley, in about an hour, reached the bottom of another ſteep mountain. We were obliged to lead our camels up, and in about half an hour gained the ſummit, where we found a plain near two miles in length, over which we rode. At ſix o'clock, we came to the extremity of the mountain, when our advanced guard alarmed us with the news of a party of camels being in the vale. As it was a ſuſpicious place to encounter any of our own ſpecies, we all took to our arms, and aſſembled on the deſcent, which was ſo craggy, and ſo perpendicular, that, ſmall as our numbers were, we were enabled by our ſituation to have coped with a multitude of enemies. The ſtrangers had obſerved our motions, and drew up in a body below to wait the reſult.

We counted no leſs than thirty camels, and deduced therefrom, that we ſhould have two to one againſt us, in caſe of hoſtilities. To gain intelligence, however, of the diſpoſition of the ſtrangers, Hadgee Uttalah himſelf deſcended into the valley. He ventured himſelf unarmed, as a token of peace; and we were not a little impatient to behold the interview which was about to take place. We were deeply intereſted in its event; and, circumſtanced as we were, it is not ſurpriſing that we ſhould doubt of its ſucceſs. But we were happily deceived in our ideas. No ſooner had Hadgee Uttalah approached the new party, than he was recognized by one among them, who ran with open arms to receive him. He was preſently encompaſſed by the reſt; and we could diſcern that he was ſerved with coffee and bread. This ſtaggered us in our opinion of theſe people's profeſſion; and we began to conceive that they might be travellers like ourſelves, who, in theſe critical times, had explored the deſert, in preference to the river. And we were now confirmed in this conceit by the ſigns which Hadgee made to us to deſcend. Theſe ſigns were interpreted to us by our Arabs, who told us there was nothing to fear. We obeyed, therefore, and went down the hill in as good order as the path would admit of. We were met at the foot of it by Hadgee, who conveyed us and our baggage to a ſpot at ſome diſtance from the ſtrangers, and then returned to them. Many were the embraces and congratulations that were exchanged between the Arabs on both ſides. The firſt thing we learned was, that water is to be procured in this valley, which has induced our gentry to halt here and repleniſh our ſkins. We arrived here at half paſt ſix o'clock, ſo that our laſt ſtage was three hours, or ſeven miles.

While Hadgee Uttalah was engaged in an earneſt converſation with the leader of the other party, Ibrahim and Abdul Ruſſar came to us with looks of ſurprize, and informed us, that they had diſcovered the ſtrangers to be what we at firſt apprehended—a band of robbers. That they had overheard one of them boaſt, that this band took the forty camels near Coſire during our ſtay in that town—an anecdote which I before mentioned—and that, on the banks of the Nile, they had plundered a caravan but a few days ago, with the ſpoils of which they were now returning to their own country! It may be imagined that we were not a little ſtartled at this intelligence. The novelty of the circumſtance did not diminiſh its unpleaſantneſs; and our ſituation was as alarming as uncommon: but our minds were preſently relieved by the aſſurances of Hadgee Uttalah, who now joined us. He made no ſcruple to acquaint us with the profeſſion of the robbers; but added, that they had as much regard for their word as other people. They happily knew him, which was indeed the ſaving of an effuſion of blood. For, on the ſcore of friendſhip, they had pledged their word to him, that they would not meditate the leaſt wrong againſt us. We might truſt them implicity, for the wild Arabs had never been known to break their

their faith on ſuch occaſions. After this prelude, we were the leſs ſurprized at a propoſition which they had made him, to accompany us to Cairo. Hadgee himſelf recommended us to accept of it. Our intereſt, he ſaid, was every way concerned in it. They would ſerve us both as guides and protectors, in this unfrequented waſte; and where they once adopted a cauſe, it was their character to promote it at the expence of their blood. Had we diſtruſted this panegyric, it was not for us to diſſent againſt the opinion of our conductor, who was actually the maſter of our perſons and effects. The pledges he has left at Ghinnah will prevent his riſking his charge wantonly, and on this we rely at this juncture. We have fallen into precious company! And it behoves us to be on our guard as much as poſſible. Never did heroes in romance plunge into greater perplexities; and were not this narrative well atteſted, it might ſeem here to breathe the air of fiction. But the good genius which preſided over every adventure we have atchieved, will, we truſt, conduct us ſafely through the preſent.

At ſeven o'clock the camels belonging to the robbers went on for water, and left their captain and a guard only with their baggage. This was a proof of confidence; but we betook ourſelves to bed, with our arms by us as uſual, and got as much ſleep as the cold would admit of. I was ſo unfortunate as to be ſtripped of my night-cloak at Ghinnah, and have no defence but a chintz coverlid againſt the ſharpneſs of the wind, which is due north, and as cutting as I ever felt it out of Europe.

The captain of the gang (ſays Mr. Irwin) was introduced to us by Hadgee Uttalah at breakfaſt, and took a cup of coffee with us. He is a bold, laughing villain, of a middle ſize, but large limbed; and would be well featured, were not his mouth diſfigured by a deep ſcar, which contracts his upper lip, and betrays the loſs of ſeveral of his fore teeth; the effects we ſuppoſe of one of his rencounters! There is a freedom in his behaviour, which gains him our confidence. Far from being aſhamed of his way of life, he talks of his late exploits, and produced two pair of Morocco ſlippers, a Turkiſh veſt, and other articles of dreſs, for ſale. Theſe we readily purchaſed, to conciliate his good opinion; and neceſſity muſt excuſe our receiving ſtolen goods, knowing them to be ſtolen. Abdul Ruſſar bought an Alcoran, and other religious books, the plunder perhaps of ſome poor prieſt; and Ibrahim a French horſe-piſtol, which will be of more ſhew than uſe to him. Theſe things we have procured for at leaſt a third of their value; and Hadgee Uttalah has ſatisfied the robber, for which we are to account with the former at Cairo. We had been careful to inſtil into our own people the belief of our being deſtitute of money; or God knows what miſchief the diſcovery of our real treaſures might produce againſt us.

In truth, the conſcience of this robber is no leſs wonderful than his manners. He is eaſy of ac-

ceſs, and yet carries a proper command over his party; and by his own example teaches them to be civil, and even obliging to us. We would willingly make him a ſuitable acknowledgment for this behaviour, but do not think it ſafe to produce money, or to depart in the leaſt from our profeſſions of poverty. It was with the greateſt pleaſure imaginable, that I could oblige him in a trifling point: with a couple of razors, which he ſaw in my ſervant's hands, and expreſſed a deſire for."

After a fortnight's travelling through this dreary waſte, under the guidance and protection of a band of Arabian robbers, a little before their arrival at the banks of the Nile, the robbers left them abruptly, taking a French leave; and Hadgee Uttalah inſinuated that the captain took this method of ſhewing his diſintereſtedneſs, and to ſave the travellers the pain of diſmiſſing him without a preſent. Indeed, as Mr. Irwin obſerves, the whole behaviour of theſe robbers was ſo extraordinary, and the adventure of ſo novel a caſt, that the reader would hardly excuſe his parting with them, without particular notice.

Mr. Irwin's arrival at Grand Cairo put an end to the troubles and anxiety of him and his companions, as they then came to a commercial port, where the tranſactions of mankind, even of Eaſterns, were conducted upon more liberal principles than in the interior parts of the country.

Narrative of the Sufferings of Mr. de St. Germain, *and his Companions, in the Deſerts of* Egypt.

M. de St. Germain, and his brother M. de Chilly, were, the one commandant at Daka, and the other at Caſſimbazar, two very important factories at Bengal, when they were taken priſoners of war by the Engliſh. Having obtained leave on their parole of honour to return to France, and finding no ſhip to bring them to Europe when they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, they ſet out in a Daniſh veſſel for Suez in the Red-ſea, in hopes of croſſing over, with eaſe, the Iſthmus that ſeparates that ſea from the Mediterranean, and then embarking at Alexandria for Marſeilles. After a perilous navigation they arrived at Suez the 24th of May 1779, with ſeveral French and Engliſh that were paſſengers in the ſame ſhip. They were no ſooner landed, than the Daniſh captain wrote to the French merchants at Cairo, to procure a caravan, that is, the camels neceſſary to carry the merchandize of the veſſel, which was eſtimated at ſeveral millions. Egypt is governed, or rather oppreſſed, by 16 Beys or Lords. The Porte preſerves there nothing but a ſhadow of authority, that reſides in the hands of a Baſhaw, whom the Beys keep, as a kind of priſoner, in the caſtle of Cairo. In the abſence of Murat Bey, the moſt powerful of theſe 16 tyrants, who was gone to fight Haſſem Bey, one of his brethren, application was made to Ibrahim Bey; he promiſed the moſt ſtriking protection, and even offered his own people

people and camels to carry the goods. This propoſal was accepted without heſitation: but unhappily the wealth of the caravan, which his avidity prompted him ſtill to exaggerate, made him wiſh to carry it off; and he concerted for that purpoſe with the Arabs of Tort (famous for their ferocity and plundering) the blackeſt and moſt cowardly of all perfidies. The camels filed off from Suez the 15th of June. The travellers ſet out at ſix o'clock in the evening; the night paſſed without accident; but at break of day, in the middle of a defile, formed by two chains of hills, the caravan was beſet by about 1200 Arabs: they firſt made three diſcharges of their muſquetry, and then fell ſabre in hand on the ten Europeans that compoſed the caravan, who being diſperſed were hacked, taken, and ſtripped even of their ſhirts, and driven naked into the deſert. On the other hand, the real conductors of the camels, on the firſt ſhot being fired, which was undoubtedly the ſignal agreed on, turned the camels about, and drove them into the town of Tort, belonging to the Arabs, after having paſſed four days under the walls of Suez.

The Europeans, maimed, ſtripped, and ſtill purſued by the banditti, divided themſelves by chance into two parties. One took the road to Suez, which was but eight leagues off, and the other, conſiſting of the perſons who had marched foremoſt, and could not make their way through the body of the Arabs, to gain Suez, ran towards Cairo, which was twenty-two leagues off; but, in order to eſcape the ferocity of the Arabs, were obliged to take by-roads, which increaſed prodigiouſly the diſtance. Unfortunately Meſſrs. de St. Germain, and de Chilly, were in that troop; it conſiſted, with them, of a black, who belonged to them; of Meſſrs. Barrington and Jenkins, Engliſhmen; of Mr. Vendelwelden, Captain of the Daniſh ſhip; of an Armenian, named Paul, who was interpreter to the ſhip; and two Mendicant Arabs: in all nine perſons.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the dreadful torments and mortal anguiſh that overpowered eight of theſe unhappy fugitives, and which M. de St. Germain could not have eſcaped without a miracle.

There is not a more burning climate on the face of the globe, than the deſerts of Egypt: the wind that blows there is a conſuming fire; there no rain ever falls: there is not a drop of water to be got, nor does a ſhrub grow within a ſpace of thirty leagues; and the ſand, almoſt turned red by the ſcorching heat of the ſun, is compoſed of little angular pebbles that tear the ſkin, and enter it like glaſs: by a ſtrange contraſt, the nights, in that frightful climate, are almoſt as cold as the days are hot; and when a man eſcapes the ſuffocating vapours of the day, it is almoſt impoſſible to withſtand, without cloathing, the freezing air of the night.

It was in this murdering deſert, that M. de St. Germain, with his unfortunate companions, had to ſtruggle againſt all the horrors of death during three days and four nights, without eating or drinking, parched with a conſuming thirſt, ſcorched by the ſun, ex-

poſed naked, ſtark-naked, to clouds of inſects and flies, the torment of which is more cruel than can be imagined; falling down twenty times in an hour with fatigue, and riſing again by the exceſs of pain occaſioned by the pebbles tearing every part of their body; walking oftentimes on their hands, and at laſt covered with an univerſal ulcer. But the greateſt of his misfortunes, the moſt cruel of all his torments, which made him twenty times over to wiſh for the death he was ſtruggling againſt, was to have beheld the ſucceſſive exit of all his companions. Mr. Barrington was the firſt victim that fell; Meſſrs. Jenkins and Vendelwelden followed next; the black, the Armenian interpreter, and one of the Mendicant Arabs, although robuſt and inured to the rigour of the climate, periſhed like the reſt. But the moſt terrible of all ſights for M. de St. Germain, that which a feeling heart cannot figure to itſelf without being ſeized with horror, was to ſee his brother overwhelmed with fatigue, heat and thirſt, with twenty-two wounds of a ſabre, conjuring him to abandon him, and provide for his own ſafety; and to be reduced to the alternative of ſeeing him periſh before his eyes, or leave him in the deſert, in order to employ the poor remains of ſtrength he had left, to procure him ſome aſſiſtance. He choſe the latter. The exceſs of their ſufferings made them hope they were drawing near the end of their miſeries. His ſtrength redoubled at the ſight of his brother's danger, but all his care proved fruitleſs. They were ſtill at too great a diſtance from Cairo; and the Bey's people, whom he had engaged to run to the deſert in queſt of his unfortunate brother, and the black that accompanied him, could not diſcover either of them; they found only the bodies of the other Europeans; and M. de Chilly either fell a victim to the many torments he endured, or he was dragged away into ſlavery, if he has been ſo fortunate as to have his life ſaved by any of the Arabs.

'M. de St. Germain, having thus ſeen all his companions fall, reduced to ſkin and bone, having drank his urine, his lips and tongue dried to his mouth, his ſight dim, his hearing gone, no longer able to ſpeak, and ſeized at frequent intervals with a violent fever and the delirium of death, having had ſeveral fits of a kind of apoplexy and lethargy, at laſt arrived, by a ſpecies of miracle, naked, alone, and in a dying condition, at the country-houſe of the Bey. The aſſiſtance he received there ſtopt the progreſs of the diſorder: afterwards he was carried to Cairo, to the quarter of the Franks, where he owed his life to the ſkill of M. Graſſe, a French phyſician, and to the praiſe-worthy care of Meſſrs. Magallon and Olive, merchants of Marſeilles, who took him into their houſe.

'The French were not the only perſons that gave him tokens of the part they took in his misfortunes. Several Engliſhmen that ſailed with him from Bengal to Suez, particularly Mr. Roſs, who commanded the Engliſh factory at Daka, whilſt himſelf was at the head

head of the French factory, gave him the most feeling proofs of their sensibility. It was with the greatest difficulty that he declined accepting the offers of every kind that were made him, chusing rather to give the preference to the French merchants at Cairo.

'M. de St. Germain, being happily recovered, tried every means, but in vain, to obtain restitution of about 300,000 livres in effects and merchandize that belonged to him in the caravan; but in abandoning his fortune he must comfort himself with the thoughts, that he had the happiness to escape, all at once, every possible kind of death, hunger, thirst, suffocating heat by day, mortal cold by night, excessive fatigue, the destructive sting of the insects, the fire and sword of the Arabs, the grief of seeing his companions perish, and his inability to succour his brother; and, finally, a long and dangerous illness, the consequences of such horrors and miseries!

'The history of this dreadful event, worthy in every respect to be laid before the public, in exhibiting a picture of the greatest dangers that any traveller ever encountered, proves that, in attempting the passages of the Isthmus of Suez, one must be aware, both of the ferocity of the Arabs, and the perfidy of the Beys that tyrannize over Egypt.'

Of the Religion of the Kalmucs *and* Mongouls. *From the Account of the Nations of the* Russian Empire.

FORMERLY both the Kalmucs and Mongouls professed the religion of the Schamans. This they afterwards changed for that of Tibet and Tungut, or the religion of Dalai Lama.

In the interior regions of the east, three religions prevail; which must be carefully distinguished from each other. These are the Schamane, the Brahmine, and the religion of Lama. That of the Schamans is the oldest religion in India of which we have any account It is mentioned by Strabo, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Porphyry. The first of whom calls them *Germanians*, the second *Sarmanians*, and the third *Samanians*. Its followers cultivated philosophy; and the Brahmans themselves confess that they are indebted to them for their science; and they read the writings of these Schamans just as we read the Greek and Latin authors. Yet the Brahmans persecuted their preceptors, and stopped not till they had forced them to fly. Insomuch that for six hundred years past we no longer find any traces of them on the other side of the river Ganges*.

All the religions that continue to prevail on the other side of the Ganges, seem derived from the Schamane. Even the religion of Lama is nothing more than a reformed Schamanism. The old

* Histoire du Christianisme des Indes par M. de la Croze, liv. xvii.

Schamans

Schamans had nothing certainly fixed as to the origin of their gods, or the time, quality, or perſons of the ſucceſſion. Among the Lamaites one god ſucceeds to another, in an uninterrupted ſeries, in the perſon of their Lama.

The religion of the ancient Mongouls ſprang likewiſe from that of the Schamans. But theſe barbarians being deſtitute of all writing, this religion could only be propagated by oral tradition. As for the Burats, Jakutes, and the heathen Tartars, their religion reſembles that of the ancient Mongouls; but it is without any coherence, and ſo mutilated, that it would be very difficult to collect from its fragments any ſort of ſyſtem of the old Schamans.

We are able to trace the name of the god of the ancient Schamans, indeed, in the denomination of the chief goddeſs of the Siameſe and Peguans, which is *Sommona Kodom**.

The Mongouls call this god *Schigimuni*, and the Kalmucs *Schakamuni*, or *Schak-Schimona*, which laſt denomination muſt be our guide in obtaining our knowledge of this deity, who can be no other than the well-known *Schaka* or *Schekia*, who was born 1017 years before the time of our bleſſed Saviour, and was called after his apotheoſis *Fo*. Pere Gaubil, in his Hiſtoire des Mongoux, confeſſes that he cannot diſcover whence the name Fo takes it origin. It is true nothing certain can be adduced about it. But it ſeems highly probable, that Fo is the *Bod* or *Budda* of St. Jerome; for neither the Tibetans, nor Mongouls, nor Kalmucs, have an *F* in their language. Mr. D'Anoille obſerves that Bod ſeems generally to ſignify goddeſs; and Bodtan, or Boutan, a name given to the kingdom of Tibet, ſignifies *God's-land*.

Of this name Budda, a great many traces are ſtill to be found in the countries of the Mongouls and of India. This god Sommona Kodom is likewiſe called *Pouti-Sat*, i. e. The lord Pouti. The Burats call their prieſts *Bo*. Wedneſday is termed in all the languages of India *Budda*. In the Samſkret, or holy language of the Brahmans, that day is named *Budda-waram*: in that of Ceylon, *Budda-dina*: in that of Siam, *Vanpout*: and in the Malabarian language, *Buden-kirumei*.

All theſe names are the appellatives of one and the ſame god. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Leao have an academy, to which the prieſts of Siam reſort for the acquiſition of their knowledge. Theſe call their principal god indifferently either *Budda*, *Sommona Kodom*, or *Schaka*. In Tibet, this divinity has ſtill another name, *La*. Perhaps the name of *Lama*, as alſo that of the kingdom *Leao* itſelf, are derived from this denomination of the deity.

The ſignification of the word Schaman is differently explained by three learned men. Our countryman, Mr. Thomas Hyde, in-

* The Tartars called god Kutai, Chutai, or Gudai; the Perſians Khoda. Sommona Kodom ſignifies therefore probably *the god of the Schamans*.

terprets

terprets it *a ſighing or ſobbing man.* Kæmpfer * explains it by *a man without paſſions.* M. de la Loubere, an ingenious and very learned man, who travelled to Siam, tells us, that it ſignifies in the Balian, or holy language of the Siameſe, *a man living in the woods*; *a hermit.*

The laſt of theſe interpretations may very well be reconciled with what Clemens Alexandrinus relates of his Sarmanes. "They "are hermits," he ſays, "and "live neither in towns nor "houſes: they cover their body "with the bark of trees, and eat "nothing but wild fruits. Their "drink is only water, which "they ſcoop from the brook in "the hollow of their hands, &c." In the ſame manner M. de la Loubere very ingeniouſly explains the word *Schaka.* He derives it from the Siameſe word *Tſchau ka*, my lord, the uſual title of the Talapoins or prieſts of Siam. Schaman and Talapoin mean the ſame, the former in the Balian, and the other in the common language of the Siameſe.

Of the Religion of Tibet; *or, of the* Dalai Lama. *From the ſame.*

WE have likewiſe only obſcure and confuſed accounts of the religion of theſe people; and the miſſionaries relate numberleſs abſurdities, both as to its origin and its dogmas. The monk Rubruquis ſeems to have had ſome knowledge of them†. But, ſpeaking likewiſe of the Neſtorian Chriſtians (who have even a biſhop reſident in the Kittaian town Segin‡), and of another ſort of idolaters whom he calls the Tuinians‖, he confounds the three together. Carpini§, another monk, who travelled before Rubruquis to the great hord of the Tartars, repreſents the *Uigures* as Chriſtians of the Neſtorian ſect. The Jeſuit Gaubil aſſerts the ſame thing⸸.

All theſe writers unanimouſly aſſert, that Chriſtianity was diſſeminated over Tongert, China, among the Mongouls, and even in the family of their khans. But it is no eaſy matter to make theſe teſtimonies accord with the pre-

* Hiſtoire du Japon, tom. i. p. 46. Amſt. 1732. 16°.

‡ Voyage du Rubruquis, chap. xxvi.—xxviii.

† Rubruquis, chap. xxviii. p. 60. & chap. xlvii. p. 125. Marco Paolo mentions likewiſe a Kitaian town Sin-gui [the termination *gui* is the Chineſe *dſchu*], and that a part of the inhabitants were Neſtorian Chriſtians.

‖ Rubruquis, chap. xlv. aſſures us the Tuinians were idolaters. But, what is extraordinary, in the very ſame chapter he affirms, that the Tuinians were addicted to the ſect of the Manicheans. The Oriental Chriſtians often call Manes *Al Thenaoui*, and his ſect *Al Thenaouiah*; which word ſignifies the doctrine of the two principles. See D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. art. *Mani.* Hence it ſeems probable, that theſe Tuinians are Manicheans.

§ Carpini, Voyage, art. v. p. 40.

⸸ Obſervations Mathematiques, &c. publiées par le pere Souciet, tom. i. p. 224. D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, art. *Igur.*—Uigur is called, according to the Chineſe geography, Turfan.

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ſent ſtate of thoſe countries. For we find not the leaſt trace of Chriſtianity therein, except among ſuch as have been converted perhaps by the Jeſuits in China in modern times. On the contrary, the religion of Lama prevails much at Tongut, in ſome kingdoms of India, in Mongolia, among the Eluts, and alſo in China.

It ſeems therefore probable, that the Neſtorian monks in former time might have viſited theſe regions. But, in proceſs of time, as their prieſts became more and more ignorant, as well as remoter from other Chriſtians, Chriſtianity became likewiſe more and more corrupted, till at length it vaniſhed quite away, or was abſorbed in the religion of Lama.

This religion ſeems not to be of a very antient date. It is a mixture of the ſuperſtition of the old Schamans with the Chriſtian religion. From the Schamans it retained Fo and the metempſychoſis: from Chriſtianity it probably took its ceremonies and habits.

Several learned writers derive the ceremonial of the religion of Lama from the Indians, and that from the Egyptians: as it is thought that the ceremonies of the Egyptians were ſpread almoſt over the face of the whole earth. From all which we ſhall only obſerve, that in the remoteſt ages the Egyptians had no other phyſicians than their prieſts. This cuſtom obtained likewiſe amongſt the Syrians and Hebrews. Aſa firſt uſed the aſſiſtance of proper phyſicians, and was reproved for it*. The ſame cuſtom prevailed in India and over all the Eaſt. The antient Tartars and Mongouls had no other phyſicians than their prieſts. And we find it ſo at preſent among all the ſavage nations of Siberia, and even in America. It ſeems very probable that the earlier Chriſtians took ſome ceremonies from the neighbouring nations; and perhaps all the rites and ceremonies among different nations, that are very ſimilar to each other, came originally from the religion of the Ægyptians†.

Kæmpfer ‡ labours much to make it probable, that the founder of the religion of Fo was an Ægyptian. But he ſeems to be in the wrong: and his conjecture would have been more probable, if he had put the religion of the Brahmans inſtead of that of Fo.

It might furniſh matter of diſpute between the Indians and Egyptians which of them were the elder nation. If Shuckford's conjecture could be proved true, that Mount Ararat, on which the ark of Noah reſted, is one of thoſe mountains which form the nor-

* "And Aſa, in the thirty and ninth year of his reign, was diſeaſed in his feet, until his diſeaſe was exceeding great: yet in his diſeaſe he ſought not to the Lord, but to the phyſicians." 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

† The prieſts of Ægypt ſhaved their head and wore linen garments. Martial, epigram xii. 29. Juvenal, ſat. vi. lin. 533.

Qui grege linigero circumdatus, et grege calvo
Plangentis populi currit deriſor Anubis.

‡ Hiſtoire du Japon, tom. I. p. 31. 34.

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thern frontier of India, it would be a great argument in favour of the Indians. Several writers endeavour to prove likewiſe, that the Perſian magi received their knowledge and their religion from the Indians*. And indeed as the Ægyptians and the Brahmans have ſo great a ſimilarity in their manner of life, police, tenets, and religious ceremonies, one nation certainly tranſcribed from the other. But the queſtion is, which nation received them from the other? Some arts, as well as ſome of the doctrines of philoſophers, came from India to Europe, as the game of cheſs, the art of reckoning with ten cyphers, Democritus's doctrine of atoms, the metempſychoſis, &c. which laſt was received likewiſe by the Ægyptians.

Pythagoras brought this doctrine from India, not from Egypt. Euſebius, in his Chronicle, relates that about four hundred years after the birth of Abraham, which happened a hundred and twenty years before the going out of Ægypt, there came a ſwarm of Æthiopians from the river Indus, and ſettled in the neighbourhood of Ægypt. We here ſee that the Indians made a voyage by water to Ægypt; but we find no accounts that the Ægyptians ever made ſuch an one.

The Ægyptians, on the contrary, may alledge the expeditions of Oſiris, Bacchus, and Seſoſtris. For, notwithſtanding theſe events are mixed with fables, the moſt abſurd relations have yet ſome certain foundation in truth, which we are not capable of thoroughly developing. It may be that ſome Ægyptians emigrated likewiſe to India, in order to avoid the cruel treatment of the Perſian king Cambyſes. At leaſt the hiſtory of mankind ſeems to ſupport this conjecture; for the limits of every religion have always been extended as often as it has been perſecuted.

There are two perſonages that have for ſeveral centuries been very famous in the world, Preſter John and Dalai Lama. Three travellers, Carpini, Rubruquis, and Marco Paolo, firſt made Europe acquainted with Preſter John, but they all have different opinions about him. The firſt repreſents him as an Indian king; the ſecond as a Chriſtian king of the Tartarian hord Naiman, whom he believed to be likewiſe Chriſtians. But both their accounts are certainly wrong.

The Portugueſe having found a way to India by ſea round Africa, diſcovered a certain Chriſtian prince in Abyſſinia, whom they took for Preſter John, notwithſtanding the three before-mentioned travellers had placed him, not in Africa, but in the remoteſt parts of the Eaſt, in the neighbourhood of China. This circumſtance they overlooked.

But we muſt firſt proceed to give ſome accounts of Dalai Lama. He lives in a pagoda on the mountain Potala, which, according to the Jeſuit Gaubil, is under 29° 6′ northern latitude, and 25° 58′ weſtern longitude from Pekin†.

* Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxiii.

† See Du Halde, Deſcription de la Chine, et de la Tartarie Chinoiſe, tom. IV. p. 122. 125.

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His followers explain the nature of his immortality in the following manner; that his ſoul, after the death of his body, paſſes into another human body which is born exactly at that time, and this man is the new Dalai Lama*.

Almoſt all the nations of the Eaſt, except the Mohammedans, believe the metempſychoſis as the moſt important article of their faith; eſpecially the Indians, the inhabitants of Tibet, and Ava, the Peguans, Siameſe, Mongouls, all the Kalmucs, and the greateſt part of the Chineſe and Japaneſe. According to the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, the ſoul is always in action, and never at reſt; for no ſooner does ſhe leave her old habitation but ſhe enters a new one. The Dalai Lama being a divine perſon, he can find no better lodging than the body of his ſucceſſor; or, properly not the ſoul, but the Fo reſiding in the Dalai Lama which paſſes into his ſucceſſor: and this being a god to whom all things are known†, the Dalai Lama therefore is acquainted with every thing that happened during his reſidence in the former body. Thus, at leaſt, the thinking people of that religion would perhaps explain their metempſychoſis. The far greater part of the worſhippers of Lama, however, do not require reaſon and arguments for what they believe; but take all in a literal ſenſe, and examine no farther; having the ſame notion of the Lama as the Mongouls had of the Pope‡.

Preſter John, of whom we have ſpoken above, in like manner gave riſe to many conjectures; the greateſt part of which are ſo improbable as not to deſerve refutation. We will begin therefore at once by that method which ſeems to promiſe the beſt elucidation of the matter.

The name Prêtre Jean, or Juan, was miſtakenly heard by the firſt Europeans that viſited theſe regions. And their fancy working upon it, formed many extravagant ideas which were received and cheriſhed in Europe. Theſe travellers perceived a certain reſemblance between the ſound of a word in the Mongolian and Tibetan languages with that of a French, Italian, and Portugueſe word. Unuſed to the ſtudy of languages, they imagined that ſuch words as had a ſimilar ſound muſt have likewiſe the ſame ſignification in the language of Tibet and of the Mongouls which they bore in ſome of the European. This idea being once received, many fantaſtical etymologies and fables naturally aroſe, as that about a certain Indian Johanes Preſbyter, &c.

Among all the etymologies, that of Scaliger || ſeems to be the moſt probable. This name, according to his opinion, came from India, and properly was Preſte

* Others relate, that they keep a young man in the pagoda during the life of the Dalai Lama, who is to ſucceed him.

† Du Halde, tom. IV. p. 573.

‡ Rubruquis ſays, that in his travels to the Greater Tartary, he was aſked by ſeveral Mongouls whether the Pope was really five hundred years old.

|| De emendatione temporum, p. 637.

Jehan

Jehan (Preſte Giani; for Gehan in the Perſian and Indian languages ſignifies *the world)*, which is as much as to ſay, *a meſſenger of the world*; or *an univerſal apoſtle*. The Neſtorian patriarchs always appropriated to themſelves the pompous title of CATHOLICUS*, which ſignifies, as every one knows, almoſt the ſame thing.

Now, if we can admit that the miſſionaries of the Neſtorians came into theſe countries (which almoſt every competent judge in ſuch matters will allow) then the Neſtorian patriarch and Preſter John are one perſon; at leaſt according to the rules of etymology. And this Preſter John being a chriſtian, he muſt have been the Catholicus of the Neſtorians; or perhaps only a biſhop ſent by the Catholicus, who in theſe diſtant regions aſſumed a greater title than was ſtrictly due to him.

In the purſuit of theſe enquiries we ſhall find this Preſter John, or this Neſtorian Catholicus, to be likewiſe one and the ſame with the Dalai Lama.

Preſter John was heard of earlier than the Dalai Lama. In the country of the Mongouls, where Preſter John is ſaid to have formerly reſided, they knew nothing about a Dalai Lama before the time of Kajuk-khan, one of the deſcendants of Tſchingis-khan†. Among the Europeans, Pere Andrada is one of the firſt who mentions him, about the year 1624‡, and Bernier ſpeaks of him as of a ſtrange novelty‖.

It deſerves to be remarked, that the old writers, whilſt they take notice of the Neſtorians and Preſter John, ſay not a ſyllable of the Dalai Lama. But no ſooner are they become acquainted with the Dalai Lama, than they ceaſe all mention of Preſter John and the Neſtorians in Mongolia and Tibet.

All theſe circumſtances ſeem ſufficiently to prove that the Catholicus, Preſte Gehan, and Dalai §, are only one perſon.

An Account of the Sufferings of Lady Harriet Ackland, *in the Campaigns of* 1776 *and* 1777, *in* Canada.

The following extraordinary Example of Female Excellence is taken from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition into* Canada. *'It would exhibit (ſays the General) if well delineated, an intereſting Picture of the Spirit, the Enterprize, and the Diſtreſs of Romance, realized and regulated upon the chaſte and ſober Principles of rational Love and connubial Duty.' Indeed one cannot well imagine the Female Frame capable of ſupporting ſuch extreme Diſtreſs; and the General relates*

* See Diſſertation de la predication de la foi Chretienne a la Chine, par M. Renaudot, dans les anciennes relations des Indes, et de la Chine, p. 238, & ſeqq.

† Rubruquis, chap. xix. Marco Paolo, lib. c. 51. Gaubil, p. 105. & 143.

‡ Du Halde, tom. IV. p. 576.

‖ Voyages, vol. II. p. 309.

§ Dalai, in the language of the Mongouls, ſignifies a *ſea*, or *ocean*, and in a metaphorical ſignification, an *immenſe diſtance*.

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the Story in a Manner that does Honour to his Feelings.

LADY Harriet Ackland had accompanied her husband to Canada in the beginning of the year 1776. In the course of that campaign she had traversed a vast space of country, in different extremities of seasons, and with difficulties that an European traveller will not easily conceive, to attend her husband, in a poor hut at Chamblée, upon his sick-bed.

In the opening of the campaign of 1777, she was restrained from offering herself to a share of the hazard expected before Ticonderoga, by the positive injunction of her husband. The day after the conquest of that place, he was badly wounded, and she crossed the Lake Champlain to join him.

As soon as he recovered, Lady Harriet proceeded to follow his fortunes through the campaign, and at Fort Edward, or at the next camp, she acquired a two-wheel tumbril, which had been constructed by the artillery, similar to the carriage used for the mail upon the great roads of England. Major Ackland commanded the British grenadiers, which were attached to General Fraser's corps, and consequently were the most advanced post of the army. Their situations were often so alert, that no persons slept out of their clothes. In one of these situations a tent, in which the major and lady Harriet were asleep, suddenly took fire. An orderly serjeant of grenadiers, with great hazard of suffocation, dragged out the first person he caught hold of. It proved to be the major. It happened, that in the same instant she had, unknowing what she did, and perhaps not perfectly awake, providentially made her escape, by creeping under the walls of the back part of the tent. The first object she saw upon the recovery of her senses, was the major on the other side, and in the same instant again in the fire, in search of her. The serjeant again saved him, but not without the major being very severely burned in the face and different parts of the body. Every thing they had with them in the tent was consumed.

This accident happened a little time before the army had passed the Hudson's river. It neither altered the resolution nor the chearfulness of lady Harriet; and she continued her progress, a partaker of the fatigues of the advanced corps. The next call upon her fortitude was of a different nature, and more distressful, as of longer suspence. On the march of the 19th, the grenadiers being liable to action at every step, she had been directed by the major to follow the route of the artillery and baggage, which was not exposed. At the time the action began, she found herself near a small uninhabited hut, where she alighted. When it was found the action was becoming general and bloody, the surgeons of the hospital took possession of the same place, as the most convenient for the first care of the wounded. Thus was this lady in hearing of one continued fire of cannon and musketry, for some hours together, with the presumption, from the post of her husband at the head of the grenadiers, that he was in the most exposed part of the action. She had three female companions,

the baroneſs of Reideſel, and the wives of two Britiſh officers, major Harnage and lieutenant Reynell; but in the event their preſence ſerved but little for comfort. Major Harnage was ſoon brought to the ſurgeons, very badly wounded; and a little while after came intelligence that lieutenant Reynell was ſhot dead. Imagination will want no helps to figure the ſtate of the whole groupe.

From the date of that action to the 7th of October, lady Harriet, with her uſual ſerenity, ſtood prepared for new trials! And it was her lot that their ſeverity increaſed with their numbers. She was again expoſed to the hearing of the whole action, and at laſt received the ſhock of her individual misfortune, mixed with the intelligence of the general calamity; the troops were defeated, and major Ackland, deſperately wounded, was a priſoner.

The day of the 8th was paſſed by lady Harriet and her companions in common anxiety; not a tent, nor a ſhed, being ſtanding, except what belonged to the hoſpital, their refuge was among the wounded and the dying.

I ſoon received a meſſage from lady Harriet, ſubmitting to my deciſion a propoſal (and expreſſing an earneſt ſolicitude to execute it, if not interfering with my deſigns) of paſſing to the camp of the enemy, and requeſting general Gates's permiſſion to attend her huſband.

Though I was ready to believe (for I had experienced) that patience and fortitude, in a ſupreme degree, were to be found, as well as every virtue, under the moſt tender forms, I was aſtoniſhed at this propoſal. After ſo long an agitation of the ſpirits, exhauſted not only for want of reſt, but abſolutely want of food, drenched in rains for twelve hours together, that a woman ſhould be capable of ſuch an undertaking as delivering herſelf to the enemy, probably in the night, and uncertain of what hands ſhe might fall into, appeared an effort above human nature. The aſſiſtance I was enabled to give was ſmall indeed; I had not even a cup of wine to offer her; but I was told ſhe had found, from ſome kind and fortunate hand, a little rum and dirty water. All I could furniſh to her was an open boat and a few lines, written upon dirty and wet paper, to general Gates, recommending her to his protection.

Mr. Brudenell, the chaplain to the artillery (the ſame gentleman who had officiated ſo ſignally at general Fraſer's funeral *) readily undertook to accompany her, and with

* The circumſtances attending the funeral of this brave officer were very remarkable:—Early in the morning general Fraſer breathed his laſt—and with the kindeſt expreſſions of his affection his laſt requeſt was brought to me, that he might be carried without parade by the ſoldiers of his corps to the great redoubt, and buried there.

About ſun-ſet the body of general Fraſer was brought up the hill, attended only by the officers who had lived in his family. To arrive at the redoubt, it paſſed within view of the greateſt part of both armies. General Philips, general Reideſel, and myſelf, who were ſtanding together, were ſtruck with the humility of the proceſſion: they, who were ignorant that privacy had been requeſted,

with one female ſervant, and the major's valet-de-chambre (who had a ball, which he had received in the late action, then in his ſhoulder) ſhe rowed down the river to meet the enemy. But her diſtreſſes were not yet to end. The night was advanced before the boat reached the enemy's out-poſts, and the centinel would not let it paſs, nor even come on ſhore. In vain Mr. Brudenell offered the flag of truce, and repreſented the ſtate of the extraordinary paſſenger. The guard, apprehenſive of treachery, and punctilious to their orders, threatened to fire into the boat if they ſtirred before day-light. Her anxiety and ſufferings were thus protracted through ſeven or eight dark and cold hours; and her reflections upon that firſt reception could not give her very encouraging ideas of the treatment ſhe was afterwards to expect. But it is due to juſtice at the cloſe of this adventure to ſay, that ſhe was received and accommodated by general Gates with all the humanity and reſpect that her rank, her merits, and her fortunes deſerved.

Let ſuch as are affected by theſe circumſtances of alarm, hardſhip, and danger, recollect, that the ſubject of them was a woman; of the moſt tender and delicate frame; of the gentleſt manners, habituated to all the ſoft elegances, and refined enjoyment, that attend high birth and fortune; and far advanced in a ſtate in which the tender cares, always due to the ſex, become indiſpenſably neceſſary. Her mind alone was formed for ſuch trials!

Tranſlation of a ſhort Extract from a Journal kept by C. P. Thunberg, *M. D. during his Voyage to, and Reſidence in, the Empire of* Japan, *in a Letter addreſſed to the P. R. S.*

[*From the Philoſ. Tranſ.* Vol. 69.]

SIR,

DURING my ſhort reſidence in London, where you did me the honour of introducing me to many men of learning, converſations frequently aroſe, in which queſtions were aſked of me concerning the empire of Japan: to theſe I could at that time give anſwers only from memory; but, having now got poſſeſſion of my papers, I have drawn out, for the farther ſatisfaction of the Royal Society, and your particular

might conſtrue it into neglect. We could neither endure that reflection, nor indeed reſtrain our natural propenſity to pay our laſt attention to his remains.

The inceſſant cannonade during the ſolemnity; the ſteady attitude and unaltered voice with which the chaplain officiated, though frequently covered with duſt, which the ſhot threw up on all ſides of him; the mute but expreſſive mixture of ſenſibility and indignation upon every countenance: theſe objects will remain to the laſt of life upon the minds of every man who was preſent. The growing duſkineſs added to the ſcenery, and the whole marked a character of that juncture, that would make one of the fineſt ſubjects for the pencil of a maſter that the field ever exhibited. To the canvaſs, and to the faithful page of a more important hiſtorian, gallant friend, I conſign thy memory! There may thy talents, thy manly virtues, their progreſs and their period, find due diſtinction; and long may they ſurvive!—long after the frail record of my pen ſhall be forgotten.

friends,

friends, the following ſhort extract of a journal which I kept regularly during a reſidence of ſixteen months in that diſtant country.

To you, Sir, it is already known, that I was ſent out by the directors of the Botanic Gardens at Amſterdam, and ſome other eminent men of that place; firſt to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to Japan: in order to inveſtigate the natural hiſtory of thoſe countries, and to ſend from thence ſeeds and living plants of unknown kinds, for the uſe of their collections in Holland. At the firſt of theſe places I reſided three years; and during that time had the good fortune to obſerve and deſcribe many new ſpecies both of animals and vegetables.

In the year 1775 I ſailed from thence for Batavia, and after a ſhort ſtay there, embarked on board a Dutch ſhip, called Staveniſſe, bound for Japan, in company with the Blyenburg. On the 21ſt of June, we ſailed and paſſed Pulo Sapatoo, the coaſt of China, and the iſland Formoſa. On the 13th of Auguſt we made the land of Japan, and the day after were off the harbour of Nagaſacci, the only one in that empire where foreign ſhips are allowed to anchor.

During this paſſage we met with ſevere gales of wind, in one of which the Blyenburg, having received much damage in her maſts, parted company, and (as we afterwards learned) was obliged to go back to Canton, to refit.

We ſailed into the harbour of Nagaſacci with our colours flying, and ſaluted the Papenburg, the emperor's and empreſs's guard, and the town itſelf. During this time there came on board of us two over banjoſes, ſeveral interpreters, and inferior officers, and ſome people belonging to the Dutch factory.

Theſe over banjoſes may be compared to the mandarins of China: a place is prepared for them upon the ſhip's deck, and ſome of them (for they are frequently changed) muſt be preſent when any thing is taken out of, or received into, her. They inſpect every thing, muſter the people, give paſſports to ſuch as go on ſhore, and every day report to the governor of Nagaſacci the proceedings on board.

The attention and care with which theſe gentlemen execute the orders iſſued by the Imperial Court in 1775 is well worthy of relation. The moſt minute articles which are carried out of a ſhip undergo a jealous inſpection, both when they are put into the boats, and when they are landed from them; and the ſame caution is uſed in enbarking goods from the ſhore.

Bedding is ripped open, and the very feathers examined; cheſts are not only emptied of their contents, but the boards of which they are made are ſearched, leſt contraband goods ſhould be concealed in their ſubſtance. Pots of ſweetmeats and of butter are ſtirred round with an iron ſkewer. Our cheeſes had a more narrow inſpection; a large hole was cut into the middle of each, and a knife thruſt into the ſides of it in every direction: even the eggs were not exempted from ſuſpicion; many of them were broken, leſt they ſhould conceal contraband goods within them.

Ourſelves, from the higheſt to the loweſt, underwent the ſame ſuſpicious ſcrutiny whenever we went from or returned on board the ſhip. Our backs were firſt ſtroked down by the hand of the inſpector; our ſides, bellies, and thighs, were then in like manner examined; ſo that it was next to impoſſible that any thing could be concealed.

Formerly they were leſs exact in this viſitation; the chief of the factory and captain of the veſſel were even exempted from it. This privilege they uſed in its utmoſt extent: each dreſſed himſelf in a great coat, in which were two large pockets, or rather ſacks, for the reception of contraband goods, and they generally paſſed backwards and forwards three times a day.

Abuſes of this nature irritated the Japan government ſo much, that they reſolved to make new regulations. For ſome time they found, that the more dexterity they uſed in detecting the tricks of the Europeans, the more dextrouſly they contrived to evade them: at laſt, however, by repeated trials, they have ſo compleatly abridged their liberties, that it is now almoſt, if not abſolutely, impoſſible to ſmuggle any thing.

The complexions of the Japaneſe are in general yellowiſh, although ſome few, generally women, are almoſt white. Their narrow eyes and high eye-brows are like thoſe of the Chineſe and Tartars. Their noſes, though not flat, are ſhorter and thicker than ours. Their hair is univerſally black; and ſuch a ſameneſs of faſhion reigns through this whole empire, that the headdreſs is the ſame from the emperor to the peaſant.

The mode of the men's headdreſs is ſingular; the middle part of their heads, from the forehead very far back, is cloſe ſhaven; the hair remaining round the temples and nape of the neck is turned up and tied upon the top of the head into a kind of bruſh, about as long as a finger; this bruſh is again lapped round with white thread, and bent a little backwards.

The women preſerve all their hair, and, drawing it together on the top of the head, roll it round a loop, and faſtening it down with pins, to which ornaments are affixed, draw out the ſides till they appear like little wings; behind this a comb is ſtuck in.

Phyſicians and prieſts are the only exception to the general faſhion; they ſhave their heads intirely, and are by that means diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the people.

The faſhion of their cloaths has alſo remained the ſame from the higheſt antiquity. They conſiſt of one or more looſe gowns, tied about the middle with a ſaſh; the women wear them much longer than the men, and dragging on the ground. In ſummer they are very thin; but in winter quilted with ſilk or cotton wadding.

People of rank have them made of ſilk; the lower claſs of cotton ſtuffs. Women generally wear a greater number of them than men, and have them more ornamented, often with gold or ſilver flowers woven into the ſtuff.

Theſe gowns are generally left open at the breaſt; their ſleeves are very wide, but partly ſewed up

up in front, ſo as to make a kind of pocket, into which they can eaſily put their hands, and in this they generally carry papers, or ſuch like light things.

Men of conſequence are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of inferior rank by a ſhort jacket of thin black ſtuff, which is worn over their gowns, and trowſers open on the ſides, but ſewed together near the bottom, which take in their ſkirts. Some uſe drawers, but all have their legs naked. They wear ſandals of ſtraw, faſtened to their feet by a bow paſſing over the inſtep, and a ſtring which paſſes between the great toe and that next to it, fixing to the bow. In winter they have ſocks of linen, and in rainy or dirty weather, wooden ſhoes.

They never cover their heads but on a journey, when they uſe a conical cap made of ſtraw; at other times they defend themſelves from the ſun or the rain by fans or umbrellas.

In their ſaſh they faſten the ſabre, fan, and tobacco-pipe; the ſabre always on the left ſide, and (contrary to our European cuſtom) with the ſharp edge uppermoſt. Thoſe who are in public employments wear two, the one conſiderably longer than the other.

Their houſes are built with upright poſts, croſſed and wattled with bamboo, plaiſtered both without and within, and white-waſhed. They generally have two ſtories; but the uppermoſt is low, and ſeldom inhabited. The roofs are covered with pantiles, large and heavy, but neatly made. The floors are elevated two feet from the ground, and covered with planks. On theſe are laid mats which are double, and filled with ſtraw three or four inches thick. The whole houſe conſiſts of one large room; but may be divided at pleaſure into ſeveral ſmaller, by partitions made with frames of wood, filled up with painted paper, that fix into grooves made for that purpoſe in the floor and cieling. The windows are alſo frames of wood, divided into ſquares, filled up with very thin white paper, tranſparent enough to anſwer tolerably well the purpoſe of glaſs.

They have no furniture in their rooms; neither tables, chairs, ſtools, benches, cupboards, or even beds. Their cuſtom is to ſit down on their heels upon the mats, which are always ſoft and clean. Their victuals are ſerved up to them on a low board, raiſed but a few inches from the floor, and one diſh only at a time. Mirrors they have, but never fix them up in their houſes as ornamental furniture; they are made of a compound metal, and uſed only at their toilets.

Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of their winters, which oblige them to warm their houſes from November to March, they have neither fire-places nor ſtoves; inſtead of theſe they uſe large copper pots ſtanding upon legs; theſe are lined on the inſide with loam, on which aſhes are laid to ſome depth, and charcoal lighted upon them, which ſeems to be prepared in ſome manner which renders the fumes of it not at all dangerous.

The Portugueſe, in all probability, firſt introduced the uſe of tobacco into Japan: however, be that as it may, they uſe it now with great frugality, though both

ſexes, old and young, continually ſmoke it, blowing out the ſmoke through their noſtrils. The firſt compliment offered to a ſtranger in their houſes is a diſh of tea and a pipe of tobacco. Their pipes have mouth-pieces and bowls of braſs or white copper. The hollow of the bowl is ſo ſmall as ſcarce to contain an ordinary pea. The tobacco is cut as fine as a hair, about a finger's length, and is rolled up in ſmall balls like pills, to fit the ſmall hollow in the bowl of the pipe; which pills, as they can laſt but for a few whiffs, muſt be very frequently renewed.

Fans are uſed by both ſexes equally, and are, within or without doors, their inſeparable companions.

The whole nation are naturally cleanly; every houſe, whether public or private, has a bath, of which conſtant and daily uſe is made by the whole family.

You ſeldom meet a man who has not his mark imprinted on the ſleeves and back of his cloaths, in the ſame colour in which the pattern is printed; white ſpots are left in manufacturing them, for the purpoſe of inſerting theſe marks.

Obedience to parents and reſpect to ſuperiors is the characteriſtic of this nation: it is pleaſing to ſee the reſpect with which inferiors treat thoſe of high rank; if they meet them abroad, they ſtop till they have paſſed by; if in a houſe, they keep at a diſtance, bowing their heads to the ground. Their ſalutations and converſations between equals abound alſo with civility and politeneſs; to this children are early accuſtomed by the example of their parents.

Their penal laws are very ſevere; but puniſhments are ſeldom inflicted. Perhaps there is no country where fewer crimes againſt ſociety are committed.

Their uſage of names differs from that of all other nations. The family name is never made uſe of but in ſigning ſolemn contracts, and the particular name by which individuals are diſtinguiſhed in converſation varies according to the age or ſituation of the perſon who makes uſe of it: ſo that ſometimes the ſame perſon is, in his life time, known by five or ſix different names.

They reckon their age by even years, not regarding whether they were born at the beginning or the end of a year, ſo that a child is ſaid to be a year old on the new year's day next after his birth, even though he has not been born many days.

Commerce and manufactures flouriſh here, though, as theſe people have few wants, they are not carried to the extent which we ſee in Europe. Agriculture is ſo well underſtood, that the whole country, even to the tops of the hills, is cultivated. They trade with no foreigners but the Dutch and Chineſe, and in both caſes with companies of privileged merchants. The Dutch export copper and raw camphire, for which they give in return ſugar, ripe cloves, ſappan wood, ivory, tin, lead, tortoiſe-ſhell, chintzs, and a few trifles more.

As the Dutch company do not pay duty in Japan, either on their exports or imports, they ſend an annual preſent to the court, conſiſting of cloth, chintzs, ſuccotas, cottons, ſtuffs, and trinkets.

I had

I had the ſatisfaction to attend the ambaſſador, who was intruſted with theſe preſents, on his journey to Jeddo, the capital of this vaſt empire, ſituated at an immenſe diſtance from Nagaſacci, a journey on which three Europeans only are permitted to go, attended by two hundred Japaneſe at leaſt.

We left our little iſland of Dezima, and the town of Nagaſacci, on the 4th of March, 1776, and travelled through Cocora to Simonoſeki, where we arrived on the 12th, and found a veſſel prepared for us; we embarked on board her, and coaſted along to Fiogo. From thence we travelled by land to Oſacca, one of the principal commercial towns in the empire. At this place we remained the 8th and 9th of April, and on the 10th arrived at Miaco, the reſidence of the Dairi, or eccleſiaſtical emperor. Here we alſo ſtayed two days; but after that made the beſt of our way to Jeddo, where we arrived on the 1ſt of May.

We were carried by men in a kind of palankins, called norimons, covered, and provided with windows. The preſents alſo and our proviſions were carried on men's ſhoulders, except a few articles, which were loaded on pack-horſes. The Japaneſe officers who attended us provided us with every thing, ſo that our journey was by no means troubleſome.

On the 18th we had an audience of the cubo, or temporal emperor, of the heir-apparent, and of the twelve ſenators; the day following, of the eccleſiaſtical governors, the governors of the town, and other high officers. On the 23d we had our audience of leave. We left Jeddo on the 26th of May, and arrived at Miaco on the 7th of June. Here we had an audience of the emperor's viceroy, to whom we alſo made preſents, as we were not allowed to ſee the dairi, or eccleſiaſtical emperor. On the 11th we procured leave to walk about the town, and viſit the temples and principal buildings. In the evening we ſet out for Oſacca, which town we were alſo permitted to view, which we did on the 13th.

We ſaw temples, theatres, and many curious buildings; but, above all, the manufactory of copper, which is melted here, and no where elſe in the empire.

On the 14th we had an audience of the governors of this town; after which we reſumed our journey to Fiogo, where we again embarked on the 18th, and proceeded by ſea to Simonoſeki, from whence we arrived on the 23d at Cocota, and from thence were carried in norimons to Nagaſacci, and arrived at our little iſland Dezima on the laſt day of June, after an abſence of one hundred and eighteen days.

NATURAL HISTORY.

An Account of the Eruption of Mount Veſuvius, *which happened in Auguſt* 1779. *From Sir* William Hamilton's *Letter to Mr.* Banks, *P. R. S.*

Naples, Oct. 1, 1779.

THE late eruption of Mount Veſuvius was of ſo ſingular a nature, ſo very violent and alarming, that it neceſſarily attracted the attention of every one, not only in its immediate neighbourhood, but for many miles around; and, conſequently, ſeveral ſlight deſcriptions of it have been already handed about, and ſome (as I am informed) more accurate and circumſtantial are preparing for the preſs *.

That on which the Abbot Bottis is actually employed, by command of his Sicilian majeſty, will undoubtedly be executed with the ſame accuracy, truth, and preciſion, as have rendered that author's former publications upon the ſubject of Mount Veſuvius ſo univerſally and deſervedly eſteemed.

Such a publication, executed with magnificence in the royal printing-office, may, perhaps, render every other account of the late eruption ſuperfluous: nevertheleſs, I ſhould think myſelf in ſome degree guilty of a neglect towards the Royal Society, who have done ſo much honour to my former communications, if I did not, through the reſpectable canal of its worthy preſident, and my good friend, ſimply relate to them ſuch remarkable circumſtances as attended the late tremendous exploſions of Mount Veſuvius, and as either came immediately under my own inſpection, or have been related to me by ſuch good authority as cannot be called in queſtion.

Since the great eruption of 1767, of which I had the honour of giving a particular account to the Royal Society, Veſuvius has never been free from ſmoke, nor ever many months without throwing up red-hot ſcoriæ, which increaſing to a certain degree, were uſually followed by a current of liquid lava, and except in the eruption of 1777, thoſe lavas broke out nearly from the ſame ſpot, and ran much in the ſame direction, as that of the famous eruption of 1767.

No leſs than nine ſuch eruptions are recorded here ſince the great one above-mentioned, and ſome

* The inhabitants of this great city in general give ſo little attention to Mount Veſuvius, though in full view of the greateſt part of it, that I am well convinced many of its eruptions paſs totally unnoticed by at leaſt two-thirds of them.

of

of them were considerable. I never failed visiting those lavas whilst they were in full force, and as constantly examined them and the crater of the volcano after the ceasing of each eruption*.

It would be but a repetition of what has been described in my former letters on this subject, were I to relate my remarks on those different expeditions. The lavas, when they either boiled over the crater, or broke out from the conical parts of the volcano, constantly formed channels as regular as if they had been cut by art down the steep part of the mountain, and, whilst in a state of perfect fusion, continued their course in those channels, which were sometimes full to the brim, and at other times more or less so, according to the quantity of matter in motion.

These channels, upon examination after an eruption, I have found to be in general from two to five or six feet wide, and seven or eight feet deep. They were often hid from the sight by a quantity of scoriæ that had formed a crust over them, and the lava having been conveyed in a covered way for some yards, came out fresh again into an open channel. After an eruption I have walked in some of those subterraneous or covered galleries, which were exceedingly curious, the sides, top, and bottom, being worn perfectly smooth and even in most parts by the violence of the currents of the red-hot lavas, which they had conveyed for many weeks successively; in others, the lava had incrusted the sides of those channels with some very extraordinary scoriæ: beautifully ramified white salts†, in the form of dropping stalactites, were also attached to many parts of the ceiling of those galleries. It is imagined here, that the salts of Vesuvius are chiefly ammoniac, though often tinged with green, deep, or pale yellow, by the vapour of various minerals.

In the month of May last, there was a considerable eruption of Mount Vesuvius, when I passed a night on the mountain in the company of one of my countrymen, as eager as myself in the pursuit of this branch of natural history ‡.

We saw the operation of the lava, in the channels as above-mentioned, in the greatest perfection; but it was, indeed, owing to our perseverance, and some degree of resolution. After the lava had quitted its regular channels, it spread itself in the valley, and, being loaded with scoriæ, ran gently on, like a river that had been frozen, and had masses of ice floating on it: the wind changing

* The last visit to the crater of Vesuvius, which was in the month of May, 1779, was my fifty-eighth, and to be sure I have been four times as often on parts of the mountain, without climbing to its summit, and after all am not ashamed to own, that I comprehend very little of the wonders I have seen in this great laboratory of Nature; yet there have been Naturalists of such a wonderful penetrating genius as to have thought themselves sufficiently qualified to account for every hidden phenomenon of Vesuvius, after having, literally speaking, given the volcano *un coup d'œil*.

† I sent a large specimen of this curious volcanic production to the British Museum last year.

‡ Mr. Bowdler, of Bath.

when

when we were close to this gentle ſtream of lava, which might be about fifty or ſixty feet in breadth, incommoded us ſo much with its heat and ſmoke, that we muſt have returned without having ſatisfied our curioſity, had not our guide * propoſed the expedient of walking acroſs it, which, to our aſtoniſhment, he inſtantly put in execution, and with ſo little difficulty, that we followed him without heſitation, having felt no other inconveniency than what proceeded from the violence of the heat on our legs and feet; the cruſt of the lava was ſo tough, beſides being loaded with cinders and ſcoriæ, that our weight made not the leaſt impreſſion on it; and its motion was ſo ſlow, that we were not in any danger of loſing our balance, and falling on it: however, this experiment ſhould not be tried, except in caſes of real neceſſity; and I mention it with no other view than to point out a poſſibility of eſcaping, ſhould any one hereafter, upon ſuch an expedition as ours, have the misfortune to be incloſed between two currents of lava.

Having thus got rid of the troubleſome heat and ſmoke, we coaſted the river of lava and its channels up to its very ſource, within a quarter of a mile of the crater. The liquid and red-hot matter bubbled up violently, with a hiſſing and crackling noiſe, like that which attends the playing off of an artificial firework, and by the continual ſplaſhing up of the vitrified matter, a kind of arch or dome was formed over the crevice from whence the lava iſſued. It was cracked in many parts, and appeared red-hot within, like an heated oven: this hollowed hillock might be about fifteen feet high, and the lava that ran from under it was received into a regular channel, raiſed upon a ſort of wall of ſcoriæ and cinders, almoſt perpendicularly, of about the height of eight or ten feet, reſembling much an ancient aqueduct.

We then went up to the crater of the volcano, in which we found, as uſual, a little mountain throwing ſcoriæ and red-hot matter with loud exploſions; but the ſmoke and ſmell of ſulphur was ſo intolerable, that we were under the neceſſity of quitting that curious ſpot with the utmoſt precipitation.

In another of my excurſions to Mount Veſuvius laſt year, I picked up ſome fragments of large and regular cryſtals of cloſe-grained lava or baſalt, the diameter of which, when the priſms were complete, may have been eight or nine inches. As Veſuvius does not exhibit any lavas regularly cryſtallized, and forming what are vulgarly called giants cauſeways (except a lava that ran into the ſea near Torre del Greco in 1631, and which in a ſmall degree has ſuch an appearance), this diſcovery gave me the greateſt pleaſure †.

After

* Bartolomeo, the cyclops of Veſuvius, who has attended me on all my expeditions to the mountain, and who is an excellent guide.

† As the fragments of baſalt columns, which I found on the cone of Veſuvius, had been evidently thrown out of its crater, may not lava be more ſubject to cryſtallize within the bowels of a volcano than after its emiſſion, and having been expoſed to the open air? And may not many of the giants cauſeways, already

After this slight sketch of the most remarkable events on Vesuvius since the year 1767, which I flatter myself will not be unacceptable, as it may serve to connect what I am going to relate with what has already been communicated to the Society in my former letters on the same subject, I come to the account of the late eruption, which affords indeed ample matter for curious speculation.

As many poetical descriptions of this eruption will not be wanting, I shall confine mine to simple matter of fact in plain prose, and endeavour to convey to you, Sir, as clearly and as distinctly as I am able, what I saw myself, and the impression it made upon me at the time, without aiming in the least at a flowery style.

The usual symptoms of an approaching eruption, such as rumbling noises and explosions within the bowels of the volcano, a quantity of smoke issuing with force from its crater, accompanied at times with an emission of red-hot scoriæ and ashes, were manifest, more or less, during the whole month of July; and towards the end of the month, those symptoms were increased to such a degree as to exhibit in the night-time the most beautiful fireworks that can be imagined.

These kinds of throws of red-hot scoriæ and other volcanic matter, which at night are so bright and luminous, appear in broad day-light like so many black spots in the midst of the white smoke; and it is this circumstance that occasions the vulgar and false supposition, that volcanos burn much more violently at night than in the day-time.

On Thursday, the 5th of August last, about two o'clock in the afternoon, I perceived from my villa at Pausilipo, in the bay of Naples, from whence I have a full view of Vesuvius (which is just opposite, and at the distance of about six miles in a direct line from it) that the volcano was in a most violent agitation: a white and sulphureous smoke issued continually and impetuously from its crater, one puff impelling another, and by an accumulation of those clouds of smoke resembling bales of the whitest cotton, such a mass of them was soon piled over the top of the volcano as exceeded the height and size of the mountain itself at least four times. In the midst of this very white smoke, an immense quantity of stones, scoriæ, and ashes, were shot up to a wonderful height, certainly not less than two thousand feet. I could also perceive, by the help of one of Ramsden's most excellent refracting telescopes, at times, a quantity of liquid lava, seemingly very weighty, just heaved up high enough to clear the rim of the crater, and then take its course impetuously down the steep side of Vesuvius, opposite to Somma. Soon after a lava broke out on the same side from about the middle of

already discovered, be the *nuclei* of volcanic mountains, whose lighter and less solid parts may have been worn away by the hand of time? Mr. Faujas de St. Fond, in his curious book lately published, and intitled, "Recherches sur les Volcains étaints du Vivarais de Velay," gives (p 286.) an example of basalt columns, that are placed deep within the crater of an extinguished volcano.

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the conical part of the volcano, and, having run with violence ſome hours, ceaſed ſuddenly, juſt before it had arrived at the cultivated parts of the mountain above Portici, near four miles from the ſpot where it iſſued.

During this day's eruption, as I have been credibly informed ſince, the heat was intolerable at the towns of Somma and Ottaiano; and was likewiſe ſenſibly felt at Palma and Lauro, which are much farther from Veſuvius than the former. Minute aſhes, of a reddiſh hue, fell ſo thick at Somma and Ottaiano, that they darkened the air in ſuch a manner as that objects could not be diſtinguiſhed at the diſtance of ten feet. Long filaments of a vitrified matter, like ſpun glaſs, were mixed and fell with theſe aſhes*; and the ſulphureous ſmoke was ſo violent, that ſeveral birds in cages were ſuffocated, the leaves of the trees in the neighbourhood of Somma and Ottaiano were covered with white ſalts very corroſive. About two o'clock in the afternoon, an extraordinary globe of ſmoke, of a very great diameter, was diſtinctly perceived, by many of the inhabitants of Portici, to iſſue from the crater of Veſuvius, and proceed haſtily towards the mountain of Somma, againſt which it ſtruck and diſperſed itſelf, having left a train of white ſmoke, marking the courſe it had taken: this train I perceived plainly from my villa, as it laſted ſome minutes; but I did not ſee the globe itſelf.

A poor labourer, who was making faggots on the mountain of Somma, loſt his life at this time; and his body not having been found, it is ſuppoſed that, ſuffocated by the ſmoke, he muſt have fallen into the valley from the craggy rocks on which he was at work, and been covered by the current of lava that took its courſe through that valley ſoon after. An aſs, that was waiting for its maſter in the valley, left it very judiciouſly as ſoon as the mountain became violent, and, arriving ſafe home, gave the firſt alarm to this poor man's family.

It was generally remarked, that the exploſions of the volcano were attended with more noiſe during this day's eruption than in any of the ſucceeding ones, when, moſt probably, the mouth of Veſuvius was widened, and the volcanic matter had a freer paſſage. It is certain, however, that the great eruption of 1767 (which in every other reſpect was mild, when compared to the late violent eruption) occaſioned much greater concuſſions in the air by its louder exploſions.

* During an erruption of the volcano in the iſle of Bourbon in 1766, ſome miles of country, at the diſtance of ſix leagues from that volcano, were covered with a flexible, capillary, yellow glaſs, ſome of which were two or three feet long, with ſmall vitrous globules at a little diſtance one from the other. Count Buffon ſhewed me ſome of this capillary and flexible glaſs, which is preſerved in the Royal Muſeum at Paris, and which perfectly reſembles the filaments of vitrified matter which fell at Ottaiano, and in other parts on the borders of Veſuvius during this eruption. Sorrentino, in his Iſtoria del Veſuvio, publiſhed at Naples in 1734, likewiſe mentions vitrified matter, like herbs and ſtraw, being found on the ground in the neighbourhood of Veſuvius, during an eruption of that mountain in the year 1724.

Friday,

Friday, Auguſt the 6th, the fermentation in the mountain was leſs violent; but, about noon, there was a loud report, at which time it was ſuppoſed, that a portion of the little mountain within the crater had fallen in. At night the throws from the crater increaſed, and proceeded evidently from two ſeparate mouths, which emitting red-hot ſcoriæ, and in different directions, formed a moſt beautiful and almoſt continued firework.

On Saturday, Auguſt the 7th, the volcano remained much in the ſame ſtate; but, about twelve o'clock at night, its fermentation increaſed greatly. The ſecond fever-fit of the mountain may be ſaid to have manifeſted itſelf at this time. I was watching its motions from the mole of Naples, which has a full view of the volcano, and had been witneſs to ſeveral glorious pictureſque effects produced by the reflection of the deep red fire which iſſued from the crater of Veſuvius, and mounted up in the midſt of the huge clouds, when a ſummer ſtorm, called here a *tropea*, came on ſuddenly, and blended its heavy watery clouds with the ſulphureous and mineral ones, which were already like ſo many other mountains, piled over the ſummit of the volcano; at this moment a fountain of fire was ſhot up to an incredible height, caſting ſo bright a light, that the ſmalleſt objects could be clearly diſtinguiſhed at any place within ſix miles or more of Veſuvius.

The black ſtormy clouds paſſing ſwiftly over, and at times covering the whole, or a part of the bright column of fire, at other times clearing away, and giving a full view of it, with the various tints produced by its reverberated light on the white clouds above, in contraſt with the pale flaſhes of forked lightning that attended the *tropea*, formed ſuch a ſcene as no power of art can ever expreſs.

That which followed the next evening was ſurely much more formidable and alarming; but this was more beautiful and ſublime than even the moſt lively imagination can paint to itſelf. This great exploſion did not laſt above eight or ten minutes, after which Veſuvius was totally eclipſed by the dark clouds, and there fell a heavy ſhower of rain.

Some ſcoriæ and ſmall ſtones fell at Ottaiano during this eruption, and ſome of a very great ſize in the valley between Veſuvius and the Hermitage. All the inhabitants of the towns at the foot of the volcano were in the greateſt alarm, and preparing to abandon their houſes, had the eruption continued longer.

One of his Sicilian majeſty's game-keepers, who was out in the fields near Ottaiano, whilſt this combined ſtorm was at its height, was greatly ſurpriſed to find the drops of rain ſcald his face and hands, which phenomenon was probably occaſioned by the clouds having acquired a great degree of heat in paſſing through the abovementioned column of fire. The King of Naples did me the honour of informing me of this curious circumſtance.

Sunday, Auguſt the 8th, Veſuvius was quiet till towards ſix o'clock in the evening, when a great ſmoke began to gather again over its crater, and about an hour after

after a rumbling ſubterraneous noiſe was heard in the neighbourhood of the volcano; the uſual throws of red-hot ſtones and ſcoriæ began, and increaſed every inſtant. I was at this time at Pauſilipo, in the company of ſeveral of my countrymen, obſerving with good teleſcopes the curious phenomena in the crater of Veſuvius, which, with ſuch help, we could diſtinguiſh as well as if we had been actually ſeated on the ſummit of the volcano. The crater ſeemed much enlarged by the violence of laſt night's exploſions, and the little mountain no longer exiſted. About nine o'clock there was a loud report, which ſhook the houſes of Portici and its neighbourhood to ſuch a degree as to alarm their inhabitants, and drive them out into the ſtreets; and, as I have ſince ſeen, many windows were broken, and walls cracked, by the concuſſion of the air from that exploſion, though faintly heard at Naples.

In an inſtant a fountain of liquid tranſparent fire began to riſe, and, gradually encreaſing, arrived at ſo amazing a height as to ſtrike every one who beheld it with the moſt awful aſtoniſhment. I ſhall ſcarcely be credited when I aſſure you, Sir, that, to the beſt of my judgment, the height of this ſtupendous column of fire could not be leſs than three times that of Veſuvius itſelf, which, as you know, riſes perpendicularly near 3700 feet above the level of the ſea *.

Puffs of ſmoke, as black as can poſſibly be imagined, ſucceeded one another haſtily, and accompanied the red-hot tranſparent and liquid lava, interrupting its ſplendid brightneſs here and there by patches of the darkeſt hue. Within theſe puffs of ſmoke, at the very moment of their emiſſion from the crater, I could perceive a bright, but pale electrical fire, briſkly playing about in zig-zag lines †.

The wind was S. W.; and though gentle, was ſufficient to carry theſe detached clouds or puffs of ſmoke out of the column of fire; and a collection of them, by degrees, formed a black and extenſive curtain (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) behind it; in other parts of the ſky it was perfectly clear, and the ſtars were bright.

The fiery fountain, of ſo gigantic a ſize, upon the dark ground above-mentioned, made the moſt glorious contraſt imaginable, and the blaze of it reflected ſtrongly on the ſurface of the ſea, which was at that time perfectly ſmooth, added greatly to this ſublime view.

The liquid lava, mixed with ſtones and ſcoriæ, after having mounted, I verily believe, at the leaſt ten thouſand feet, was partly directed by the wind towards Ottaiano, and partly falling almoſt perpendicularly, ſtill red-hot and

* Se tu ſe' or lettore, a creder lento
Ciò, ch'e lo dirò, non ſarà maraviglia;
Che Io, che l'vidi; appena il mi conſento.
DANTE INF. Cant. xxv. verſo 46.

† I mention this circumſtance to prove, that the electrical matter, ſo manifeſt during this eruption, actually proceeded from the bowels of the volcano, and was not attracted from a great height in the air, and conducted into its crater by the vaſt column of ſmoke.

liquid,

liquid, on Vesuvius, covered its whole cone, part of that of the mountain of Somma, and the valley between them. The falling matter being nearly as vivid and inflamed as that which was continually issuing fresh from the crater, formed with it one complete body of fire, which could not be less than two miles and a half in breadth, and of the extraordinary height above-mentioned, casting a heat to the distance of at least six miles around it.

The brush-wood on the mountain of Somma was soon in a blaze, which flame being of a different tint from the deep red of the matter thrown out of the volcano, and from the silvery blue of the electrical fire, still added to the contrast of this most extraordinary scene.

The black cloud increasing greatly once bent towards Naples, and seemed to threaten this fair city with speedy destruction; for it was charged with electrical matter, which kept constantly darting about it in strong and bright zig-zags, just like those described by Pliny the younger in his letter to Tacitus, and which accompanied the great eruption of Vesuvius that proved fatal to his uncle*. This volcanic lightning, however, as I particularly remarked, very rarely quitted the cloud, but usually returned to the great column of fire towards the crater of the volcano from whence it originally came†. Once or twice, indeed, I saw this lightning (or *ferilli*, as it is called here) fall on the top of Somma, and set fire to some dry grass and bushes‡.

Fortunately for us, the wind increasing from the S. W. quarter, carried back the threatening cloud just as it had reached the city, and began to occasion great alarm. All public diversions ceased in an instant, and the theatres being shut, the doors of the churches were thrown open. Numerous processions were formed in the streets, and women and children with dishevelled heads filled the

* "Ab altero latere, nubes atra et horrenda, ignei spiritus tortis vibratisque discursibus rupta, in longas flammarum figuras dehiscebat; fulgoribus illæ et similés et majores." Plin. Epist.

† Sorrentino mentions the like observation, which he made during an eruption of Vesuvius in 1707, when the same kind of black cloud bent over Naples; these are his words: "Alle ore 19. tutti i cittadini nelle oscure tenebre si trovarono in mezzo delle Saëtte, delle quali, alcune vedeansi uscir dalla fornace del Vesuvio, e scorrere sino al capo di Pausilipo, d'onde non passando più inanzi fuor la nuvola delle ceneri, o divertirsi altronde, indietro per l'istessa linea tornarono a scopiar su la fornace, onde uscirono: qual moto retrogrado mai hopotuto intendere."

‡ Some time after the eruption had ceased, the air continued greatly impregnated with electrical matter. The Duke of Cotrosiano, a Neapolitan nobleman (who, from his superior knowledge in experimental philosophy and mechanics, does honour to his country) told me, that having, about half an hour after the great eruption had ceased, held a Leyden bottle, armed with a pointed wire, out of his window at Naples, it soon became considerably charged. While the eruption was in force, its appearance was too alarming to allow one to think of such experiments.

air with their cries, insisting loudly upon the relics of St. Januarius being immediately opposed to the fury of the mountain: in short, the populace of this great city began to display its usual extravagant mixture of riot and bigotry; and if some speedy and well-timed precautions had not been taken, Naples would, perhaps, have been in more danger of suffering from the irregularities of its lower class of inhabitants than from the angry volcano.

But to return to my subject: after the column of fire had continued in full force near half an hour, the eruption ceased all at once, and Vesuvius remained sullen and silent. After the dazzling light of the fiery fountain*, all seemed dark and dismal except the cone of Vesuvius, which was covered with glowing cinders and scoriæ, from under which, at times, here and there, small streams of liquid lava had escaped, and rolled down the steep sides of the volcano. This scene put me in mind of Martial's description of Etna:

Cuncta jacent flammis, & tristi mersa favillâ.

In the parts of Naples nearest Vesuvius, whilst the eruption lasted, a mixed smell, like that of sulphur, with the vapours of an iron-foundery, was sensible; but nearer to the mountain that smell was very offensive, as I have often found it in my visits to Vesuvius during an eruption.

Thus, sir, have I endeavoured to convey to you at least a faint idea of a scene so glorious and sublime as, perhaps, may have never before been viewed by human eyes, at least in such perfection.

I am sensible, from the traces of them I have observed in the volcanic strata, which compose the greatest part of this country, that there have been many more considerable eruptions than the one just described; yet, most probably, those very violent eruptions must either have been attended with earthquakes, and other such alarming circumstances, as to make the beholders less attentive to the beauty of the scenes such phenomena offered than to their own safety; or clouds of smoke and ashes, as is usually the case in all great eruptions, must have so far obscured the volcano, as to exhibit only a confused mass of fire and smoke.

Whilst we had been enjoying the extraordinary sight of this gigantic fountain of liquid fire in perfect safety, the unfortunate inhabitants of the other side of the mountain of Somma, particularly at Ottaiano and Caccia-bella, were involved in that dark and sooty cloud which formed so proper a back ground to our bright picture, and were pelted with stones and scoriæ of lava; but I shall presently give you a particular description of their truly distressful situations, just as I had it from many of the poor sufferers them-

* The light diffused by this huge column of fire was so strong, that the most minute objects could be discerned clearly within the compass of ten miles or more round the mountain. Mr. Morris, an English gentleman, told me, that at Sorrento, which is twelve miles from Vesuvius, he read the title page of a book by that volcanic light.

selves,

ſelves, when I viſited that part of the country a few days after this eruption.

Monday, Aug. 9, about nine o'clock in the morning, the fourth fever-fit of the mountain began to manifeſt itſelf by the uſual ſymptoms, ſuch as a ſubterraneous boiling noiſe, violent exploſions of inflamed matter from the crater of the volcano, accompanied with ſmoke and aſhes, which ſymptoms encreaſed every inſtant. The ſmoke was of two ſorts; the one as white as ſnow, and the other as black as jet.

The white, as deſcribed in the former part of this journal, rolled gently maſs over maſs, reſembling bales of the ſofteſt cotton; and the black, compoſed of ſcoriæ and minute aſhes, ſhot up with force in the midſt of the white ſmoke, which, from the minerals, was alſo ſometimes tinged with yellow, blue, and green. Preſently ſuch a tremendous maſs of theſe accumulated clouds ſtood over Veſuvius as ſeemed to threaten Naples again, and actually made the mountain itſelf appear a mole-hill.

This day's eruption was ſimilar to that of Thurſday laſt, but many degrees more violent. Some ſtones, thrown near as high as thoſe of laſt night, fell on the mountain of Somma, and ſet fire to the bruſh-wood with which it is covered; but there being little wind, and that weſterly, the volcanic matter roſe and fell in a more perpendicular direction, and Ottaiano did not ſuffer by this day's eruption; but moſt of the inhabitants of the towns on the borders of Veſuvius fled to Naples, alarmed by the tremendous clouds, and the loud exploſions.

We remarked, that ſeveral very large ſtones, after having mounted to an immenſe height, formed a parabola, leaving behind them a trace of white ſmoke that marked their courſe: ſome burſt in the air exactly like bombs, and others fell into the valley between Somma and Veſuvius without burſting; others again burſt into a thouſand pieces ſoon after their emiſſion from the crater: they might very properly be called volcanic bombs.

In the ſmoke iſſuing from the crater of Veſuvius, we often remarked a ſudden briſk and quivering motion, which ſeemed to communicate itſelf inſtantaneouſly from one cloud to another, and ſometimes affected thoſe that were very high in the great maſs above the volcano. Though I could not diſcern any electrical fire, yet I make no doubt, but that the effect above-mentioned was occaſioned by it, and would have been viſible in the night-time.

Upon the whole, this day's eruption was very alarming: until the lava broke out about two o'clock, and ran three miles between the two mountains, we were in continual apprehenſion of ſome fatal event. It continued to run about three hours, during which time every other ſymptom of the mountain-fever gradually abated, and at ſeven o'clock at night all was calm.

It was univerſally remarked, that the air this night, for many hours after the eruption, was filled with meteors, ſuch as are vulgarly called falling ſtars; they ſhot generally in a horizontal direction, leaving a luminous trace behind them, but which quickly diſappeared. The night was remarkably fine, ſtar-

light, and without a cloud. This kind of electrical fire ſeemed to be harmleſs, and never to reach the ground; whereas that with which the black volcanic cloud of laſt night was pregnant appeared miſchievous, like the lightning that attends a ſevere thunder ſtorm, as we ſhould undoubtedly have experienced had the eruption continued longer, and the cloud ſpread over Naples. The ſame kind of lightning proved fatal to ſeveral people, and did great damage within the ſpace of many miles round Veſuvius during its great eruption of 1631, as is mentioned in one of my former letters on this ſubject.

During this day's eruption, the relics of St. Januarius were carried in proceſſion, and expoſed to the furious mountain from the bridge of the Maddalena, amidſt a prodigious concourſe of people, who are at this moment well convinced, that to this ceremony alone Naples may attribute its happy eſcape.

It was from their Sicilian majeſties palace at Pauſilipo that I made my obſervations on this day's eruption, and in the preſence of their majeſties, who had been pleaſed to ſend for me in the morning, as ſoon as the volcano became turbulent.

Tueſday, Auguſt 10, Veſuvius was quiet.

Wedneſday, Aug. 11, about ſix o'clock in the morning, the fifth and laſt fever-fit of the mountain came on, and gradually encreaſed. About twelve o'clock, it was at its height *, and very violent indeed, the exploſions being louder than thoſe that attended the former eruptions: we could not judge of the height of the vollies of ſtones and ſcoriæ, as ſome rainy clouds were blended with the volcanic ones, and hid the upper part of the cone and crater of Veſuvius from our view.

The ſame mountains of white cotton-like clouds, piled one over another, roſe to ſuch an extraordinary height, and formed ſuch a coloſſal maſs over Veſuvius, as cannot poſſibly be deſcribed, or ſcarcely imagined. It may have been from a ſcene of this kind, that the ancient poets took their ideas of the giants waging war with Jupiter.

About five o'clock in the evening the eruption ceaſed, ſome rain having fallen this day, which having been greatly impregnated with the corroſive ſalts of the volcano, did much damage to the vines in its neighbourhood.

Thurſday and Friday, Aug. 12 and 13, Veſuvius continued to ſmoke conſiderably, and at times ſlight exploſions were heard, like cannon at a great diſtance; but there have been no more throws from its crater, nor any ſtreams of lava from its flanks, ſince Wedneſday laſt.

On Saturday, Aug. 15, I went, accompanied by Count Lamberg, the imperial miniſter at this court, to viſit Ottaiano and Caccia-bella, the diſtrict which had been moſt ſeverely treated by the heavy and deſtructive ſhower of volcanic mat-

* It has been remarked by the oldeſt people in the neighbourhood of Veſuvius, that in its eruptions the volcano is ſubject to a criſis at noon and midnight; and indeed, from my own obſervation, I believe that remark to be well founded.

ter

ter from the crater of Veſuvius laſt Sunday night.

Soon after having paſſed the town of Somma, we began to perceive that the heat of the fiery ſhower which had fallen in its neighbourhood had affected the leaves of the trees and vines, which we found ſtill more parched and ſhrivelled in proportion as we approached the town of Ottaiano, which may be about three miles from Somma. At about the diſtance of a mile from Somma, we began to perceive freſh cinders or ſcoriæ of lava, thinly ſcattered on the road and in the fields. Every ſtep we advanced we found them of a larger dimenſion, and in greater abundance. At the diſtance of a mile and a half from Ottaiano, the ſoil was totally covered by them, and the leaves and fruit were either entirely ſtripped from the trees, or remained thinly on them, ſhrivelled and dried up by the intenſe heat of the volcanic ſhower.

After having paſſed through the moſt fertile country, abounding with trees loaded with fruits of every kind, and the moſt luxuriant vegetation, through gay villages crowded with chearful inhabitants, to come at once to ſuch a ſcene of deſolation and miſery, affording to our view nothing but heaps of black cinders and aſhes, blaſted trees, ruined houſes, with a few of their ſcattered inhabitants juſt returned with ghaſtly, diſmayed countenances, to ſurvey the havock done to their tenements and habitations, and from which they themſelves had with much difficulty eſcaped alive on Sunday laſt, was ſuch a melancholy ſcene, as can neither be deſcribed or forgotten.

We found the roof of his Sicilian majeſty's ſporting ſeat at Cacciabella much damaged by the fall of large ſtones and heavy ſcoriæ, ſome of which, after having been broken by their fall through the roof, ſtill weighed upwards of thirty pounds. This place, in a direct line, cannot be leſs than four miles from the crater of Veſuvius.

The moſt authentic accounts have been received of the fall of ſmall volcanic ſtones and cinders (ſome of which weighed two ounces) at Benevento, Foggia, and Monte Mileto, upwards of thirty miles from Veſuvius*; but what is moſt extraordinary (as there was but little wind during the eruption of the eighth of Auguſt) minute aſhes fell thick that very night upon the town of Manfredonia, which is at the diſtance of an hundred miles from Veſuvius †.

* The Prince of Monte Mileto told me, that his ſon, the Duke of Popoli, who was at Monte Mileto the 8th of Auguſt, had been alarmed by the ſhower of cinders that fell there, ſome of which he had ſent to Naples, weighing two ounces; and that ſtones of an ounce had fallen upon an eſtate of his ten miles farther off. Monte Mileto is about thirty miles from the volcano.

† The Abbe Galini, well known in the literary world, told me, that his ſiſter, a nun in a Convent at Manfredonia, had wrote to enquire after him, imagining that Naples muſt have been deſtroyed, when they, at ſo great a diſtance, had been ſo much alarmed by a ſhower of minute aſhes, which fell on that city at eleven o'clock at night, Aug. 8, as to open all the churches, and go to prayers. As the great eruption happened at nine o'clock at night, the aſhes muſt have travelled an hundred miles within the ſhort ſpace of two hours.

These facts seem to confirm the extreme supposed height of the column of fire that issued from the crater of Vesuvius last Sunday night, and are greatly in support of what we find recorded in the history of Vesuvius with respect to the fall of its ashes at an amazing distance, and in a short space of time, during its violent eruptions.

We proceeded from Caccia-bella to Ottaiano, which is a mile nearer to Vesuvius, and is reckoned to contain twelve thousand inhabitants. Nothing could be more dismal than the sight of this town, unroofed, half buried under black scoriæ and ashes; all the windows towards the mountain broken, and some of the houses themselves burnt; the streets choaked up with these ashes (in some that were narrow, the stratum was not less than four feet thick); and a few of the inhabitants just returned were employed in clearing them away, and piling up the ashes in hillocks to get at their ruined houses. Others were assembled in little groups, enquiring after their friends and neighbours, relating each other's woes, crossing themselves, and lifting up their eyes to Heaven when they mentioned their miraculous escapes. Some Monks, who were in their convent during the whole of the horrid shower, gave us the following particulars, which they related with solemnity and precision.

The mountain of Somma, at the foot of which Ottaiano is situated, hides Vesuvius from its sight, so that till the eruption became considerable, it was not visible to them. On Sunday night, when the noise encreased, and the fire began to appear above the mountain of Somma, many of the inhabitants of this town flew to the churches, and others were preparing to quit the town, when a sudden violent report was heard; soon after which they found themselves involved in a thick cloud of smoke and minute ashes: a horrid clashing noise was heard in the air, and presently fell a deluge of stones and large scoriæ, some of which scoriæ were of the diameter of seven or eight feet, and must have weighed more than an hundred pounds before they were broken by their fall, as some of the fragments of them, which I picked up in the streets, still weighed upwards of sixty pounds. When these large vitrified masses either struck against one another in the air, or fell on the ground, they broke in many pieces, and covered a large space around them with vivid sparks of fire, which communicated their heat to every thing that was combustible *. In an instant the town and country about it was on fire in many parts; for in the vineyards there were several straw huts, which had been erected for the watchmen of the grapes, all of which were burnt. A great magazine of wood in the heart of the town was all in a blaze, and, had there been much wind, the flames must have spread universally, and all the inhabitants would have infallibly been

* These masses were formed of the liquid lava, the exterior parts of which had become black and porous by cooling in the long traverse they had made through the air, whilst the interior parts, less exposed, retained an extreme heat, and were perfectly red.

burnt

burnt in their houſes, for it was impoſſible for them to ſtir out. Some who attempted it with pillows, tables, chairs, the tops of wine caſks, &c. on their heads, were either knocked down, or ſoon driven back to their cloſe quarters under arches, and in the cellars of their houſes. Many were wounded, but only two perſons have died of the wounds they received from this dreadful volcanic ſhower. To add to the horror of the ſcene, inceſſant volcanic lightning was whiſking about the black cloud that ſurrounded them, and the ſulphureous ſmell and heat would ſcarcely allow them to draw their breath.

In this miſerable and alarming ſituation they remained about twenty-five minutes, when the volcanic ſtorm ceaſed all at once, and the frightened inhabitants of Ottaiano, apprehending a freſh attack from the turbulent mountain, haſtily quitted the country, after having depoſited the ſick and bedridden, at their own deſire, in the churches.

Had the eruption laſted an hour longer, Ottaiano muſt have remained exactly in the ſtate of Pompeia, which was buried under the aſhes of Veſuvius juſt 1700 years ago, with moſt of its inhabitants, whoſe bones are to this day frequently found under arches and in the cellars of the houſes of that ancient city.

We were told of many miracles that had been wrought by the images of ſaints at this place during the late diſaſter; but, as they are quite foreign to my purpoſe, I ſhall, as uſual, paſs them over in ſilence.

The palace of the Prince of Ottaiano is ſituated on an eminence above the town, and nearer the mountain: the ſteps leading up to it, being deeply covered with volcanic matter, reſembled the cone of Veſuvius, and the white marble ſtatues on the baluſtrade made a ſingular appearance peeping from under the black aſhes, which had entirely covered both the baluſtrade and their pedeſtals. The roof of the palace was totally deſtroyed, and the windows were broken; but the houſe itſelf, being ſtrongly built, had not ſuffered much.

We had an opportunity of ſeeing here exactly the quality of the dreadful ſhower, as the volcanic matter which broke through the roof of the palace, and fell into the garrets, on the balconies and in the courts, had not been removed. It was compoſed of the ſcoriæ of freſh lava much vitrified, great and ſmall, mixed with fragments of ancient ſolid lavas of different ſorts: many pieces were enveloped by the new lava, which formed a cruſt about them; and others were only ſlightly varniſhed by the freſh lava. Theſe kind of ſtones being very compact, and ſome weighing eight or ten pounds, muſt have fallen with greater force than the heavier ſcoriæ, which were very porous, and had the great ſurface above-mentioned.

The palace of Ottaiano is built on a thick ſtratum of ancient lava, which ran from the mountain of Somma when in its active volcanic ſtate. Under this ſtratum we were ſhewn three grottoes, from which iſſues a conſtant extreme cold wind, and at times with impetuoſity, and a noiſe like water daſhing upon rocks. They are

ſhut up with doors like cellars, and are made uſe of as ſuch, as alſo to keep proviſions freſh and to cool liquors. I had never ſeen theſe *venta oli* before. In my letter to Dr. Maty, upon the nature of the ſoil round Naples, I have mentioned others of the ſame kind that I had met with on Veſuvius, Etna, and in the iſland of Iſchia *.

We obſerved, that the tract of country completely covered with a ſtratum of the volcanic matter above mentioned was about two miles and a half broad, and as much in length, in which ſpace the vines and fruit-trees were totally ſtript of their leaves and fruit, and had the appearance of being quite burnt up; but, to my great ſurprize, having viſited that country again two days ago, I ſaw thoſe very trees, which were apple, pear, peach, and apricot, in bloſſom again, and ſome with the fruit already formed, and of the ſize of hazle nuts. The vines there had alſo put forth freſh leaves, and were in bloom. Many foxes, hares, and other game, were deſtroyed by the fiery ſhower in the diſtrict of Somma and Ottaiano †.

His Sicilian majeſty, whoſe goodneſs of heart inclines him on all occaſions to ſhew his benevolence and aſſiſt the unfortunate, has ordered a conſiderable ſum of money to be diſtributed among the unhappy ſufferers of Ottaiano and its neighbourhood.

On the 18th of September I went upon Mount Veſuvius, accompanied by Lord Herbert and my uſual guide. We could not poſſibly reach its crater, being covered with a thick ſmoke, too ſulphureous and offenſive to be encountered; neither would it have been prudent to have ventured up, had there not been that impediment, as it was evident, from the loud reports we heard from time to time, that there exiſted ſtill a great fermentation within the bowels of the volcano. We therefore contented ourſelves with examining the effects of the late extraordinary eruption on its cone, and in the valley between it and the mountain of Somma.

The conical part of Veſuvius is now covered with fragments of lava and ſcoriæ, which makes the aſcent much more difficult and troubleſome than when it was only covered with minute aſhes. The particularity of this laſt eruption was, that the lava which uſually ran out of the flanks of the volcano, forming caſcades, rivers, and rivulets of liquid fire, was now chiefly thrown up from its crater in the form of a gigantic fountain

* At Ceſi, in the Roman State, towards the Adriatic, there are many ſuch *ventarcli*; and the inhabitants of that town, by means of leaden pipes, conduct the freſh air from them into the very rooms of their houſes, ſo that by turning a cock they can cool them to any degree. Some who have refined ſtill more upon this luxury, by ſmaller pipes, bring this cold air under the dining table, ſo as to cool the bottle of liquor upon it.

† Having had the honour of being on a ſhooting party lately with the King of Naples, at the foot of Veſuvius and Somma, ſeveral dead hares were found, and we killed others whoſe backs were quite bare, the fur having been ſinged off of them by the hot aſhes.

of

of fire *, which falling ſtill in ſome degree of fuſion, has, in a manner, caſed up the conical part of Veſuvius with a ſtratum of hard ſcoriæ: on the ſide next the mountain of Somma, that ſtratum is ſurely more than one hundred feet thick, forming a high ridge. The valley between Veſuvius and Somma has received ſuch a prodigious quantity of lava and other volcanic matter during this laſt eruption, that it is raiſed, as is imagined, two hundred and fifty feet or more. Three ſuch eruptions as the laſt would completely fill up the valley, and, by uniting Veſuvius and Somma, form them into one mountain, as they moſt probably were before the great eruption in the reign of Titus. In ſhort, I found the whole face of Veſuvius changed. Thoſe curious channels, in which the lava ran in the month of May laſt, are all buried. The volcano appears to have likewiſe encreaſed in height; the form of the crater is changed, a great piece of its rim towards Somma being wanting; and on the ſide towards the ſea it is alſo broken. There are ſome very large cracks towards the point of the cone of the volcano, which makes it probable, that more of the borders of the crater will fall in. The ridge of freſh volcanic matter on the cone of Veſuvius towards Somma, and the thick ſtratum in the valley, are likewiſe full of cracks, from which there iſſues a conſtant ſulphureous ſmoke that tinges them and the circumjacent ſcoriæ and cinders with a deep yellow, or

* Sorrentino mentions, in his Iſtoria del Veſuvio, that the volcano in 1676 vented itſelf in the like manner: "Non a torrenti modo mando fuori le ſue viſcere, ma tutti in aria menolla." Such wonderful, violent, and ſudden emiſſions of liquid lava muſt have been occaſioned by ſome accidental and extraordinary cauſe; and I was inclined to think, that a ſudden communication of water with the lava in fuſion might be the occaſion of ſuch a phænomenon, particularly as we know that pools of rain-water have been found formerly in caverns within the bowels of Veſuvius; and that a river, ſuppoſed to be that anciently called Draco, and which was buried by an ancient eruption, burſt out ſome years ago with ſuch force, from under a *ſtratum* of lava at Torre del Greco, as to be ſufficient to turn mills there; but a late curious experiment, mentioned by Monſ. de Faujas, in his Recherches ſur les Volcans éteints, p. 176, ſeems to contradict my ſuppoſition; and that water introduced to the furnace of a volcano, finding there a more rarefied air, would not produce an exploſion. Monſ. Deſlaudes, Director of the Royal Manufacture of Looking-glaſs at St. Gobin, made the following experiment in 1768, in the preſence of the Duke de la Rochfoucault, Monſ. de Faujas, and others. He poured ſome water upon a quantity of glaſs in fuſion, and which had been in that ſtate in the crucible for twelve hours. The water did not occaſion the leaſt fermentation; but, on the contrary, rolled upon its ſurface, without even producing any ſmoke; and after having become ſeemingly red-hot, like the metal in fuſion, diſappeared in about three minutes, without having occaſioned the leaſt exploſion. If the great emiſſions of lava above-mentioned were not then occaſioned by water mixing with the lava, may not they have been produced by violent ſubterraneous exhalations having forced their way into the cauldron of the volcano (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) replete with matter in fuſion, and blown its whole contents, with whatever oppoſed its paſſage, at once into the air?

ſometimes a white tint. Theſe laſt-mentioned cracks, though deep, do not, as I apprehend, paſs the ſtratum formed by the laſt eruption, and which, from its extreme thickneſs, particularly in the valley, will probably retain a great degree of heat for ſome years to come, as did a thick ſtratum of lava that ran into the *foſſe grande* in the year 1767.

The number and ſize of the ſtones, or, more properly ſpeaking, of the fragments of lava which have been thrown out of the volcano in the courſe of the laſt eruption, and which lie ſcattered thick on the cone of Veſuvius, and at the foot of it, is really incredible. The largeſt we meaſured was in circumference no leſs than one hundred and eight Engliſh feet, and ſeventeen feet high. It is a ſolid block, and is much vitrified: in ſome parts of it there are large pieces of pure glaſs, of a brown yellow colour, like that of which our common bottles are made, and throughout its pores ſeem to be filled with perfect vitrifications of the ſame ſort. The ſpot where it alighted is plainly marked by a deep impreſſion almoſt at the foot of the cone of the volcano, and it took three bounds before it ſettled, as is plainly perceived by the marks it has left on the ground, and by the ſtones which it has pounded to atoms under its prodigious weight. When we conſider the enormous ſize and weight of ſuch a ſolid maſs, thrown at leaſt a quarter of a mile clear of the mouth of the volcano, we can but admire the wonderful powers of nature, of which, being ſo very ſeldom within the reach of human inſpection, we are in general too apt to judge upon much too ſmall a ſcale.

Another ſolid block of ancient lava, ſixty-ſix feet in circumference, and nineteen feet high, being nearly of a ſpherical ſhape, was thrown out at the ſame time, and lies near the former. This ſtone, which has the marks of having been rounded, nay, almoſt poliſhed, by continual rolling in torrents, or on the ſea-ſhore, and which yet has been ſo undoubtedly thrown out of the volcano, may be the ſubject of curious ſpeculations*. Another block of ſolid lava that was thrown much farther, and lies in the valley between the cone of Veſuvius and the Hermitage, is ſixteen feet high, and ninety-two feet in circumference, though it plainly appears, by the large fragments that lie round, and were detached from it by the ſhock of its fall, that it muſt have been twice as conſiderable when in the air.

There are thouſands of very large fragments of different ſpecies of ancient and modern lavas, that lie ſcattered by the late exploſions on the cone of Veſuvius, and in the vallies at its foot; but theſe three were the largeſt of thoſe we meaſured †.

We

* Or may not this ſtone be a ſpherical volcanic baſalt, ſuch as one of forty-five feet in circumference, deſcribed by Monſ. Faujas de St. Fond, in p. 155 of his curious book on the ſubject of extinguiſhed volcanos?

† We meaſured two other ſtones in the valley between Somma and Veſuvius; the one was twenty-two feet and a half long, thirteen feet and a half broad, and ten

We found alſo many fragments of thoſe volcanic bombs that burſt in the air, as mentioned in the former part of this journal; and ſome entire, having fallen to the ground without burſting. The freſh red-hot and liquid lava having been thrown up with numberleſs fragments of ancient lavas, the latter were often cloſely enveloped by the former; and probably when ſuch fragments of lava were porous and full of air bubbles, as is often the caſe, the extreme outward heat ſuddenly rarefying the confined air, cauſed an exploſion. When theſe fragments were of a more compact lava they did not explode, but were ſimply encloſed by the freſh lava, and acquired a ſpherical form by whirling in the air, or rolling down the ſteep ſides of the volcano.

The ſhell or outward coat of the bombs that burſt, and of which we found ſeveral pieces, was always compoſed of freſh lava, in which many ſplinters of the more ancient lava that had been encloſed are ſeen ſticking I was much pleaſed with this diſcovery, having been greatly puzzled for an explanation of this volcanic operation, which was new to me, and which was very frequent during the eruption of the 9th of Auguſt.

The phænomenon of the natural ſpun-glaſs which fell at Ottaiano with the aſhes on the 5th of Auguſt, was likewiſe clearly explained to me here. I have already mentioned, that the lava thrown up by this eruption was in general more perfectly vitrified than that of any former eruption, which appeared plainly upon a nearer examination of the fragments of freſh lava, the pores of which we generally found full of a pure vitrification, and the ſcoriæ themſelves, upon a cloſe examination with a magnifying glaſs, appeared like a confuſed heap of filaments, of a foul vitrification. When a piece of the ſolid freſh lava had been cracked in its fall without ſeparating entirely, we always ſaw capillary fibres of perfect glaſs, reaching from ſide to ſide within the cracks. If I may be allowed a mean compariſon, which, however, conveys the idea of what I wiſh to explain better than any other I can think of, this lava reſembled a rich Parmeſan cheeſe, which, when broken and gently ſeparated, ſpins out tranſparent filaments from the little cells that contained the clammy liquor of which thoſe filaments were compoſed. The natural ſpun-glaſs then that fell at Ottaiano during this eruption, as well as that which fell in the iſle of Bourbon in the year 1766, muſt have been formed moſt probably by the operation of ſuch a ſort of lava as has been juſt deſcribed, cracking and ſeparating in the air at the time of its emiſſion from the craters of the volcanos, and by that means ſpinning out the pure vitrified matter from its pores or cells, the wind at the ſame time carrying off thoſe filaments of glaſs as faſt as they were produced.

I obſerved ſticking to ſome very large fragments of the new lava, which were of a cloſe grain, ſome pieces of a ſubſtance, whoſe texture very much reſembled that of a true pumice-ſtone; and upon a

ten feet high; the other eleven feet and a half high, and ſeventy-two feet in circumference.

cloſe

cloſe examination, and having ſeparated them from the lava, I perceived that this ſubſtance had actually been forced out of the minute pores of the ſolid ſtone itſelf, and was a collection of fine vitreous fibres or filaments, confounded together at the time of their being preſſed out by the contraction of the large fragments of lava in cooling, and which had bent downwards by their own weight. This curious ſubſtance has the lightneſs of a pumice, and reſembles it in every reſpect, except being of a darker colour.

When the pores of the freſh ſolid lava were large and filled with pure vitrified matter, we found that matter ſometimes blown into bubbles on its ſurface, I ſuppoſe by the air which had been forced out at the time the lava contracted itſelf in cooling: thoſe bubbles being thin, ſhewed that this volcanic glaſs has the kind of tranſparency of our common glaſs bottles, and is like them of a dirty yellow colour. I detached with a hammer ſome large pieces of this kind of glaſs, as big as my fiſt, which adhered to, and was incorporated with, ſome of the larger fragments of lava, and, though of the ſame kind, from their thickneſs they appeared perfectly black, and were opaque.

Another particularity is remarkable in the lava of this eruption: many detached pieces of it are in the ſhape of a barley-corn, or of a plumb-ſtone, ſmall at each end, and thick in the middle. We picked up ſeveral, and ſaw many more which were too heavy for us to carry off, for they muſt have weighed more than ſixty pounds; ſome of the ſmaller ones did not weigh an ounce. I ſuppoſe them to be drops from the liquid fountain of fire of the 8th of Auguſt, which might very naturally acquire ſuch a form in their fall; but the peaſants in the neighbourhood of Veſuvius are well convinced that they are the thunder-bolts that fell with the volcanic lightning.

We found many of the volcanic bombs, or, properly ſpeaking, round balls of freſh lava, large and ſmall; all of which have a *nucleus*, compoſed of a fragment of more ancient and ſolid lava. There were alſo ſome other curious vitrifications, very different from any I had ever ſeen before, mixed with the late fallen ſhower of huge *ſcoriæ* and maſſes of lava.

Though I have endeavoured to be as particular and clear as poſſible in the deſcription I have given of the curious ſubſtances produced by the late eruption of Veſuvius, yet, as ſpecimens of thoſe ſubſtances will explain more at one ſight than I can pretend to do by whole pages in writing, I ſhall not fail to ſend you, by the firſt favourable opportunity, a collection of them, which I have ſet apart for that purpoſe, particularly as I flatter myſelf they may ſerve to give ſome light into a hitherto obſcure ſubject: I mean, the nature and manner of the formation of pumice-ſtones.

Veſuvius continues to ſmoke conſiderably, and we had a ſlight ſhock of an earthquake yeſterday; ſo that I do not think, notwithſtanding the late eruptions having been ſo very conſiderable, that the volcano has vented itſelf ſo ſufficiently as to remain long quiet.

I muſt now, Sir, beg your pardon if I have treſpaſſed too much upon

upon your time: I meant to be ſhort, clear, and explicit; and if, by aiming at the two latter, I have failed in the former, I hope I ſhall be excuſed, and that you will pleaſe to take the will for the deed.

I am, &c.

Relation of the recent Eruption of Mount Ætna.

TOWARDS the end of January, many reiterated ſhocks of an earthquake were felt in different parts of Sicily; and from that time it was obſerved, that Ætna emitted a thick ſmoke from its center, which extended commonly to the eaſt. A new eminence was next obſerved on the weſtern ſide of the mountain, viſible at the diſtance of more than 50 miles, the certain ſign of a local exploſion.

The 28th of March and the 8th of April, the earthquakes were felt with more violence, in direction from north to ſouth, and the ſmoke of the volcano augmented conſiderably; inſomuch that, on the 28th of April, it was perceived to riſe from the crater in the form of a ſtraight and lofty pine, its head loſt in the clouds, and caſting out ſmall fragments of a bituminous pumice-ſtone to the circumference of more than twenty miles. This continued till the 17th of May, when the ſmoke ſuddenly ceaſed.

The 18th of May, towards noon, a violent ſhock with a ſubterraneous trembling was heard on the mountain, and at ſix in the evening a mouth appeared at the foot of an ancient extinguiſhed volcano, called Mount Frumento, very near the confines of the ſecond region of Ætna. The fire flowed from it like a river, and, entering a neighbouring valley, called Del Udſienza, it overran, in an inſtant, the ſpace of half a league in the plain del Carpintero and delle Mandre del Favo, and then precipitated itſelf into the valley del Neve, riſing to the height of a hundred feet.

At nine o'clock the mountain opened at two places lower ſtill, on the land called li Scoperti di Palermo. Theſe two openings, being very near each other, ſoon formed but one, the fire taking a direction to the weſt, where the firſt lava flowed. They each united in the plain called de Santi, and overran the ſpace of one third of a mile. The firſt lava again ſeparated itſelf from the others, continuing its courſe alone in the valley del Udſienza, where it flowed again, although more ſlowly, threatening the country of la Malta, and the lands of the Cavalier, which belong to the Benedictines of Catania. The two other lavas took a direction towards Mount Parmentelli; the baſe of which, to the extent of about two miles, they quite ſurrounded, then flowing by the eaſt of Mount del Mazzo, they extended along the vineyards of Rugalira, and, after having ſucceſſively overrun the ſpace of three leagues, they ſtopped on the 25th of May. The greateſt breadth of this branch was one mile, and its elevation about five feet.

During the night of the 26th, a new mouth opened at the foot of Mount Parmentelli, in the middle of the lava. This volcano, for more than an hour, threw out ſtones of a prodigious ſize, and to a very

a very conſiderable height. The fire next opened itſelf a paſſage, dividing into two branches, the firſt to the weſt of the Mount del Mazzo, which it encloſed, and the other along the wood and vineyards of Rugalira for about a league.

At the end of five days the fire ſeemed to be diminiſhed, and advanced but very ſlowly; but it was ſoon perceived again in a very ſenſible degree; and on the 5th of this month [July] threw out ſuch a prodigious quantity, that the arm of the lava, which was then only thirty feet broad, augmented to fifty, in about half an hour, and it ſtill continues with the ſame force. But as it finds the firſt lava cooled, it runs upon it, raiſing it to the height of more than thirty feet, in throwing it up forward, and on the ſides; ſo that if the reſiſtance this new lava is obliged to combat retards its progreſs, it nevertheleſs extends it in breadth, and produces the ſame deſtructive effects.

On the ſurface of this lava, in almoſt its whole extent, we obſerve evaporations, or globes of fire of different colours, according to the greater or leſs quantity of bitumen, ſulphur, arſenic, and vitriol, of which the maſs is compoſed, and which the chymiſts, who have analyzed it, ſay is very plentiful.

The damage already cauſed by this eruption is eſtimated at 40,000 Sicilian crowns; but many perſons apprehend it to be more conſiderable. The lava continues its courſe towards Palermo, from whence it is now diſtant no more than eight miles; and this is the richeſt and beſt cultivated country of Mount Ætna.

Of the Effects of Volcanos, and of the hot Springs, in Iceland. *From Dr.* Von Troil's *Letters.*

WE caſt anchor not far from Beſſeſtedr, the dwelling-place of the celebrated Sturleſon, where we found two tracts of lava called *Gorde* and *Hualey-re-Hraun*, (for what we and the Italians call lava is in Iceland called *Hraun*, from *Hrinna*, to flow) of which the laſt particularly was remarkable, ſince we found there, beſides a whole field covered with lava, which muſt have been liquid in the higheſt degree, whole mountains of tuff. Chance had directed us exactly to a ſpot on which we could, better than on any other part of Iceland, conſider the operations of a fire which had laid waſte a tract of ten or twelve miles*. We ſpent ſeveral days here in examining every thing with ſo much the more pleaſure; for we found ourſelves, as it were, in a new world.

We had now ſeen almoſt all the effects of a volcano, except the crater, from which the fire had proceeded: in order therefore to examine this likewiſe, we undertook a journey of twelve days to Mount Heckla itſelf; we travelled

* The miles mentioned by Dr. Troil are always Swediſh, ten and a half of which are equal to a degree on one of the great circles of the globe; and therefore, one Swediſh mile is nearly equal to ſix Engliſh ſtatute-miles. Ten or twelve miles are therefore ſixty or ſeventy-two Engliſh miles.

fifty

fifty or ſixty miles * over an uninterrupted tract of lava, and gained the pleaſure of being the firſt who ever reached the ſummit of this celebrated volcano. The cauſe that no one had been there before is partly founded in ſuperſtition, and partly in the extreme difficulty of the aſcent before the laſt eruption of fire. There was not one of our company who did not wiſh to have his cloaths a little ſigned, only for the ſake of ſeeing Heckla in a blaze; and we almoſt flattered ourſelves with this hope, for the biſhop of Skallholt had informed us by letter, in the night between the 5th and 6th of September, the day before our arrival, flames had proceeded from it; but now the mountain was more quiet than we wiſhed. We however paſſed our time very agreeably, from one o'clock in the night till two next day, in viſiting the mountain. We were even ſo happy, that the clouds which covered the greateſt part of it diſperſed towards evening, and procured us the moſt extenſive proſpect imaginable. The mountain is ſomething above five thouſand feet high, and ſeparates at the top into three points, of which that in the middle is the higheſt. The moſt inconſiderable part of the mountain conſiſts of lava, the reſt is aſhes, with hard, ſolid ſtones thrown from the craters, together with ſome pumice ſtones, of which we found only a ſmall piece, with a little native ſulphur. A deſcription of the various kinds of ſtones to be found here would be too prolix, and partly unintelligible; and I ſo much the more willingly omit it, as I hope to ſatisfy your curioſity, as ſoon as the collection I made of them arrives in Sweden.

Amongſt many other craters or openings, four were peculiarly remarkable; the firſt, the lava of which had taken the form of ſtacks of chimneys, half broken down; another, from which water had ſtreamed; a third, all the ſtones of which were red as brick; and laſtly, one from which the lava had burſt forth in a ſtream, and was divided at ſome diſtance into three arms. I have ſaid before, that we were not ſo happy to ſee Heckla vomit fire; but there were ſufficient traces of its burning inwardly; for on the upper half of it, covered over with four or five inches deep of ſnow, we frequently obſerved ſpots without any ſnow; and on the higheſt point, where Fahrenheit's thermometer was at 24° in the air, it roſe to 153° when it was ſet down on the ground; and in ſome little holes it was ſo hot, that we could no longer obſerve the heat with a ſmall pocket thermometer. It is not known whether, ſince the year 1693, Heckla has been burning till 1766, when it began to vomit flames on the firſt of April, burnt for a long while, and deſtroyed the country many miles around. Laſt December ſome flames likewiſe proceeded from it; and the people in the neighbourhood believe it will begin to burn again very ſoon, as they pretend to have obſerved, that the rivers thereabouts are drying up. It is believed that this proceeds from the mountain's attracting the water, and is conſi-

* Three hundred or three hundred and ſixty Engliſh miles.

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dered as a certain ſign of an impending eruption. Beſides this, the mountains of Myvatn and Kattlegia are known in this century, on account of the violent eruptions of the former, between the years 1730 and 1740, and of the latter in 1756.

But permit me, Sir, to omit a farther account of the volcano at this time *, in order to ſpeak of another effect of the fire, which is more curious and as wonderful as the firſt, therefore muſt be the more remarkable, as there is not in any part of the known world any thing that reſembles it; I mean the hot ſprings of water which abound in Iceland †.

They have different degrees of warmth, and are on that account divided by the inhabitants themſelves into *lauger*, or warm baths, and *huerer*, or ſprings that throw up the water to a conſiderable height; the firſt are found in ſeveral other parts of Europe, though I do not believe that they are employed to the ſame purpoſes in any other place; that is to ſay, the inhabitants do not bathe in them here merely for their health, but they are likewiſe the occaſion for a ſcene of gallantry. Poverty prevents here the lover from making preſents to his fair one, and nature preſents no flowers of which garlands elſewhere are made: it is therefore cuſtomary, that inſtead of all this the ſwain perfectly cleanſes one of theſe baths, which is to be afterwards honoured with the viſits of his bride. The other kind of ſprings mentioned above deſerves more attention. I have ſeen a great number of them; but will only ſay ſomething of three of the moſt remarkable. Near Laugervatn, a ſmall lake of about a mile in circumference, which is about two days journey diſtant from Heckla, I ſaw the firſt hot ſpouting ſprings; and I muſt confeſs that it was one of the moſt beautiful ſights I ever beheld. The morning was uncommonly clear, and the ſun had already begun to gild the tops of the neighbouring mountains; it was ſo perfect a calm, that the lake on which ſome ſwans were ſwimming was as ſmooth as a looking-glaſs, and round about it aroſe, in eight different places, the ſteam of the hot ſprings, which loſt itſelf high in the air.

Water was ſpouting from all theſe ſprings; but one in particular continually threw up in the air a column from 18 to 24 feet high, and from 6 to 8 feet diameter; the water was extremely hot. A piece of mutton, and ſome ſalmon trouts, as likewiſe a ptarmigan, were almoſt boiled to pieces in ſix minutes, and taſted excellently. I wiſh it was in my power, Sir, to give you a deſcription of this place as it deſerves; but I fear it would always remain inferior in point of expreſſion. So much is certain at leaſt, nature never drew from any one a more chearful homage to her great Creator than I here paid him.

At Reikum was another ſpout of the ſame ſort; the water of which, I was aſſured, roſe to 60 or 70 feet perpendicular height ſome years

* Dr. Troil treats more at large of the Icelandic volcanoes in his 18th and 19th letters; and in the 20th he ſpeaks more particularly of mount Heckla.

† The 21ſt letter treats more fully of the hot ſprings in Iceland.

ago;

ago; but a fall of earth having almoſt covered the whole opening, it now ſpouted only between 54 and 60 feet ſideways. We found here a great many petrified leaves in this place, as likewiſe ſome native ſulphur, of which alſo the water had a much ſtronger taſte than any where elſe.

I have reſerved the moſt remarkable water-ſpout for the end; the deſcription of which will appear as incredible to you as it did to me, could I not aſſure you that it is all perfectly true, for I would not aver any thing but what I have ſeen myſelf. At Geyſer, not far from Skallholt, one of the epiſcopal ſees in Iceland, a moſt extraordinary large ſpouting fountain is to be ſeen, with which the celebrated water-works at Marley and St. Cloud, and at Caſſel, and Herrenhauſen near Hanover, can hardly be compared. One ſees here, within the circumference of half a mile *, 40 or 50 boiling ſprings together, which, I believe, all proceed from one and the ſame reſervoir. In ſome the water is perfectly clear, in others thick and clayey; in ſome, where it paſſes through a fine ochre, it is tinged red as ſcarlet; and in others, where it flows over a paler clay, it is white as milk.

The water ſpouts up from all, from ſome continually, from others only at intervals. The largeſt ſpring, which is in the middle, particularly engaged our attention the whole day that we ſpent here, from ſix in the morning till ſeven at night. The aperture through which the water aroſe, and the depth of which I cannot determine, was 19 feet in diameter; round the top of it is a baſon, which, together with the pipe, has the form of a cauldron; the margin of the baſon is upwards of nine feet one inch higher than the conduit, and its diameter is of fifty-ſix feet. Here the water does not ſpout continually, but only by intervals ſeveral times a day; and, as I was informed by the people in the neighbourhood, in bad rainy weather, higher than at other times.

On the day that we were there, the water ſpouted at ten different times, from ſix in the morning till eleven A. M. each time, to the height of between five and ten fathoms; till then the water had not riſen above the margin of the pipe, but now it began by degrees to fill the upper baſon, and at laſt ran over. The people who were with us told us, that the water would ſoon ſpout up much higher than it had done till then, and this appeared very credible to us. To determine its height therefore, with the utmoſt accuracy, Dr. Lind, who had accompanied us on this voyage in the capacity of an aſtronomer, ſet up his quadrant.

Soon after four o'clock we obſerved that the earth began to tremble in three different places, as likewiſe the top of a mountain, which was about three hundred fathoms diſtant from the mouth of the ſpring. We alſo frequently heard a ſubterraneous noiſe like the diſcharge of a cannon; and immediately after a column of water ſpouted from the opening, which at a great height divided

* About three Engliſh miles.

itſelf into ſeveral rays, and, according to the obſervations made with the quadrant, was ninety-two feet high. Our great ſurprize at this uncommon force of the air and fire was yet increaſed, when many ſtones, which we had flung into the aperture, were thrown up again with the ſpouting water. You can eaſily conceive, Sir, with how much pleaſure we ſpent the day here; and indeed, I am not much ſurprized, that a people ſo much inclined to ſuperſtition as the Icelanders are, imagine this to be the entrance of hell; for this reaſon they ſeldom paſs one of theſe openings without ſpitting into it; or, as they ſay, *uti fandens mun*, into the devil's mouth.

Of the Baſaltic Pillars. From Profeſſor Bergman's *Letter to Dr.* Troil.

OF all the mountains hitherto known, there are without doubt not any more remarkable than thoſe that are compoſed of angular pillars. A few years ago only one or two of this kind were known; but new ones are daily diſcovered, which is a plain proof how much our attention requires being rouzed to prevent it from ſlumbering, on the moſt important occaſions.

It cannot be much doubted that there has been ſome connections between theſe pillars, and the effects of a ſubterraneous fire, as they are found in places where the ſigns of fire are yet viſible; and as they are even found mixed with lava, tuff, and other ſubſtances produced by fire.

The cauſe of the regular form of theſe pillars is a problem which we have hitherto been unable to ſolve ſatisfactorily. This difficulty has appeared ſo inſurmountable to ſome, that they have thought it impoſſible to be the effects of nature, and have conſidered them as works made by human hands: this idea betrays the utmoſt ignorance in regard to the true nature of theſe mountains of pillars, and does not even deſerve a refutation.

As far as we know, nature makes uſe of three methods to produce regular forms in the mineral kingdom, namely, that of cryſtallization or precipitation: 2dly, the cruſting or ſettling of the external ſurface of a liquid maſs whilſt it is cooling: and, 3dly, the burſting of a moiſt ſubſtance whilſt it is drying.

The firſt method is the moſt common, but to all appearance nature has not made uſe of this in the preſent caſe. Cryſtals are ſeldom or never found in any conſiderable quantity running in the ſame direction, but either inclining from one another, or, what is ſtill more common, placed towards one another in ſeveral ſloping directions. They are alſo generally ſeparated a little from one another, when they are regular; the nature of the thing likewiſe requires this; becauſe the ſeveral particles, of which the cryſtals are compoſed, muſt have the liberty of following that power which affects their regular diſpoſition.

The baſalt columns, on the contrary, whoſe height are frequently from thirty to forty feet, are placed parallel to one another in conſiderable numbers, and ſo cloſe together that the point of a knife can hardly be introduced between them. Beſides, in moſt places,

places, each pillar is divided into ſeveral parts or joints, that ſeem to be placed upon one another; and indeed it is not uncommon for cryſtals to be formed above one another in different layers, when the ſolvent has been viſibly diminiſhed at different times; but then the upper cryſtals never fit ſo exactly upon the lower ones as to produce connected priſms of the ſame length and depth as all the ſtrata taken together, but each ſtratum ſeparately forms its own cryſtals.

How then can the Giant's Cauſeway, in the county of Antrim, Fingal's Cave at Staffa, and all other aſſemblages of pillars of the ſame kind, be conſidered as cryſtallizations? Precipitation, both in the wet and dry manner, requires that the particles ſhould be free enough to fix themſelves in a certain order; and as this is not practicable in a large melted maſs, no cryſtallizations appear in it, except on its ſurface, or in its cavities.

Add to this, that the baſalts in a freſh fracture do not ſhew a plain ſmooth ſurface under the microſcope, but appear ſometimes like grains of different magnitude, and at other times reſemble fine rays running in different directions, that do not correſpond with the internal ſtructure of the cryſtals, which I have endeavoured to examine in another place.

From what I have hitherto mentioned, the opinion that the baſalts have been produced by cryſtallization, becomes at leaſt leſs probable, whether we admit the wet or dry method. But I muſt not omit that the ſpars exhibit a kind of cryſtallization, which at firſt ſight reſembles a heap of baſalts; but, upon a cloſer examination, a very great difference is obſerved. The form of the ſpar is every where alike, but the baſalts differ from one another in point of ſize and number of ſides; the former, when broken, conſiſts of many ſmall unequal cubes, but the baſalt does not ſeparate in regular parts, &c.

Nature's ſecond method to produce regular forms is that of cruſting the outer ſurface of a melted maſs, by a ſudden refrigeration. Nature, to effect this purpoſe, makes uſe of polyedrous and irregular forms. If we ſuppoſe a conſiderable bed, which is become fluid by fire, and ſpread over a plain, it evidently appears that the ſurface muſt firſt of all loſe the degree of heat requiſite for melting, and begin to congeal; but the cold requiſite for this purpoſe likewiſe contracts the uppermoſt congealed ſtratum into a narrower ſpace, and conſequently cauſes it to ſeparate from the remaining liquid maſs, as the ſide expoſed to the air is already too ſtiff to give way. In this manner a ſtratum is produced running in a parallel direction with the whole maſs, others ſtill are produced by the ſame cauſe, in proportion as the refrigeration penetrates deeper.

Hence we may, in my opinion, very plainly ſee how a bed may be divided into ſtrata. In the ſame manner the refrigeration advances on the ſides, and conſequently divides the ſtrata into polyedrous pieces of pillars, that can hardly ever be exactly ſquare, as the ſtrongeſt refrigeration into the inner parts of the maſs advances almoſt in a diagonal line from the corners. If we add to this, that a

large mafs cannot be equal throughout its compofition, nor every where liquid in the fame degree, it will be eafy to difcover the caufe of feveral irregularities. If the depth of the bed is very conſiderable, in proportion to its breadth, prifmatic pillars, without crofs-divifions, are produced, at leaft lengthways from the uppermoft furface downwards.

The third way is perfectly fimilar to the preceding in refpect to the effect, but is different from it by the mafs being foaked with water, and by the burfting of it afunder, which is the effect of the contraction whilft it is drying. If we fuppofe fuch a bed to be fpread over a level fpace, the drying advances in the fame manner as the refrigeration in the former cafe.

This feparation into ftrata properly happens when a conſiderable quantity of clay enters into the whole compofition, becaufe the clay decreafes more than any other kind of earth in drying.

We muft now examine which of thefe two ways may beft ſerve to explain the manner in which the bafalts are produced, for it is hardly poffible that they fhould have been formed by cryftallization.

However well founded the opinion may appear of deducing them from a melted fubftance, feveral very conſiderable objections may neverthelefs be raifed againft it, that I fhall not forget to mention. It ſeems therefore more credible to me, that they have been produced out of their fubftance whilft it was yet ſoft, or at leaft not too hard to be ſoftened by exhalations. If we therefore ſuppoſe that a bed is ſpread over a place where a volcano begins to work, it is evident that a great quantity of the water, always preſent on theſe occaſions, is driven upwards in exhalations or vapours; theſe it is well known poſſeſs a penetrating ſoftening power, by means of which they alſo produce their firſt effect; but when they are increaſed to a ſufficient quantity, they force this tough moiſt ſubſtance upwards, which then gradually falls, and during this time burſts in the manner deſcribed above.

My reaſons for this opinion are theſe; firſt, we do not find the internal grain of the baſalts melted or vitrified, which however ſoon happens by fuſion, and for that purpoſe a very ſmall degree of fire only is requiſite. It conſequently is very hard to explain how this ſubſtance could have been ſo fluid, that no traces of bubbles appear in it (at leaft I have not been able to diſcover any on the niceſt examination into the Scotch and Icelandic baſalts) and yet when broken appear dull and uneven. I know very well that lava is ſeldom vitrified within; but the great number of bubbles and pores which are found in the whole maſs, are more than ſufficient proofs that it has not been perfectly melted to its ſmalleſt parts, but has only been brought to be near fluid.

Secondly, the baſalts ſo much reſemble the more fine trapp, both in reſpect to their grain and original compoſition, that they can hardly be diſtinguiſhed in ſmall fragments, as will be more plainly proved in the compariſon I hereafter make. See No. 24.

But the trapp in all probability has never been melted, at leaft not in thoſe parts where I have

had

had opportunities of examining it.

Almoſt in all the Weſt Gothia ſtratified mountains, the uppermoſt ſtratum is trapp; and it muſt be properly obſerved that it always lies upon black allum ſlate. Is it therefore credible that this ſubſtance, which in many places exceeds a hundred yards in depth, can have been perfectly melted without cauſing the ſlate lying beneath it to loſe ſome part of its blackneſs, even in thoſe places where they touch one another, as this effect may be produced in a ſmall culinary fire?

There is beſides a more fine kind of trapp, which is generally found in veins or loads, and frequently in very antient mountains, where not the leaſt traces of ſubterranean fire are to be ſeen.

The baſalt mountains ſeem to be very antient, at leaſt I do not know that the age of any one is aſcertained. Should they then be ſo old, that the ſubſtance of the trapp was not yet perfectly hardened, when were they produced? Beſides, we frequently find to this day clayey ſubſtances at a great depth, which are ſo ſoft that they may be ſcraped by the nail, but afterwards become very hard when expoſed to the air.

There have without doubt been many eruptions of fire on the iſle of Staffa, as the ſituation of the pillars, and their being removed out of their places, evidently prove.

You, Sir, have likewiſe brought a very clear proof of this from thence, which is a piece of baſalt, that exteriorly is full of hollows, and in a manner burnt.

A hard ſubſtance, when expoſed to a degree of heat inſufficient to melt the whole piece, may however be attacked by it in ſome parts of the ſurface moſt liable to become fluid. The mixture of a large maſs is ſeldom every where ſo uniform, that ſome parts ſhould not be more liable to melt than others.

Crooked pillars may be produced as well by the drying as the refrigeration of a liquid maſs; for this purpoſe it is only neceſſary that the ſurface ſhould be bent, as the ſtratum always runs in a parallel direction with it.

From what I have hitherto ſaid, you will perceive it is my opinion, that the baſalts have been produced by the aſſiſtance of a ſubterranean fire, but that it is not yet determined whether they have been ſeparated by the fuſion, or by drying: this laſt however appears more credible to me on account of the reaſons I have mentioned. For to ſpeak ſtrictly, the ſubſtances incloſed in the baſalts, though they ſhould even be volcanic, do not yet with certainty prove a preceding fuſion, as a ſubſtance ſoftened by water may be as proper for it as one fuſed by fire. I am, however, very far from being inclined to maintain my opinion any farther than it agrees with certain experiments and obſervations.

Truth will ſooner or later be diſcovered; and I know nothing more derogatory to the honour of a natural hiſtorian, than having wilfully obſtructed its knowledge.

Homo naturæ miniſter & interpres, tantum facit & intelligit, quantum de naturæ ordine, re vel mente obſervaverit, nec amplius ſcit aut poteſt. *Baco.*

Natural Hiſtory of the Grana Kermes, or Scarlet Grain. From Dillon's *Travels through* Spain.

AMONGST the various and valuable productions with which the beneficent hand of nature has enriched the dominions of Spain, the *Grana Kermes* is chiefly deſerving of attention. This valuable production had been conſiderably neglected in that kingdom ſince the importation of cochineal from America; however, the royal Junta de Comercio, or board of trade at Madrid, having an eye to the further advantages to be drawn from this precious article, gave orders a few years ago to Don Juan Pablo Canals, director general of the madder and dyes of Spain, to report the ſtate of this product; and to him I am indebted for the preſent information on this ſubject.

The granæ kermes is the *coccos baphica* of the Greeks; the vermiculus, or coccum inſectorium of the Romans; and the kermes, alkermes, of the Arabs; being the ingredient with which the antients uſed to dye their garments of that beautiful grain colour, called coccinus, coccineus, or cocceus, different from the purpura of the Phœnicians, which at firſt had been obtained from that teſtaceous fiſh, called the murex*. But in courſe of time the purple colour and other tints having been more eaſily effected by means of the kermes, the murex was neglected on account of the expence, and the kermes we are now ſpeaking of, was introduced; which giving a ſtronger and brighter colour, was univerſally adopted, and ſupported its reputation for ages, till the diſcovery of America; as is evident from the many old tapeſtries, damaſks, and velvet hangings, ſtill preſerved in cathedrals, which ſeem yet to retain their primitive luſtre and brightneſs†.

In the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, Giles and John Gobelin, in the year 1667, under the patronage of Colbert, introduced the ſecret into France of dying woollen of that beautiful ſcarlet called after their name, which was done with the kermes that had been long in uſe in Flanders, where many old pieces of tapeſtry, though above two hundred years old, had ſcarcely loſt any thing of their bloom. But cochineal, being now introduced into the dyehouſe, ſo called from the Latin word coccinella, as a diminutive of coccum, and giving that brightneſs to ſcarlet, at firſt called Dutch, and afterwards Paris ſcarlet, the invention of which, according to Kun-

* Though the dye obtained from the murex was thought to have been loſt, it ſeems to be known on the coaſts of England, France, Spain, and the Weſt Indies, though neglected on account of the great trouble and expence. See Padre Feijoo, Theat. critico, tom. 6. diſc. 4. According to Gage, they find a ſhell-fiſh in the ſeas of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, which perfectly reſembles the antient purpura, and in all probability is the ſame. Cloth of Segovia dyed with it, uſed to ſell for 20 crowns the ell, and none but the greateſt Spaniſh lords wore it. Don Antonio de Ulloa alſo gives a particular account of this fiſh, and the uſe made of it in America.

† This was the colour called *carmeſi*, by the Spaniards; cramoiſi, by the French; and crimſon, by the Engliſh.

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kel, is owing to Kuſter, a German, by means of a ſolution of tin in aqua regia; the kermes then began to decline, and yield in its turn as the murex had done before, of which Colbert makes a particular complaint, in his general inſtructions to the dyers of France, in the year 1671 *. Inſenſibly, the kermes was totally laid aſide, and cochineal made uſe of, not only in yarns, but alſo in ſilk; this new method being every where in faſhion, except at Venice, and in Perſia, for ſcarlet, and in other parts of the eaſt for crimſon.

The antients thought the kermes was a gall-nut on account of its figure and ſize, not being larger than a juniper berry, round, ſmooth, gloſſy, and rather black, with a cinereous down. It is found ſticking to the branches, or tender leaves of the oak called in Spain *coſcoxa*, a derivative of the Latin word cuſculium, the coccus illicis of Linneus, likewiſe called *carraſca* in Spaniſh, from the Arabic word *yxquerlat*, ſoftened afterwards to *eſcarlata*; being the ſmalleſt ſpecies of oak, the ſame which Caſpar Bauhine and other botaniſts call ilex aculeata cocci-glandifera.

This tree, whoſe height is about two or three feet, grows in Spain, Provence, Languedoc, and along the Mediterranean coaſt; alſo in Galatia, Armenia, Syria, and Perſia, where it was firſt made uſe of.

Joſeph Moya, a Catalan writer of the laſt century, publiſhed a treatiſe entitled *Ramillet de Tinturas*, dedicated to the city of Barcelona, under the feigned name of Phefio Mayo. He ſays, the kermes is common all over Spain, principally in that part of Aragon bordering on Catalonia, in Valencia, and in the biſhoprick of Badajoz in Eſtremadura, as likewiſe in Setimbre of Portugal, where it is the beſt, and equal to the kermes of Galatia and Armenia. Mr. Hellot of the French academy of ſciences, in his Art of Dying, chap. 12. ſays it is found in the woods of Vauvert, Vendeman, and Narbonne; but more abundantly in Spain, towards Alicant, and Valencia. It not only abounds in Valencia, but alſo in Murcia, Jaen, Cordova, Seville, Eſtremadura, la Mancha, Serranias de Cuenca, and other places.

In Xixona and Tierra de Relleu, there is a diſtrict, called De la Grana, where the people of Valencia firſt began to gather it, whoſe example was followed all over Spain. It has, ſome years, produced thirty thouſand dollars (5000 l.) to the inhabitants of Xixona. In the year 1758, there went out of that town, Relleu, Buſſot, Caſtilla, Ibi, Tibi, Unil, Santa faz, Muchiamel, and San Juan de la Huerta de Alicante,

* "As the Phœnicians neglected the antient purple, and gave a preference to the ſcarlet, whoſe colour is leſs coſtly and more beautiful; juſt ſo, the French have forſaken our ſcarlet for that of the Dutch. This new-invented colour was at firſt in eſteem on account of its brightneſs; but being leſs durable than that of France, and under a notion that they were both equally liable to ſpots, they were ſoon laid aſide, which occaſioned the downfal of our moſt valuable cloth manufactures."

above a thouſand perſons to gather the kermes, which was afterwards ſent to Alicant, where it was put into caſks for exportation, being chiefly ſhipped for Genoa and Leghorn, paſſing from thence to Tunis. In the ſame year, 1758, they gathered about 300 arrobes of kermes at Xixona, which ſold for about twenty-four dollars (4l.) the arrobe *, with about ſix per cent. duty and ſhipping charges, till on board. In the kingdom of Seville it is put up to public ſale, and is generally bought by the people of the neighbourhood, who ſell it again for exportation to the merchants of Cadiz.

Both antients and moderns ſeem to have had very confuſed notions concerning the origin and nature of the kermes; ſome conſidering it as a fruit, without a juſt knowledge of the tree which produced it; others, taking it for an excreſcence formed by the puncture of a particular fly, the ſame as the common gall obſerved upon oaks. Tournefort was of this number. Count Marſigli, and Dr. Niſole, a phyſician of Montpelier, made experiments and obſervations, with a view of further diſcoveries, but did not perfectly ſucceed. Two other phyſicians at Aix, in Provence, Dr. Emeric, and Dr. Garidel, applied themſelves about the ſame time, and with greater ſucceſs; having finally diſcovered that the kermes is in reality nothing elſe but the body of an inſect transformed into a grain, berry or huſk, according to the courſe of nature; whoſe hiſtory I ſhall now briefly relate:

The progreſs of this transformation muſt be conſidered at three different ſeaſons. In the firſt ſtage, at the beginning of March, an animalcule, no larger than a grain of millet, ſcarce able to crawl, is perceived ſticking to the branches of the tree, where it fixes itſelf, and ſoon becomes immoveable; at this period it grows the moſt, appears to ſwell and thrive with the ſuſtenance it draws in by degrees: this ſtate of reſt ſeems to have deceived the curious obſerver, it then reſembling an excreſcence of the bark: during this period of its growth, it appears to be covered with a down, extending over its whole frame, like a net, and adhering to the bark: its figure is convex, not unlike a ſmall ſloe: in ſuch parts as are not quite hidden by this ſoft garment, many bright ſpecks are perceived of a gold colour, as well as ſtripes running acroſs the body from one ſpace to another.

At the ſecond ſtage in April, its growth is compleated, its ſhape is then round, and about the ſize of a pea: it has then acquired more ſtrength, and its down is changed into duſt, and ſeems to be nothing but a huſk, or a capſule, full of a reddiſh juice not unlike diſcoloured blood.

Its third ſtate is towards the end of May, a little ſooner or later, according to the warmth of the climate. The huſk appears replete with ſmall eggs, leſs than the ſeed of a poppy. Theſe are properly ranged under the belly of the inſect, progreſſively placed in the neſt of down, that covers its body,

* An arrobe is 25lb. Spaniſh weight; 100lb. Spaniſh weight equal to 97lb. Engliſh.

which

which it withdraws in proportion to the number of eggs: after this work is performed, it ſoon dies, though it ſtill adheres to its poſition, rendering a further ſervice to its progeny, and ſhielding them from the inclemency of the weather or the hoſtile attacks of an enemy. In a good ſeaſon they multiply exceedingly, having from 1800 to 2000 eggs, which produce the ſame number of animalcules. The antients knew them to be inſects, for Pliny ſays, "Coccum ilicis celerrime in vermiculum ſe mutans." Lib. 24. ſect. 4. When obſerved with the microſcope in July or Auguſt, we find that what appeared as duſt, are ſo many eggs, or open capſules, as white as ſnow, out of each of which iſſues a gold coloured animalcule, of the ſhape of a cockroche, with two horns, ſix feet, and a forked tail.

Mr. De Reaumur has placed the kermes in the claſs of gall inſects, on account of the analogy in their mode of propagation, and immoveable form, continuing even after death, like the other ſpecies of this claſs, found upon different trees, appearing only like galls, or excreſcences, to the moſt accurate naturaliſts: therefore they could not be more properly named, than gall inſects. There are of them of different ſhapes and ſizes, but that of the *coſcoxa* or *carraſca* (the kermes) is of a ſpherical figure, about the ſize of a juniper berry. It is found moſt plentifully on the oldeſt and loweſt trees, and when the kermes are gathered near the ſea, they are larger and give a brighter colour than thoſe in any other places.

There are ſeveral ſpecies of galls diſcovered on different trees and plants of Spain, though they only make uſe of thoſe gathered on oaks, either for dying, or any other purpoſes; ſuch are thoſe, from the Levant, called Aleppo galls, which were generally made uſe of, till it was diſcovered by frequent experiments, that the new ingredient called dividivi was preferable, being a fruit from the province of Carracas, and Maracaybo, in South America.

The great myſtery which hitherto had not been diſcovered, by thoſe naturaliſts who knew how to diſtinguiſh the gall inſect from the galls, was to inveſtigate their mode of propagation: Mr. de Reaumur aſſures us, that from frequent obſervations it appeared to him, that there are both male and female, but that ſome which are extremely ſmall, tranſform themſelves into gnats, while others, growing larger, depoſit their eggs, without any tranſformation; from which, and their analogy with the others, he concluded, that the ſmall gnats with wings, though large in compariſon with their body, and ſtriped with a beautiful crimſon, were the males of the gall inſect which he obſerved with the help of a microſcope, ſeeing how they fecundate the females, before they aſſume a globular form towards March; but this happens when it is ſcarcely ever noticed, and in ſo ſingular a manner, that a common obſerver would never imagine ſuch an event to have happened, or even ſuppoſe, that the males which he ſaw friſking about, had the leaſt connection with the females; but on the contrary, were ſmall gnats which accidentally light upon the ſame boughs; if to this ob-

ſervation, we add, that as the new kermes which come forth in June, remain ſmall without engaging our attention till March enſuing, when they begin to ſwell without any appearance of animal life, it will not be thought ſo extraordinary, that they have been generally held as a vegetable production. In Languedoc, and Provence, the poor are employed to gather the kermes, the women letting their nails grow for that purpoſe, in order to pick them off with greater facility.

The cuſtom of lopping off the boughs is very injudicious, as by this means they deſtroy the next year's harveſt. Some women will gather two or three pounds a day, the great point being to know the places where they are moſt likely to be found in any quantity, and to gather them early with the morning dew, as the leaves are more pliable and tender at that time, than after they have been dried and parched by the rays of the ſun; ſtrong dews will occaſionally make them fall from the trees ſooner than uſual: when the proper ſeaſon paſſes, they fall off of themſelves, and become food for birds, particularly doves. Sometimes there will be a ſecond production, which is commonly of a leſs ſize with a fainter tinge. The firſt is generally found adhering to the bark, as well as on the branches and ſtalks; the ſecond is principally on the leaves, as the worms chooſe that part where the nutritious juice preſerves itſelf the longeſt, is moſt abundant, and can be moſt eaſily devoured in the ſhort time that remains of their exiſtence, the bark being then drier and harder than the leaves.

Thoſe who buy the kermes to ſend to foreign parts, ſpread it on linen, taking care to ſprinkle it with vinegar, to kill the worms that are within, which produces a red duſt which in Spain is ſeparated from the huſk. Then they let it dry, paſſing it through a ſearce, and make it up into bags. In the middle of each its proportion of red duſt put in a little leather bag alſo belongs to the buyer, and then it is ready for exportation, being always in demand on the African coaſt.

The people of Hinojos, Bonares, Villalba, and other parts of the kingdom of Seville, dry it on mats in the ſun, ſtirring it about, and ſeparating the red duſt, which is the fineſt part, and being mixed with vinegar, goes by the name of *Paſtel*. The ſame is done with the huſks; but theſe have but half the value of the duſt.

There is no doubt, but if this branch of induſtry was more cloſely attended to, there is yet room for improvement, and the kermes would give a brighter colour, ſimilar to that obtained from the cochineal, likewiſe an inſect found in the Mexican woods on a plant called nopal by the Americans, and *tuna* by the Spaniards; being the opuntia maxima folio obtuſo rotundo of Sir Hans Sloane, and the cactus opuntia of Linneus.

It is remarked that thoſe plants which are cultivated by art, give a much finer cochineal, known by the name of meſtica, ſo called from the quantities collected of it in the diſtrict of Meteca, in the province of Honduras *.

But neither the cochineal, the kermes, or any ſimilar production,

* See ſecond memoir of Mr. de Reaumur, tom. 4.

would

would afford that beautiful colour, were it not for the ſalts employed in the lye by the dyers, to bring it to perfection. Mr. Maquer, in his art of dying ſilks, aſſures us, that the white tartar employed for crimſon colours, gives by means of its acidity, that brilliancy to cochineal, and that though other acids might produce the ſame effect, it would not be with ſo much ſucceſs. Mr. Goguet, in his "origin of laws, arts and ſciences," tells us, the antients uſed a great deal of ſalt, to make their dyes ſolid, and permanent, ſupplying the place of our chemical preparations by other ſecrets unknown to us. Plutarch, in the life of Alexander the Great, mentions, that conqueror having found in the treaſures of the King of Perſia a prodigious quantity of purple ſtuffs, which though they had lain by above one hundred and ninety years, ſtill preſerved their luſtre, becauſe they had been prepared with honey; behold, ſays Mr. Goguet, a ſecret unknown to us! but if we reflect for a moment, that honey is a vegetable ſalt, like ſugar, we ſhall find it to be the ſame as tartar, which is no more than an eſſential ſalt of wine; ſo that the ſalts employed by the antients, were equivalent to thoſe uſed at preſent in the dye-houſe. Probably the ſalts of fruits have the ſame effect in the manner they are uſed in Perſia for dying of ſilk, where, inſtead of tartar and honey, they uſe the pulp of red melons, well dried, mixed with allum, barilla, and other ſalts.

The kermes of Spain is preferred on the coaſt of Barbary, on account of its goodneſs. The people of Tunis mix it with that of Tetuan, for dying thoſe ſcarlet caps ſo much uſed in the Levant. The Tuniſians export every year above one hundred and fifty thouſand dozen of theſe caps, which yields to the Dey a revenue of one hundred and fifty thouſand hard dollars, (33,750l.) per annum for duties; ſo that, excluſive of the uſes and advantages of kermes in medicine, it appears to be a very valuable branch of commerce in Spain, and there is ſtill ſufficient encouragement to uſe every effort for its improvement.

The Method of making Saltpetre in Spain. *From the ſame.*

IN the year 1754. I received orders from the miniſtry to inſpect into ſeveral ſaltpetre works, as well as into the making of gunpowder, which having complied with, the following reflections occurred to my mind.

All the profeſſors of chemiſtry I had converſed with, either in France or in Germany, laid down as a fixed principle, that there are three mineral acids in nature: that the vitriolic, is the univerſal one, belonging to metals, from whence the other two ariſe, That the nitrous is ſecond in activity, and belongs to the vegetable kingdom, and the marine being the weakeſt of all, is homogeneous to fiſh. They do not include the animal acid, which, united with the phlogiſton, forms the phoſphorus. I was further taught, that the fixed alkali of ſaltpetre, did not exiſt purely, and ſimply in nature, but was generated by fire, and when they found ſaltpetre, to be dug out of the earth naturally in the Eaſt-

East-Indies, they thought to solve the difficulty, by saying it proceeded from the incineration of woods, which had impregnated the earth with this fixed alkali, the basis of saltpetre; so that I had been led to believe, it was formed by certain combinations, that took place in the act of combustion; but I soon found my error, when I had seen the method of making saltpetre in the different provinces of Spain. I have now evident proofs that the basis of nitre really exists in the earth and in plants, the same as in the *Soda* of Alicant. Let these learned gentlemen come to Spain, they may convince themselves of this truth, and see saltpetre with its alkaline basis, in the manufactures of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia, where it is made without the assistance of vegetable matter; sometimes throwing in a handful of ashes of matweed, merely to filter the lye of earth, and though they often meet with gypseous stone in the neighbourhood of their works, yet they make excellent saltpetre by boiling the lixivium of their lands only, in which they do not find an atom of gypsum; consequently they have gunpowder in Spain, without being indebted for its fixed alkali, to the vegetable kingdom, and without the visible or sensible conversion of the vitriolic acid of gypsum into the nitrous.

Having thus discovered in Spain a perfect fixed alkali in the earth, I pursued my observations on other salts, and vegetable productions, and after many reflections and experiments, I discovered that similar fixed alkalies, many oils, and neutral salts, proceed from different combinations of the air, earth, and water, with such matters as the air conveys in a dissolved state, and that these three elements, rising, falling, and meeting, combine together, and form new bodies in the organs of vegetation.

Those who are versed in physics, agree, that all the substances of the very globe we inhabit, consist of the combinations of fire, water, earth, and air; why then deny them the power of combining, in the living organs of plants? when we so often perceive in them, the faculty of changing, and transforming productions in the kingdom of nature. In proof of it, we find that many cruciformed plants give, by analysis, the same volatile alkali as animals, notwithstanding that their tubes are similar to the eye with those that give acids.

Some plants have their roots so small, and yet their branches, leaves and fruit so ponderous, that it appears impossible, so inconsiderable a root should draw sufficient nurture out of the earth for such various purposes. It seems therefore, that the ambient air, containing many dissolved bodies, penetrates into the plants, and combines in the vegetative tubes, forming those substances discovered by analysation.

I have frequently seen water melons in Spain weigh from twenty to thirty pounds, with a stem of only two or three ounces, so great was the increase of the fibrous and tubulous substance of those plants, owing to the watery particles they imbibed from the air. It should seem then, that many plants draw their principal support from the air, water, and a small portion of

earth,

earth, combined by the imperceptible labour of the vegetative tubes, and veſſels of air, which convert thoſe matters into the products we contemplate, and taſte; many plants producing all theſe effects in water only; and we find that mint, and other odoriferous plants whoſe roots grow in water, and in the air, give the ſame ſpiritus rector, and oils, as thoſe that grow in the earth.

Botaniſts know very well that thoſe aquatic plants that ſpring up from the bottom of waters have, with a very trifling deviation, the ſame properties and qualities in the frozen regions, as in ſultry and parching climates, and that their acrimony, cauſticity, inſipidity, and coolneſs, are invariable.

The experiments made by Van Helmont on the willow-tree, making it grow in water and a ſmall portion of dried earth, ſhew how much air, and water, added to the internal labour of plants, contribute to vegetation.

In the memoirs of the French academy of ſciences, we find experiments of a celebrated chemiſt, to prove the exiſtence of three neutral ſalts, in the extract of borrage. If he had gone further, and proved that one of theſe three ſalts, exiſted in the earth, which produced the borrage, he would have illuſtrated the ſyſtem of phyſics, and cleared up the point I am ſpeaking of. The ſame memoirs mention another academician, who reared an oak for many years, only with water, the conſequences of which ſpeak for themſelves.

There are millions of firs about Valladolid, and Tortoſa, replete with turpentine, and growing in a ſmall portion of earth, and great qaantity of ſand, in which it would be difficult to prove that the thouſandth part of the turpentine, ſo plentifully produced by theſe trees, had exiſted; of courſe, it muſt be owing to channels of air, connected with the tubes of vegetation.

The conductory veſſels of the wormwood of Granada, convey a bitterneſs to the very juice of the ſugar cane, which grows by its ſide: the ſoil of the king's botanic garden at Madrid, is of one equal kind, for all the different plants that are reared there; yet ſome produce a wholeſome fruit, while others near them, are poiſonous; and one, with fixed alkali, will thrive cloſe to another, full of volatile alkali.

The mountains and vallies of Spain, as well as the gardens, are full of aromatic plants, yet I do not know that any body has ever extracted by analyſis, any aromatic water, or volatile oil, from any uncultivated land.

The variation of ſoil, or culture, may alter the form of plants, change the luſtre of their drapery, or give additional flavour to their fruit, but it can never change their eſſence and nature. In proof of this, it is known, there is only one indigenous tulip in Europe, (I found it in flower near Almaden,) it is ſmall, yellow, and ugly, appearing only in the ſpring. Gardeners may invent modes of cultivation, try all the climates of Europe, they may produce larger tulips with brighter colours, but they all will be inodorous; and the little tulip of Spain will give, by analyſis, the very ſame product as the moſt ſuperb of the eaſt, whoſe beautiful garment in common

common with other gay flowers, is owing to the phlogiſton in the organs of vegetation, and not to iron as has been thought. This phlogiſton is manifeſt by analyſis in the leaves, where the leaſt atom of iron has never been diſcovered.

There are many lands in Spain which naturally produce ſaltpetre, ſea-ſalt, and vitriolic ſalts; but the plants which grow ſpontaneouſly in thoſe ſoils, give by analyſis the ſame product as thoſe of their ſpecies in gardens, where there never was any appearance of ſaltpetre, ſea-ſalt, or vitriolic acid.

Analize as often as you pleaſe, thoſe plants ſo numerous near iron mines, whoſe roots penetrate into the very ore, or thoſe that grow in ferruginous and ſuperficial earth, I am ſure you will not collect from their roots, branches, aſhes, extracts, or oils, more iron, than what is found in the ſame ſpecies of plants that ſpring up in places without the leaſt communication with any ſuch minerals.

Whatever efficacy there may be in culture, and manure, to remove, abſorb, and open the pores of the earth, enriching the watery particles, that riſe in the vegetative tubes, conveying new ſubſtances which contribute to that perfection, we obſerve, from the ſoil, and which they loſe when tranſplanted, yet they ſtill attain various ſubſtances of vegetation from the air, which chemiſts may look for in vain in the earth*.

Many plants are emollient in the ſpring and ſummer, and aſtringent in autumn and winter. Their mucilaginous quality admits of alteration in the tubes, and the combination of earth, air, and water, engenders a vitriolic acid †, juſt as the alkali and the leaves receive colour from the phlogiſton; from whence I conceive the reaſon of the nitrous ſoil in Spain, abounding with ſuch a prodigious quantity of fixed natural alkali; which calls to my mind what is fondly advanced by the adepts, "that ſome lands have the natural properties of loadſtone to attract peculiar ſubſtances from the air."

It is certain then, that plants have proper tubes to attract the elements, and form a natural fixed alkali, and have peculiar ſeparate principles which only combine by the means of fire in the act of combuſtion to form that artificial fixed alkali I had been taught to believe was the only one that exiſted in nature.

Perhaps the ſoda and ſalicornia may thrive better when nurtured by ſalt water, but it is no leſs certain that the alkaline baſis of common ſalt is found formed in theſe two plants, and in many others as well as in the barilla, which is ſowed in many parts of Spain, where they make as good ſoap as that famous ſort at Alicant made with ſoda and ſalicornia. With reſpect to neutral ſalts, there are at leaſt five ſubſtances, in which they

* The ingenious author of this reaſoning does not ſeem to be aware, that it would be equally fruitleſs to look for theſe ſubſtances in the water, or in the air. It is true that we cannot extract turpentine from the ſand, or from the earth, in which the fir trees of Valladolid and Tortoſa grow; but it is equally true, that we cannot extract it either from the air, or from the water of thoſe countries.

† The exiſtence of vitriolic acid in vegetables has not yet been proved.

are found, viz. earth, plants, ſalt water, mineral, and artificial ſubſtances.

After this digreſſion, let us now ſee how ſaltpetre is generally made in France and in Spain; I ſay nothing of England or Holland, becauſe they make none, importing what they want from the Eaſt Indies, where it is found naturally in the earth, as in Spain, where I have ſeen ſaltpetre made with the lixivium of nitrous earth, collected in places where perhaps there never was a tree nor a plant.

In Paris they have ſeventeen ſaltpetre works: every thing that is carried on there, as well as in other parts of the kingdom, is done according to royal ordinances, in the manner I am going to relate: the rubbiſh and filth of old houſes is carried to the works, and pounded with hammers; the duſt is then put into caſks, perforated at bottom, the aperture covered with ſtraw, to give a free paſſage to the liquor. Water is then poured on this duſt, which in its paſſage carries away all the ſaline matter. This impregnated matter is called a lye, which if they were at that period to boil, would produce ſaltpetre of a greaſy nature; to remedy this, they purchaſe the aſhes of all the wood fires in Paris, from which they alſo draw a lye that is mixed with the former, then boil up the whole*. In proportion as the water evaporates, the common ſalt which cryſtallizes when hot, ſoon falls to the bottom of the cauldron, and the ſaltpetre, which only cryſtallizes when cool, remains diſſolved in the water. They draw off this water, loaded with ſaltpetre, into other veſſels, and place it in the ſhade, where the nitre cryſtallizes. This is called ſaltpetre of the firſt boiling, having ſtill ſome remains of common ſalt, earth, and greaſy matter, incorporated with it; it is conveyed to the arſenal to be properly refined, being boiled over again, and left to cryſtallize two or three times, or more if found neceſſary; by which means it is cleared of all its impurities, and becomes perfectly adapted to the making of gunpowder, and the other uſes to which it is applied in the arts; but for medical purpoſes, it muſt undergo another purification. Thoſe who are curious of being more exactly informed, may find a very accurate account of theſe works in the memoirs of the academy of ſciences by Mr. Petit, to which I refer them.

In Spain, where a third part of all the lands, and the very duſt on the roads in the eaſtern and ſouthern parts of the kingdom, contain natural ſaltpetre, I have ſeen them prepare it in the following manner:

They plough the ground two or three times in winter, and ſpring, near the villages. In Auguſt they pile it up in heaps of twenty and thirty feet high: then fill with this earth a range of veſſels, of a conic ſhape, perforated at bottom, obſerving to cover the aperture with mat-weed and a few aſhes, two

* The fact ſeems to be this; the ſalt they obtain from the lye of the rubbiſh, is a nitre with an earthy baſis, the fixed vegetable alkali procured from the wood aſhes is then added; this alkali precipitates the earth from the nitrous acid, and taking its place, forms true ſaltpetre.

or

or three fingers deep, that the water may juſt filter through. They then pour on the water, (ſometimes without putting any aſhes); the lye that reſults from this operation is put into a boiler. The common ſalt, which as we ſaid before precipitates, and cryſtallizes when warm, falls to the bottom of the cauldron in a proportion of 40 lb. to a quintal of materials *; then the liquor is poured into buckets placed in the ſhade, where it ſhoots, and cryſtallizes into ſaltpetre. The great quantity of common ſalt which accompanies the nitre, makes me think, that the marine acid with its baſis is converted into nitre. The ſame earth, deprived of its nitrous quality by this proceſs, is again carried back to the fields, and expoſed to the elements, by which means in the courſe of a twelvemonth, aſſiſted by the all-powerful and inviſible hand of nature, it again becomes impregnated with a freſh ſupply of nitre; and what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, and cannot be obſerved without admiring the wonderful works of the omnipotent Creator, the ſame lands have produced time immemorial an equal quantity of ſaltpetre; ſo that if the ſupreme power was to annihilate all the factitious ſaltpetre of France and Germany, Spain alone could ſupply the reſt of the world, without the aid of a fixed alkali, aſhes or vegetables, if public œconomy joined hands with induſtry, and aſſiſted in bringing theſe great points to perfection. I once aſked one of theſe people the reaſon of that conſtant production of ſaltpetre, but his only anſwer was, "I have two fields, I ſow one "with corn, and have a crop, I "plough the other, and it fur-"niſhes me ſaltpetre."

This ſaltpetre thus cryſtallized is ſimilar to that of Paris of the firſt boiling. In Spain they only boil it once more, and it becomes perfect, and proper for making of gunpowder, aqua fortis, and other purpoſes of the ſhops. Its baſis placed in a cellar, attracts the dampneſs of the air, loſes its activity, and forms a fixed alkali, which mixed with the vitriolic acid, forms a vitriolated tartar, a certain proof that the nitrous air of Spain is natural and perfect in itſelf, without the aſſiſtance of any fixed alkali whatever.

I ſhall not dwell upon the proportion of ſaltpetre, ſulphur, and coal, uſed in the making of gunpowder; as it depends upon experience, and is generally known. I was preſent at the proofs made by the king's officers in Granada, to aſcertain whether the powder had the qualities required, in order to be admitted or refuſed; but I do not think thoſe proofs were to the purpoſe, as new made powder perhaps may throw a ball to the diſtance required; yet to form a true judgment of its real quality and goodneſs, it ſhould be tried in different places and climates, and at various ſeaſons of the year; for I am convinced that the gunpowder which would come up to the ſtrength required by the king in the dry and warm climate of Andaluſia, would be found defi-

* The Spaniſh quintal is 100 lb. weight, and about 97 lb. Engliſh. The arrobe of Madrid is 25 lb. Spaniſh, and four arrobes make one quintal.

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cient in the damp and moiſt air of Galicia, which ſhews how little ſuch experiments are to be depended upon. Of all the inventions I know of for this purpoſe, the leaſt imperfect is that of Mr. Darcy, a deſign of which may be ſeen in the firſt volume of Mr. Beaume's treatiſe on chemiſtry.

When the Count de Aranda was director of the engineers, I remember an old officer of artillery informed me that in the laſt wars in Italy, he had ſeen barrels of gunpowder, that were good in the morning, and bad the next night: this did not ſurprize me, knowing the variations of weather, and the effects of dampneſs piercing thro' the caſks and damaging the powder, ſo as to render it unfit for ſervice, for which reaſon every precaution ſhould be taken to guard againſt theſe inconveniences.

Extract from Dr. Ingenhouſz's *Account of a new inflammable Air, which can be made in a Moment, without Apparatus, and is as fit for Exploſion as any other inflammable Gaſſes.*

[*From the Philoſ. Tranſ.* Vol. 69.]

THE diſcovery of the various kinds of inflammable airs or gaſſes becoming powerfully exploſive, when they are mixed with a ſufficient quantity of common air, and ſtill more ſo when they are combined with dephlogiſticated air, is one of thoſe improvements in natural philoſophy which, giving occaſion to various amuſing and intereſting experiments, have caſt at the ſame time a new light upon ſome powerful agents, whoſe miſchievous force was known, though their nature was ſtill in the dark.

As thoſe inflammable airs have been of late years one of the principal philoſophical amuſements, I intend to lay before the Royal Society an eaſy method of producing, without any trouble or particular apparatus, ſuch quantity of an inflammable air or gaſs as may be required.

Being at Amſterdam in November 1777, Meſſieurs Æneae and Cuthbertſon, two ingenious philoſophers of that city, were ſo good as to ſhew me ſome curious experiments with exploſive and inflammable airs of different kinds. They produced an inflammable air, by mixing together equal quantities of oil of vitriol and ſpirit of wine, and applying heat to the phial containing the compound. A great quantity of white vapour was extricated, which, paſſing up the inverted receiver filled with water, ſettled at the top and depreſſed the water, as other airs do. This air ſoon became clear, the white fumes being abſorbed by the water. This air was eaſily lighted in an open cylindrical glaſs, and burnt almoſt as clear as a candle, the flame deſcending gradually lower and lower till it reached the bottom. A very little quantity of this air mixed with common or dephlogiſticated air, for inſtance, one fourteenth or one tenth part, and kindled by an electrical ſpark, exploded with a very loud report, and ſhattered the glaſs to pieces in which it was kindled, when it did not find a ready vent.

They had contrived a kind of a piſtol for the purpoſe, conſiſting of a ſtrong cylindrical glaſs tube with a piſton adapted to it. To the end

end of this tube was fixed a braſs barrel, like that of a common piſtol: into this barrel a braſs bullet was put looſe, ſo that the barrel was placed a little above the level, to prevent the bullet rolling out. The barrel was directed to a board of oak at eight or ten feet diſtance. A proper quantity of common and inflammable air (produced in the manner above mentioned) being drawn into the glaſs tube by means of the piſton, it was fired by directing an electrical exploſion through it. The exploſion was very loud: the ball hit the board with ſuch a force that it made a ſtrong impreſſion in it, and recoiled with a conſiderable force, ſo as to hit the wall behind us, and to put us in ſome danger of being hurt by its rebounding force.

The ſame gentlemen told me, that this inflammable air had in ſome reſpects the advantage over the inflammable airs extracted from metals by the vitriolic or marine acid, and that extracted from mud or marſhes; becauſe this air being heavier than either of theſe airs, and even than common air, is not ſo eaſily loſt out of an open veſſel; and, that when it eſcapes into the open air, it agreeably perfumes the room with the ſmell of *ſpiritus vitrioli dulcis* or æther; whereas the other inflammable airs, which from their leſs ſpecific gravity eſcape eaſily into the common air, yield an offenſive, diſagreeable ſtench.

Mr. Æneae, having examined the ſpecific gravities of the different inflammable airs compared with common air, favoured me with the following reſult of his inquiries:

A veſſel, which contained the weight of 138 grains of common air, contained 25 grains of inflammable air extracted from iron by vitriolic acid, and 92 grains of inflammable air extracted from mud or marſhes, and 150 grains of that extracted from oil of vitriol and ſpirit of wine.

I was much pleaſed with the above-mentioned experiment, and immediately thought that the operation of extracting this inflammable air or vapour could be diſpenſed with by employing vitriolic æther, which in reality is contained in the vapour expelled by heat from oil of vitriol and ſpirit of wine, which vapour, condenſed in the proceſs of diſtillation, yields æther.

The firſt attempts I made proved unſucceſsful; however, the reaſons why I did not ſucceed in the beginning I found afterwards to be, either that I employed too great a quantity of æther, or that the air or vapour of the æther was not thoroughly incorporated with the other air; for the ſame number of drops of æther poured into the air piſtol, which would not produce an exploſion when the piſtol was not ſhaken, made a very loud one when it was forcibly agitated.

The ſureſt method of ſucceeding I find to be the following: I dip a ſmall glaſs tube, open on both ſides, and the bore of which is one twelfth of an inch in diameter, into a phial containing æther, and when two or three drops of the liquid have entered the tube I apply my finger to the upper end of it, to keep the liquor ſuſpended. I take the tube out of the phial, and thruſt it immediately into a ſmall *caoutchouck*, or elaſtic gum bottle: this being

being done, I withdraw my finger from the tube, and take it out of the *caoutchouck*; thus the little quantity of æther, ſuſpended in the end of the tube, is dropped into the *caoutchouck*, the neck of which is to be immediately inverted into the orifice of the air piſtol, and, after giving it a gentle ſqueeze, withdrawn out of it: after which, a bullet or a cork is to be thruſt into the mouth of the piſtol, when it is ready for firing. This whole operation may be performed in the ſpace of five or ſix ſeconds.

The conſiderable force of explo-ſion, and the loud report of the ordinary inflammable airs, induced Mr. Volta, of Como, to believe, that theſe airs might, perhaps, become a ſubſtitute to gunpowder. If this expectation had been well founded, the greateſt *deſideratum* would, I think, have been to find out a way to produce ſuch air at any time without trouble, and to carry it about in as little compaſs as poſſible: which two conditions I ſhould have pretty nearly fulfilled, as all the inflammable air requiſite for the exploſion of the piſtols contrived by Mr. Volta is contained in the bulk of one ſingle drop of æther; which drop, poured in the piſtol itſelf, is full ſufficient to produce a very powerful exploſion.

I found that æther, in which as much urinous phoſphorus is diſſolved as will make it luminous in the dark, when ſome drops are poured upon water; is very briſk in taking fire, when employed for an inflammable air piſtol; but that the experiment, when repeated, will be apt to fail, becauſe the phoſphoric acid which remains in the piſtol, and by its nature attracts the humidity of the atmoſphere, will ſoon fill the inſide of the piſtol with a coat of moiſture, and prevent the electrical ſpark from kindling the inflammable air.

It appeared, that a little camphire diſſolved in æther increaſes its exploſive force, and makes it leſs apt to fail.

As this inflammable air is heavier than common air, it is clear, that the mouth of the air piſtol ſhould be kept upwards at the time of charging it; whereas it is better to invert the piſtol when the ordinary inflammable airs are employed, which, being ſpecifically lighter than common air, riſe of themſelves in the piſtol when its mouth is placed inverted upon the orifice of the veſſel which contains them.

It is true, that the ſqueezing the elaſtic gum bottle, when placed upon the piſtol, forces ſome of the inflammable gaſs out of it, which is loſt in the common air; but notwithſtanding this waſte, the inflammable air which remains in the piſtol is ſufficient to produce a loud report, which is all that is required. Indeed, one ſingle drop of the æther could be eaſily ſhaken out of the glaſs tube immediately into the piſtol, without making uſe of the elaſtic gum bottle; but this drop, evaporating into elaſtic air, leaves behind it a good deal of moiſture, whether inherent in the æther itſelf, or attracted from the atmoſphere. This moiſture, in the way I uſe to load the piſtol, remains in the elaſtic gum bottle, which is therefore always found moiſt when the experiment is repeated ſeveral times.

It was, indeed, known before this time, that æther and other vola-

volatile inflammable liquors spread, by evaporating, inflammable effluvia thro' the surrounding air, especially when they are heated; and that these effluvia have sometimes by the imprudent approach of a candle taken fire, and conveyed the inflammation to the liquor itself: but I never heard that any body employed these liquors instead of ordinary inflammable air in communicating to common air an explosive quality, or in firing inflammable air pistols, before I communicated the experiment to my friends.

Doctor Ingenhousz next gives a comparative view of the expanding force of this air and of gunpowder, together with some considerations on the nature of the latter substance. In the appendix, he has given the following account of some farther experiments on the same subject:

In the foregoing paper I attempted to give a comparative view of the explosive force of gunpowder and inflammable explosive air, which latter I had found to be so far short of the explosive force of gunpowder as not to conceive any well grounded hope that it could ever become a substitute to this ingredient.

At that time I had not yet tried the effect of very pure dephlogisticated air combined with that inflammable air, into which I had found that vitriolic æther is changed in an instant.

I must acknowledge, that I had but small expectations from the force of these two airs combined; for as I had always observed, that æther air combined with common air is less brisk in taking fire, and less powerful in exploding, than inflammable air extracted from the vitriolic or marine acid, I thought that the same æther air combined with very pure dephlogisticated air would also be less powerful than common inflammable air from metals. But how far experience contradicted this theoretical analogy will be seen in the following lines.

Abbé Fontana was so good as to assist me in this pursuit. Having produced a good quantity of pure dephlogisticated air from red precipitate by heat, we first filled a strong two-ounce phial (the orifice of which was so wide that it could scarce be covered with the thumb, so that the bottle was almost cylindrical) with this air, in the usual manner, by filling it first with water, inverting it, and letting the air rise in it; which being done, we dropped one drop of æther (in which a small quantity of camphire was dissolved) into it, and shut it immediately with the thumb. After having given it some concussions, the orifice was applied to the flame of a candle, by withdrawing the thumb when the orifice was close to the flame: the air instantly took fire, and exploded with such a strong report, that, if the phial had not been very stout, it would most probably have been shattered into pieces, notwithstanding its wide orifice. We repeated the same experiment with the same success.

I was the more astonished at the uncommon loud report (considering the wide orifice of the phial), because, having often tried æther air in the same way with common air, I never found it explode with any considerable degree of force; and therefore I found it necessary, in order to procure a loud report,

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to kindle it by an electrical ſpark directed through the piſtol, when its orifice was ſhut up by a cork, the reſiſtance of which was the chief cauſe of the report.

This wonderful effect in an open veſſel could not fail of giving me a good expectation of a very powerful effect, if this compound air was ſhut up in an air piſtol by a cork ſqueezed into its orifice. As it had been now kindled twice by the flame of a candle, I wanted to kindle it by the ſame means in an air piſtol; for this purpoſe we drilled a ſmall hole in the ſide of the piſtol, which was made of tin, and contained about nine cubic inches of ſpace. We filled it with dephlogiſticated air in the ſame manner as we had filled the phial by means of water; and after having poured into it one drop of æther by means of a glaſs tube (in the manner above deſcribed), we ſhut the orifice by thruſting a cork into it, and kept a finger applied to the touch-hole which was drilled in the ſide of the piſtol. To avoid accidents if the piſtol ſhould burſt, we thought it prudent to ſqueeze the cork very gently into the orifice, ſo that the reſiſtance ſhould be very moderate. Abbé Fontana wrapped a towel round the piſtol for ſecurity's ſake, leaving only the touch-hole uncovered; which being brought near the flame of a wax taper, the air inſtantly took fire, and exploded with ſuch a ſtrong report, that his hearing, as well as mine, was much hurt by it. The cork, which was a very ſound one, flew to pieces againſt the wall; and the Abbé felt ſuch a conſiderable ſhock in his hands, that he did not think it ſafe to repeat the experiment, unleſs a ſtronger piſtol could be procured.

Encouraged by ſuch uncommon and unexpected effects, I went immediately to Mr. Nairne to enquire, whether he ſtill had in his poſſeſſion a ſtrong braſs air piſtol, which he had made laſt ſummer according my direction? I was lucky enough to find it: nothing was to be done to it but to drill a touch-hole in the left ſide of it, in order to kindle it by a flame if required. This touch-hole was to be ſhut up by a braſs male ſcrew fitted exactly to it, when the piſtol was intended to be fired by an electrical ſpark.

The air box of this piſtol was a cylinder four inches long and two inches in diameter. The fore part of the air box, to which the piſtol barrel fitted to receive a leaden ball or a cork was fixed, had a broad ſhoulder, which was faſtened to the body of the air box by ſix ſtrong braſs ſcrews, which never had been looſened by former exploſions. A leaden bullet, wrapped up in leather, was forcibly rammed into the piſtol barrel as far as the ſcrew, which joins the barrel with the air box. The piſtol was filled with pure dephlogiſticated air (which was drawn in by the piſton from an elaſtic gum bottle), and one drop of æther being poured into it, the air within was kindled by an electrical ſpark directed through it. The air took fire: the exploſion was as loud as that of a common muſket, and the force ſo great, that the whole fore part of the air box with the piſtol barrel flew off, all the ſix ſcrews were broke, and the ſtrong and tough metal of which they were

made was rent. Three ſtrong braſs ſcrews, by which the bottom of the air box was fixed to the wooden handle, were looſened, and the whole frame of the piſtol was out of order. The ſubſtance of the air barrel, where it was tore, was of the thickneſs of about a half crown piece.

Being now convinced, that tho' inflammable air from metals with dephlogiſticated or common air, is far inferior to the force of gunpowder, the exploſive force of the compound of dephlogiſticated and æther air approaches it much nearer, I thought it worth while to fit the piſtol up in ſuch a manner as to be out of all danger of burſting. For this purpoſe I deſired Mr. Nairne to adapt, and ſolder to the fore part of the air box, a hollow cone of braſs, the extremity of which ſhould terminate in the gun barrel.

As the piſton could not reach to the extremity of this conical hollow (which conſequently muſt be always filled with common air), I deſired him to fix to the piſton an ivory cone, through which the two wires would paſs to meet one another at the ſurface of the cone, leaving an interſtice between them of about one line, through which the electrical ſpark ſhould leap and ſet fire to the air. This ivory cone ſhutting up exactly the whole cavity of the air box, no air could come into it but what was drawn in by the piſton.

The cone, inſtead of ivory, may be made of ſolid glaſs, which is a better non-conductor than ivory. The canals in the ivory, through which the two wires paſs, may be made wide enough to contain a glaſs tube, through which the wires paſs; or to be filled with a non-conducting cement, as ſealing-wax, for the ſame purpoſe. The cone may even be made of braſs, provided two glaſs tubes are lodged in it, to give a paſſage to the two wires.

I kindle this piſtol ſometimes by putting in the touch-hole a little bit of a cotton thread ſoaked in moiſt gunpowder and dried afterwards; or a bit of thoſe paper matches which the Chineſe put into thoſe little ſquibs, which go by the name of *India crackers*. I ſometimes kindle it by holding the flame of a candle or a burning paper to the touch-hole. In this caſe it is to be obſerved, that the touch-hole muſt be kept upwards, if the piſtol is loaded with inflammable air from metals, becauſe this air being lighter than common air, will riſe out of the hole and meet the flame. The contrary muſt be done when æther air is employed, it being heavier than common air, and thus diſpoſed to deſcend and fall upon the flame kept under it.

To fill this piſtol with any air, I commonly firſt fill an elaſtic gum bottle with it, the orifice of which is juſt big enough to receive that part of the gun barrel which is fixed to the air box: thus, by ſqueezing between my feet the elaſtic gum bottle, I draw in at the ſame time the air by drawing up the piſton. A bladder is alſo very fit for this purpoſe, and has the advantage above an elaſtic gum bottle in not requiring to be ſqueezed to draw the air out of it.

Inflammable air from metals will riſe in the piſtol of itſelf, when its

its orifice is kept upon the bottle containing it.

If the piſtol is deſtined to be always kindled by the flame of a candle or a match, as I have deſcribed, it would be better to have no piſton to it, as it may then be filled by the means of water, and the exploſive force will be ſo much the greater, as ſome of the flame makes eaſily its way over the leather of the piſton, and ruſhes out backward, which, I find, is often the caſe, if the bullet is rammed in the barrel ſomewhat too tightly.

It would, perhaps, not be an eaſy undertaking to give a ſatisfactory reaſon, why a drop of æther communicates to dephlogiſticated air a much ſtronger exploſive force than common inflammable air from metals. May it not be ſaid, that common inflammable air from metals, having only about one fifth of the ſpecific gravity of the dephlogiſticated air, the two fluids do not penetrate one another ſo readily and ſo intimately as the compound of dephlogiſticated and æther air, which are both nearly of the ſame ſpecific gravity, each being ſomewhat heavier than common air? for it ſeems not improbable, that the ſwiftneſs with which the flame is propagated through the maſs of this compound air, depends partly on the intimate mixture of the phlogiſton with the dephlogiſticated air. Might not this phenomenon be aſcribed to the greater bulk of inflammable air from metals compared with the ſmall compaſs which one ſingle drop of æther occupies, which laſt ingredient, when pure, ſeems to be an eſſence of the inflammable principle of the ſpirit of wine, a pure phlogiſton concentrated in the form of a liquid? Indeed the inflammable air from metals ſeems to be rather a compound of phlogiſton and ſome kind of elaſtic permanent fluid than a pure inflammable fluid; for this air, after having loſt all its inflammability, by being kept a long while upon water, occupies ſtill a conſiderable ſpace, and is then become phlogiſticated air; that is to ſay, ſuch an air as is not to be diminiſhed by nitrous air, or to be inflamed.

Though I have no reaſon to alter my former aſſertion, that the force of gunpowder is proportionable to the ſudden extrication of a great quantity of the elaſtic fluid generated in the moment of conflagration, and the expanſion of this fluid by heat, communicated to it in the ſame moment of its extrication; and that the force of inflammable exploſive air can only be proportionable to the ſudden expanſion by heat in the moment of the inflammation (for no new extrication here takes place); yet I did not conſider enough in the account the ſuddenneſs of this expanſion, which may make a conſiderable difference in the force of the exploſion. And indeed the above-mentioned experiments ſeem to demonſtrate, that the inflammation of the compound of pure dephlogiſticated and æther air ſpreads with ſuch a velocity through the whole maſs as to be almoſt inſtantaneous.

It is well known, that mechanical power chiefly depends upon the velocity with which a body is endowed in the inſtant of exerting it; or that the *momentum*, or force

of a body, muſt be computed by multiplying the quantity of matter into the velocity with which it moves. Thus, if this new compound of dephlogiſticated and æther air expands with ten times greater velocity than any other inflammable exploſive air, its force will be about ten times greater.

As it ſeems to be probable, from what is already ſaid, that this compound of exploſive air may be put to more uſes than that of an amuſing experiment, I think it worth while for men engaged in this branch of natural philoſophy to look out for a method of producing at pleaſure any quantity of dephlogiſticated air required. Conſidering the rapid progreſs which is daily made on the important ſubject of air, I cannot but flatter myſelf, that this great diſcovery is not far off. The benefit which would ariſe from ſuch a diſcovery for animal life muſt encourage every philoſopher to purſue this object. Indeed, if we conſider that nitre contains this wonderful aerial fluid in a moſt concentrated ſtate, and that the nitrous acid ſeems to be nothing elſe but this beneficial fluid combined with phlogiſton, which ſeems to be imbibed by the vegetable alkali, when the acid is expelled by heat in the form of this air; that this beneficial aerial fluid exiſts alſo, in a moſt concentrated ſtate, in bodies almoſt every where to be found, as are calces of metal, principally that of iron; that common water contains it in great abundance, ſo that the light and warmth of the ſun extracts it to one fifteenth of the bulk of the water, as Dr. Prieſtley found, that even the maſs of our atmoſphere is nothing elſe but this very air ſoiled with impurities. If we conſider, I ſay, all this, is it not reaſonable to hope, that we are near the important inſtant when this ſalubrious aerial fluid will be procured for many uſeful purpoſes in a ſufficient quantity, either by the diſcovery of a ready way to let looſe this air from the bodies in which it is as it were impriſoned, or by filtrating or purifying common air from its impurities?

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Obſervations on Mineral Poiſons.

OUR Vol. for the year 1778 contained an account of Monſ. Navier's propoſal of the liver of ſulphur as an antidote * againſt certain metallic poiſons. This idea, it appears however, has long before occurred to, and been ſucceſsfully applied by, others. We have ſince ſeen a paper on this ſubject, inſerted in the 6th vol. of the Edinburgh Medical Commentaries, wherein alkaline ſalts are recommended on the ſame principle. The directions there laid down are full, clear, and eaſy, being drawn up with a view to ſupply the omiſſion on this head in Tiſſot and Buchan, authors on whom the public rely greatly and juſtly, but who have not noticed this efficacious remedy. As the particular ſpecies of poiſon taken is often not aſcertained, and the effects produced by it are ſo ſudden as ſometimes not to admit of calling in medical aſſiſtance, it is of importance that a method which bids ſo fair to be attended with ſucceſs ſhould be extenſively known.

We therefore lay before our readers the concluding paragraphs of that paper; in the former part of which is given the caſe of two women poiſoned at Liverpool, in April 1774, with corroſive ſublimate, one of whom died, the other, under the direction of Dr. Houlſton, took the alkali, by which ſhe found inſtant relief, and ſoon perfectly recovered. The concluſion he draws from the hiſtory of this caſe is as follows:

'In all caſes of poiſon it is 'prudent immediately to give a 'ſolution of an alkali, followed 'by a vomit. If the poiſon be 'corroſive ſublimate, an alkali, 'either fixed or volatile, will 'decompoſe it, and precipitate 'the metal in a form nearly in-'offenſive. It will have a ſimilar 'effect on the ſugar of lead, the 'extract of lead, emetic tartar, 'or any metallic ſalt. If the 'poiſon be arſenic, Newmann 'obſerves, that "alkalies will 'very plentifully diſſolve it." 'And if ſo, as it is difficultly ſo-'luble in water, the vomit will 'then ſucceed the better to diſ-'charge it. Whether or no ſul-'phur, exhibited in any form, 'might leſſen the danger of arſe-'nic is not clear, though theſe 'two, when united, are not poi-'ſonous. If the poiſon be of the 'vegetable claſs, an alkali can be 'of no diſſervice, nor interfere

* Printed by miſtake, *Anecdote.*

"with the other means of remedying by evacuation, nor yet by the subsequent use of acids, so strongly insisted on by Tissot, as counteracting the effects of narcotics; since acids, given together with alkaline salts, are pronounced to be attended with great success in this case, by Dr. Mead and others.

"To supply the omission then in those popular writers, might not the following directions be given on this subject?" "When symptoms of poison appear, mix a tea-spoonful of any of the following articles, salt of tartar, salt of wormwood, pearl-ash, pot-ash, spirit of hartshorn, or sal volatile, with half a pint of water, and of this let one half be given to the patient immediately, and the other in a short time afterwards. It will sometimes give great relief, and the vomiting will cease. That however is still to be promoted, and if it does not return on drinking of warm water, &c. after waiting a while, it will be proper to give a vomit of ipecacuanha, or, if that is not sufficient, one still stronger. After each vomiting, a dose of this solution of salt of tartar should be given, and it may be repeated every two or three hours, especially if the pain of the stomach returns. It should be continued too, in small doses, for some time after the symptoms disappear. If none of these salts are at hand, a little wood-ashes mixed with boiling water will answer the same end, suffering them to stand till they settle, and pouring the water clear off, or filtering through linen. By tasting it, the degree of saltness will determine if the solution be strong enough; if it be not disagreeably so it may be given."

The following Memoir has been obligingly communicated to us by Dr. Percival, *whose zeal in whatever relates to the interests of society, can only be equalled by his profound and extensive knowledge of those subjects that are most essentially calculated to promote them.*

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Stamford, *President of the Agriculture Society at* Manchester.

My Lord,

THE following account of a new method of making pot-ash was lately read before the Royal Society, and will be inserted in the next publication of that learned body. But as the discovery is highly interesting to the farmer, and the Philosophical Transactions are in few hands, I take the liberty of communicating it to the Agriculture Society.

I have the honour to be,
my lord, your lordship's
most faithful humble
Manchester, servant,
April 19, 1780. THO. PERCIVAL.

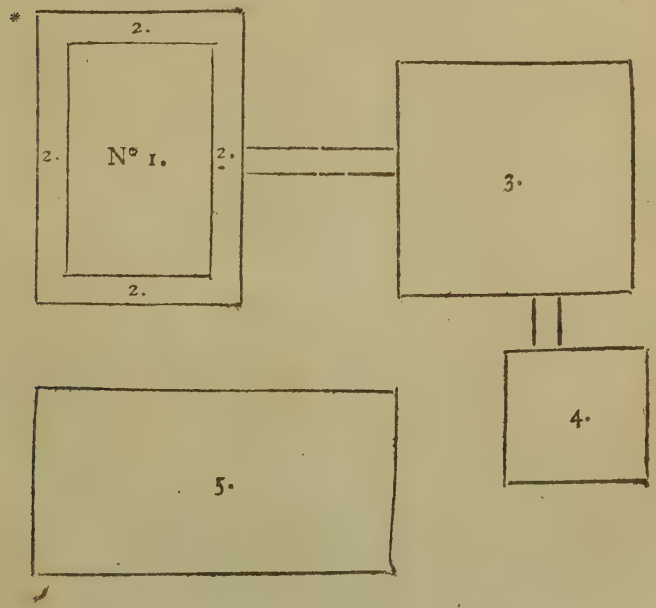
An Account of a new and cheap Method of preparing Pot ashes; with Observations.

THE Agriculture Society at Manchester have long recommended the making of reservoirs, for the water which flows from

from dunghills in farm-yards. This water is ſtrongly impregnated with the ſalts and putrid matter of the dunghill; and by ſtagnation it acquires a much higher degree of putreſcency, and probably becomes proportionably more replete with ſalts. When thus collected and improved, it is pumped into an hogſhead, which being drawn upon a ſledge or ſmall cart, is conveyed into the meadows, for the purpoſe of ſprinkling them with this rich manure. This important improvement in rural œconomy, I apprehend, has not been extended much beyond the diſtrict of our ſociety; and it ſeems to be unknown to one of the lateſt and moſt intelligent writers on huſbandry. For Lord Kaims, in a recent work on this ſubject, of which he has favoured me with a copy, has not even mentioned it.

But theſe reſervoirs may be applied to a purpoſe ſtill more ſubſervient to public utility, than that above deſcribed. Joſiah Birch, Eſq. a gentleman who carries on an extenſive manufactory, and bleaches his own yarn, about ſix months ago was induced, by a happy turn of thought, to try whether the dunghill water might not be converted into pot-aſhes. He accordingly evaporated a large quantity of it, and burnt the reſiduum in an oven; the product of which ſo perfectly anſwered his expectations, that he has ever ſince continued to prepare theſe aſhes, and to employ them in the proceſs of bucking. A ſtranger to that narrowneſs of ſpirit, which ſeeks the concealment of a lucrative diſcovery, he is deſirous that it ſhould be communicated to the Royal Society, and has furniſhed me with the following account, together with the plan annexed*.

" The



No 1.

" The quantity of muck-water " uſed was twenty-four wine " pipes full; which employed a " man and two horſes two days, " to cart it from the pump to the " pan wherein it was boiled: but " this expence I ſhall now ſave; " as I ſhall lay a ſough of brick, " which will convey it from the " pump to the boiler. The coals " uſed to boil and burn it, were " one hundred and twenty baſkets; " and I ſuppoſe each baſket weighs " ſix ſcore pounds, or upwards. " One man was occupied three " weeks in boiling and burning. " The quantity of aſhes made " was 9 cwt. 1 qr. 12 lb. well " worth, at the preſent price of " aſhes here, two guineas per " hundred.

" 9 cwt. 1 qr. 12 lb. at 42s. per cwt.	-	-	£19: 13: 0
" A man and two horſes two days, at 6s.	£0: 12: 0		
" 120 baſkets of coals, at 5d. per baſket,	2: 10: 0		
" A man's wages for three weeks,	1: 7: 0		
			£4: 9: 0
			£15: 4: 0

" The gain therefore amounts " to £15: 4: 0, deducting only a " trifle for the wear of the pan " and oven."

The profits ariſing from this preparation of pot-aſh, are ſufficiently evinced by the foregoing eſtimate; and they may, perhaps, admit of increaſe by future improvements. In the ſpring and ſummer ſeaſons, I ſhould ſuppoſe, the evaporation might be carried on without the aid of fire; by conveying the dunghill-water from the reſervoir, through proper ſluices, into ſhallow troughs or ponds, of ſuch extent as to afford a ſufficient ſurface for the action of the ſun and wind *. Theſe might be covered in rainy weather with awnings of canvaſs, painted on the outſide black, and white on the inſide; the former with a view to abſorb, the latter to reflect the rays of light.

This pot-aſh is of a greyiſh white appearance, deliqueſces a little in moiſt air, but if kept in a dry room near

" N°. 1. The dunghill.
" 2. A ſough, or drain, round the bottom of the dunghill.
" 3. A hole, or pit, to receive the muck water from N° 1.
" 4. A well to receive the muck water from the pit, wherein a pump " is fixed to convey it to the pan, N° 5, in which it is boiled to the conſiſtence " of treacle, and afterwards burned in an oven. The pan, N° 5, is formed " at the bottom of iron plates; and turned up a little round the edges, to " which deal planks are ſcrewed, ſo as to make it about twenty inches in " depth."

* The following abridged view of a meteorological regiſter, which I kept with great exactneſs during the years 1774 and 1775, may throw ſome light on the practicability of this plan in the climate of Lancaſhire, which, I believe, is nearly the ſame as that of moſt of the other weſtern counties of England.

1774.

near the fire, acquires a powdery ſurface. It is hard, and of a ſpongy texture when broken, with many ſmall cryſtals in its ſubſtance. The colour of its internal parts is duſky, and variegated. To the taſte it is acrid, ſaline, and ſulphureous. It emits no ſmell of volatile alkali either in a ſolid form, diſſolved, or when added to lime-water; neither does it communicate the ſapphire colour to a ſolution of blue vitriol. Silver is quickly tinged black by it, a proof that it contains much phlogiſton. Ten grains of this pot-aſh required eleven drops of the weak ſpirit of vitriol to ſaturate them: the like quantity of ſalt of tartar required, of the ſame acid, twenty-four drops. A ſtrong effervеſcence occurred in both mixtures: from the former a ſulphureous vapour was exhaled. A tea-ſpoonful of the ſyrup of violets, diluted with an ounce of water, was changed into a bright green colour by five grains of the ſalt of tartar; but ten grains of this new pot-aſh were neceſſary to produce the ſame hue in a ſimilar mixture. Half an ounce of the pot-aſh diſſolved entirely in half a pint of hot water; but when the liquor was cold, a large purple ſediment ſubſided to the bottom: and it was found, that this ſediment amounted to about two-thirds of the whole quantity of aſhes uſed.

I have not leiſure at preſent to proſecute theſe experiments farther: and ſhall therefore content myſelf with making a few general obſervations on the facts which have been advanced.

1. This pot-aſh is a true fixed vegetable alkali, and a product of putrefaction which has not, that I recollect, been noticed by the chemiſts. A very celebrated writer has even in expreſs terms aſſerted, that "all vegetables, not except-"ing thoſe which in their natural "ſtate furniſh aſhes containing "much fixed alkali, when burnt, "after their acid has been alter-"ed by a compleat putrefaction, "leave aſhes entirely free from "alkali *."

2. The quantity of alkali contained in this pot-aſh may, with ſome probability, be eſtimated at

1774. Months.	Thermometer. 2 o'clock P. M. Higheſt.	Loweſt.	Days. Rainy.	Dry.	1775. Thermometer 2 o'clock P. M. Higheſt.	Loweſt.	Days. Rainy.	Dry.
Jan. Feb. March,	56	28	25	65	54	30	61	29
Apr. May, June,	72	45	55	36	78	51	42	49
July, Aug. Sep.	75	53	66	26	74	48	62	30
Oct. Nov. Dec.	60	30	43	49	64	32	50	28*
	52,25 Mean heat.		189	176	55, 7 Mean heat.		215	136

* 14 days omitted; no account being taken.

The thermometer was made by Dollond, and graduated according to the ſcale of Farhenheit. It was placed in the open air, and in a northern expoſure. The column of rainy days expreſſes the *leaſt* as well as the *greateſt* quantity of rain; the column of dry includes only thoſe days in which not a ſingle ſhower was noticed. The day comprehends twenty-four hours. About thirty-three inches of rain, at a medium, fall yearly in Mancheſter.

* Macquer's Dictionary of Chemiſtry, article ALKALI.

about one-third of its weight; whereas the white Muſcovy aſhes are ſaid to yield only one-eighth part *. Of its impurities, ſulphur is the moſt injurious to its bleaching powers, and ſhould, in the preparation of it, be carefully ſeparated. A longer-continued, and more gentle calcination, in a furnace ſupplied with a ſufficient current of air, might, perhaps, anſwer this end. But the moſt effectual method would be to lixiviate the ſalts with pure water, after a moderate fuſion, and then to evaporate them ſlowly to dryneſs. It muſt, however, be remarked, that in thus freeing the pot-aſh from phlogiſtic matter, another impurity is generated. For both the action of fire, and the ſolution in water, convert into earth a portion of the alkaline ſalt.

3. No quick-lime appears to be contained in this pot-aſh: for a ſolution of it, poured from its ſediment, remained clear, though long expoſed to the air. Nor did it acquire any milkineſs by being blown into from the lungs. But perhaps the addition of this cauſtic ſubſtance, in a due proportion, would increaſe its activity and value, when employed in many of the arts. For the Ruſſian pot-aſh is more pungent to the taſte, ſaturates a larger proportion of acid, and diſſolves oils more powerfully than the purer alkaline ſalts. And Dr. Home has proved †, that theſe qualities depend on a large admixture of quick-lime.

4. It would be worthy of trial, to aſcertain whether the large purple ſediment, which ſubſides when this pot-aſh is lixiviated, might not be applied to the manufacture of Pruſſian blue; or uſed in the manner recommended by Mr. Macquer, for dying wool and ſilk. See the Memoirs of the French Academy for the year 1749 ‡.

5. The farmer, though he live at a diſtance from the manufactures in which pot-aſh is employed, may find his account in preparing it from dunghill-water. For it will furniſh him with a top-dreſſing for his garden and land, of great fertilizing powers. But if fewel be dear where he reſides, and neceſſaries wanting for the conſtruction of a furnace, the ſimple evaporation of the water may ſuffice. And the putrid lye, thus reduced to a ſolid form, will prove to be a rich manure. At Hart-hill, my ſummer abode, about three miles from Mancheſter, I have lately practiſed a method of making a compoſt of dunghill-water. The weeds and rakings of the garden, the dreſſings of the fields, the leaves blown from the trees, and other refuſe matters, are put together near the reſervoir; out of which the water is occaſionally pumped, and ſcattered over the heap. So ſtrong a ferment almoſt inſtantly excites putrefaction; and theſe vegetable ſubſtances are ſoon converted into a fertile mould, which, retaining the ſalts and oils of the dunghill water, ſuffers the ſuperfluous moiſture to exhale into the air, or to percolate through it. And I have found by experience, that the

* Home on Bleaching, page 157.
† Eſſay on Bleaching.
‡ See alſo Neumann's Chemiſtry, by Lewis.

compoſt,

compoſt, thus prepared, is laid on the meadows at leſs expence, and that it is more efficacious and durable in its operation, than the ſprinklings which, at ſtated times, they formerly received. For my land, though good, and in fine condition, is light and ſandy; and the dunghill-water quickly paſſed below the roots of the vegetables, which grow upon its ſurface.

POSTSCRIPT.

It has been ſuggeſted to me, that the foregoing diſcovery has no claim to the patronage of the Agriculture Society, becauſe in this manufacturing county it may eventually tend to check the cultivation of land, by robbing it of one ſpecies of manure. But I conceive the operation of it will be entirely the reverſe: for it will promote the collection of every putreſcent article, and thus augment the farmer's dunghill, at the ſame time that it excites a more univerſal attention to the preſervation of muck water; the reſervoirs for which are yet few, and have been made chiefly by thoſe who follow huſbandry for amuſement, and not as an occupation. The public therefore will be gainers both by the ſaving, and by the acquiſition; and a twofold branch of rural œconomy will be eſtabliſhed, at once lucrative to the huſbandman, and important to the artiſt and manufacturer.

But admitting all the ſuppoſed force of the allegation, it muſt ſurely be acknowledged, that the main deſign of our inſtitution is to increaſe the productiveneſs of agriculture, by ſtimulating the farmer to every beneficial undertaking, conſiſtent with his profeſſion. Now in this caſe, the *beneficial* is beſt meaſured by the Hudibraſtic ſtandard: for,

"What's the value of a thing?
"But ſo much money as 'twill bring?"

I truſt, therefore, that the ſociety will not, by declining to patronize the preſent diſcovery, juſtify the ſarcaſm of an ingenious poet of this place, who has humorouſly charged ſome of us with teaching,

"By crops increas'd, and profits leſs,
"The way t' enrich the nation."

Caution in building Magazines for Gunpowder.

THE dreadful accidents which happen from the exploſion of magazines or mills for the manufacturing of gunpowder, make every hint that may tend to the prevention of ſuch calamities of the utmoſt importance to the public. On that account, we ſhall ſubmit to our readers without further apology the following facts, which have already appeared in ſome of the public papers.

"A gentleman, in a letter from Withington, in Glouceſterſhire, ſays, an accident, which happened to me a few days ſince, may ſuggeſt, perhaps, an uſeful caution to ſome of your readers. On the table I was writing at, ſtood a ſmall glaſs decanter, and near that lay my handkerchief; the ſun (through a ſaſh-window, which was down, and at a conſiderable diſtance) ſhone full upon the decanter, which, collecting the rays into a point or focus, ſet fire to the handkerchief, and, if I had not been in the room, might have had very ſerious conſequences."

Thus far the writer; and, to confirm the fact, I ſhall mention a melancholy event which happened ſome years ago in Surrey.

About a mile from the place were ſeveral mills for making gunpowder; one morning the whole neighbourhood was alarmed by a violent exploſion, which ſhook the houſes for ſeveral miles round, and was followed by a column of ſmoak and fire, which towered high in the air, and was viſible at a vaſt diſtance. When the concuſſion was over, I viſited the ſpot, and beheld the mangled bodies of four poor men, thrown at the diſtance of more than 100 yards from each other, whoſe ſcattered limbs were collected together, and buried in one common grave in a church-yard belonging to the pariſh. In taking a view of the other mills, which were left ſtanding, I obſerved that ſome of the windows were glazed with very coarſe glaſs, full of convex bliſters; and, as the day of this dreadful calamity was remarkably hot, I thought it not unlikely that a focus might be formed through one of theſe glaſs bliſters, which would eaſily ſet fire to ſome of the gunpowder, which theſe poor men were granulating in ſieves when this unhappy cataſtrophe befel them. This conjecture I remember well to have made at the time, and, to ſhew that it was very poſſible, as ſoon as I got home I twiſted up ſome gunpowder in brown paper, and ſet fire to it through a decanter of water, by the focus which the ſun formed upon the paper till it took fire, and went off with an exploſion. This event, and the hint from the gentleman in Glouceſterſhire, convince me that the windows of all buildings containing ſuch combuſtible materials, ſhould be only towards the north, where the ſun can never produce the like effect.

To the above we will add a circumſtance which happened about twenty-five years ago in Norfolk. A gentleman, who had been entertaining ſome friends after dinner, invited them to take a walk, leaving a decanter half full of water on the table. The ſervant, who went in to clear away, to his great ſurprize found the window-ſhutters on fire, occaſioned by the rays of the ſun, which ſhone full upon the decanter, and which, having thus ſet the ſhutters in a blaze, might ſoon have deſtroyed the whole houſe, had it not been timely diſcovered. It is alſo a well-known practice at Oxford, where firing is very dear, for the ſmoakers to light their pipes, during the ſummer months, by the help of a decanter of water.

An Account of a Method for the ſafe Removal of Ships that have been driven on Shore, and damaged in ther Bottoms, to places (however diſtant) for repairing them. By Mr. William Barnard, *Shipbuilder,* Grove-Street, Deptford; *communicated by* Nevil Maſkelyne, *D. D. F. R. S. and Aſtronomer Royal.*

[*From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*]

Read Dec. 23, 1779.

Deptford, April 14, 1779.

ON the ſhores of this iſland, diſtinguiſhed for its formidable fleets and extenſive commerce,

merce, and ſo particularly ſituated, there muſt neceſſarily be many ſhipwrecks: every hint by which the diſtreſs of our fellow-creatures may be alleviated, or any ſaving of property made to individuals in ſuch ſituations, ſhould be communicated for their good. As the members of the Royal Society have it in their power to make ſuch hints moſt univerſally known, I have been induced, from their readineſs to receive every uſeful information, to lay before them a particular account of the ſucceſs attending a method for the ſafe removal of ſhips that have been driven on ſhore, and damaged in their bottoms, to places (however diſtant) for repairing them; I hope, therefore, they will excuſe the liberty I have taken in preſenting this to them. Should the ſociety honour me by recording it, it will make me the moſt ample ſatisfaction for my attention to it, and afford me the greateſt pleaſure.

On January the 1ſt, 1779, in a moſt dreadful ſtorm, the York Eaſt Indiaman, of eight hundred tons, homeward bound, with a pepper cargo, parted her cables in Margate Roads, and was driven on ſhore, within one hundred feet of the head, and thirty feet of the ſide, of Margate Pier, then drawing twenty-two feet ſix inches water, the flow of a good ſpring tide being only fourteen feet at that place.

On the 3d of the ſame month I went down, as a ſhip-builder, to aſſiſt as much as lay in my power my worthy friend Sir Richard Hotham, to whom the ſhip belonged. I found her perfectly upright, and her ſhere (or ſide appearance) the ſame as when firſt built, but ſunk to the twelve feet water mark fore and aft in a bed of chalk mixed with a ſtiff blue clay, exactly the ſhape of her body below that draft of water; and from the rudder being torn from her as ſhe ſtruck coming on ſhore, and the violent agitation of the ſea after her being there, her ſtern was ſo greatly injured as to admit free acceſs thereto, which filled her for four days equal to the flow of the tide. Having fully informed myſelf of her ſituation and the flow of ſpring tides, and being clearly of opinion ſhe might be again got off, I recommended, as the firſt neceſſary ſtep, the immediate diſcharge of the cargo; and, in the progreſs of that buſineſs, I found the tide always flowed to the ſame height on the ſhip; and when the cargo was half diſcharged, and I knew the remaining part ſhould not make her draw more than eighteen feet water, and while I was obſerving the water at twenty-two feet ſix inches by the ſhip's marks, ſhe inſtantly lifted to ſeventeen feet eight inches, the water and air being before excluded by her preſſure on the clay, and the atmoſphere acting upon her upper part equal to ſix hundred tons, which is the weight of water diſplaced at the difference of thoſe two draughts of water.

The moment the ſhip lifted, I diſcovered ſhe had received more damage than was at firſt apprehended, her leaks being ſuch as filled her from four to eighteen feet water in one hour and a half. As nothing effectual was to be expected

pected from pumping, several scuttles or holes in the ship's side were made, and valves fixed thereto, to draw off the water to the lowest ebb of the tide, to facilitate the discharge of the remaining part of the cargo; and, after many attempts, I succeeded in an external application of sheep skins sewed on a sail, and thrust under the bottom, to stop the body of water from rushing so furiously into the ship. This business effected, moderate pumping enabled us to keep the ship to about six feet water at low water, and by a vigorous effort we could bring the ship so light as (when the cargo should be all discharged) to be easily removed into deeper water. But as the external application might be disturbed by so doing, or totally removed by the agitation of the ship, it was absolutely necessary to provide some permanent security for the lives of those who were to navigate her to the river Thames. I then recommended, as the cheapest, quickest, and most effectual plan, to lay a deck in the hold, as low as the water could be pumped to, framed so solidly and securely, and caulked so tight as to swim the ship independant of her own leaky bottom.

Beams of fir-timber, twelve inches square, were placed in the hold under every lower deck beam in the ship, as low as the water would permit; these were in two pieces, for the convenience of getting them down, and also for the better fixing them of an exact length, and well bolted together when in their places. Over these were laid long Dantzic deals of two inches and an half thick, well nailed and caulked. Against the ship's side, all fore and aft, was well nailed a piece of fir, twelve inches broad and six inches thick on the lower, and three inches on the upper edge, to prevent the deck from rising at the side. Over the deck, at every beam, was laid a cross piece of fir timber, six inches deep and twelve inches broad, reaching from the pillar of the hold to the ship's side, on which the shores were to be placed to resist the pressure of the water beneath. On each of these, and against the lower deck beam, at equal distance from the side and middle of the ship, was placed an upright shore, six inches by twelve inches, the lower end let two inches into the cross piece. From the foot of this shore to the ship's side, under the end of every lower deck beam, was placed a diagonal shore, six inches by twelve, to ease the ship's deck of part of the strain by throwing it on the side. An upright shore, of three inches by twelve, was placed from the end of every cross piece to the lower deck beams at the side; and one of three inches by twelve on the midship end of every cross piece to the lower deck beam, and nailed to the pillars in the hold. Two firm tight bulkheads or partitions were made as near the extremes of the ship as possible. The ceiling or inside plank of the ship was very securely caulked up to the lower deck, and the whole formed a compleat ship with a flat bottom within side to swim the outside leaky one; and that bottom being depressed six feet below the external water, resisted the ship's weight above it, equal

to

to five hundred and eighty-one tons, and ſafely conveyed her to the dry dock at Deptford.

Since I wrote the above account, I have been deſired to uſe the ſame method on a Swediſh ſhip, ſtranded near Margate on the ſame day as the York Eaſt India-man, and ſwim her to London. As this ſhip is about two hundred and fifty tons, and the execution of the buſineſs ſomething different from what was practiſed with regard to the large ſhip, I hope it will not be thought improper to deſcribe it.

As this ſhip's bottom was ſo much injured, having loſt eight feet of her ſtern-poſt and all her keel, ſeveral floor-timbers being broke, and ſome of the planks off her bottom, (ſo as to leave a hole big enough for a man to come through) ſeveral lower deck beams being likewiſe broke, and all the pillars in the hold broken and waſhed away; I thought it neceſſary to connect, in ſome degree, the ſhattered bottom with the ſhip's decks, not only to ſupport the temporary deck by which ſhe was to ſwim up, but to prevent the bottom being cruſhed by the weight of the ſhip when ſhe was put upon blocks in the dry dock: to effect which, after I had put acroſs twelve beams of fir, ſix inches by twelve, edgeways, one under every lower deck beam of the ſhip, and well faſtened them to the ſhip's ſide, I placed two upright pieces to each beam of ſix inches by twelve, ſecurely bolted to the ſides of the keelſon, and ſcored ſix inches under the ſhip's lower deck beams, and three inches above the beams of the temporary deck, and well faſtened to each: then the deck was laid with long two-inch Dantzic deals, and well nailed and caulked; the ſhip's inſide plank was well caulked up to the lower deck. A piece of fir, of twelve inches broad and two inches thick on the upper, and four inches on the lower edge, was well nailed to the ſhip's ſide all fore and aft, and well caulked on both edges to prevent the ſide of the deck from leaking, or being forced up by the preſſure of the water againſt the deck, a two-inch deal or croſs piece was laid over every beam from the ſhip's ſide to the uprights at the middle line; then, at equal diſtance from the ſide and middle line, pieces of ſix inches ſquare, as long as could be got down, were put all fore and aft on both ſides, ſcored two inches over every croſs piece, and well bolted through the croſs piece and deck, and into the fir beams. From this fore and aft piece or ribband to the ſhip's ſide, and from it to the uprights in the middle, were placed two rows of diagonal ſhores, ſix inches ſquare, the heels of which were ſecurely wedged againſt the fore and aft piece or ribband, which afforded ſufficient ſupport to the temporary deck without any other ſhores. Two bulkheads or partitions were built, as far as the fore-maſt forward, and mizen-maſt aft, well planked, ſhored, and caulked, to reſiſt the water. As decks laid in this manner, and in ſo much hurry as the time of low water requires, will of conſequence leak in ſome degree, and as that leakage, waſhing from ſide to ſide, will cauſe the ſhip to lay along, I fixed a two-inch

two-inch deal, twelve inches broad, edgeways, all fore and aft at the middle line, and well caulked it, to ſtop half the water on the weather or upper ſide, when the ſhip would incline either way, which not only made her ſtiffer under ſail, but facilitated the pumping out the water made by leaks in the deck.

This deck was ſixty-three feet long and twenty-three feet broad, and was laid at five feet five inches above the bottom of the keel, or four feet above the top of the floor timbers, and ſwam the ſhip at twelve feet five inches water, reſiſting two hundred and ſixteen tons, and containing under it one hundred and twenty-four tons of water, which preſſing againſt the under ſide of the temporary deck acted as ballaſt, and brought her ſafely into the dry dock at Deptford, from the moſt dangerous ſituation poſſible, being partly within and partly without Margate Pier, where ſhe had been left by ſome Ramſgate men, who had undertaken to remove her from the place where ſhe was ſtranded to a ſafer one within Margate Harbour.

A new Method of treating the Fiſtula Lachrymalis. By Mr. William Blizard, *Surgeon, F. A. S.; communicated by Mr.* Joſeph Warner, *Surgeon, F. R. S. From the ſame.*

Read Feb. 24, 1780.

IN every period of the diſeaſe, termed *fiſtula lachrymalis*, there is underſtood to exiſt a degree of obſtruction in the naſal duct; ſo that more or leſs of the tears, mixed with the oily ſecretion of the ſebaceous glands of the eye-lids, and mucus of the internal ſurface of the lachrymal ſac, being prevented from paſſing into the noſe, are expelled through the lachrymal puncta upon the ſurface of the eye, and down the cheek.

Writers on ſurgery divide this diſeaſe into ſeveral ſtages; the firſt and moſt ſimple being that of obſtruction, with little or no inflammation; and ſo on, according to the degree or effect of inflammation, to the laſt ſtage, a ſloughy, ulcerated condition of the ſac and its integuments, with, now and then, a *caries* of the bony parts.

Though the diſeaſe be frequently the effect of a *virus* in the habit, yet ſurgeons find, that ſometimes the cauſe is very ſimple, and eaſily to be conceived from the analogy of parts.

The membraneous portions of the naſal duct and lachrymal ſac are a continuation of the pituitous membrane of the noſe. This membrane is exceedingly vaſcular, ſecretes a large quantity of mucus upon its internal ſurface, and is endued with a great degree of ſenſibility.

Experience ſhews the great defluxions that are oftentimes made upon the pituitous membrane; the increaſed ſecretion of mucus that happens upon the application of various ſtimulants; and the firm conſiſtence it often acquires from ſtagnation, abſorption, and evaporation of its thinner parts: moreover, that the membrane itſelf frequently becomes inflamed and thickened.

The

The duct and ſac may be affected through obſtructed perſpiration, &c. and thickened from the turgid ſtate of their veſſels: the ſecretion of mucus may alſo be conſiderably augmented. From the thickened ſtate of the membrane of the duct, the fluids in the ſac paſs with difficulty: by retention, warmth, and abſorption, they are rendered viſcid; and the difficulty, that at firſt aroſe from the thickened ſtate of the membrane, now ariſes from another cauſe, namely, the inſpiſſated ſtate of the fluids.

Theſe are, probably, the moſt ſimple cauſes of obſtruction in the naſal duct; but, from whatever cauſe the obſtruction had its origin, in its early ſtate, when unattended with a morbid change of the contiguous parts, it is conſidered as the firſt and moſt ſimple ſtage of the *fiſtula lachrymalis*. It is in this ſtage that the means of obviating the neceſſity of a troubleſome and uncertain operation ſhould be employed, with any rational expectation of ſucceſs.

The principal of theſe means are:

1. Compreſſion; declared by experienced practitioners to be injudicious.

2. The paſſing an inſtrument into the noſtril, and up the duct; an operation very painful to the patient, and exceedingly troubleſome to the operator.

3. The introducing a probe through one of the puncta into the duct, after M. Anel's manner; by experience proved to be inadequate to the deſign.

4. The impelling a fluid, by a ſyringe, through one of the puncta, as directed by M. Anel; allowed by judicious and experienced ſurgeons to be ſometimes uſeful.

On reflecting upon the laſt method, I was induced to think, that if a fluid, of a great degree of ſpecific gravity, as quickſilver, could be paſſed through one of the puncta, ſo as to fill the ſac and duct, and preſs upon the obſtructed part, it might be reaſonably expected to remove the obſtruction in the firſt and ſimple ſtage of the diſeaſe; at leaſt, to have a much better chance of producing this effect than a watery fluid, urged through the punctum in an unfavourable direction: beſides, it would be no bar to the uſe of proper general means.

Flattered with the ſeeming reaſonableneſs of the ſuggeſtion, and convinced of the ſafety of the experiment, I reſolved on making a trial the firſt opportunity; which ſoon occurred to me.

Mr. M—— B——, a ſadler, in Mark-Lane, had been troubled with a flux of tears and mucus down the cheek from the puncta of the right eye-lids, about ſeven months. There was a degree of ſwelling or diſtenſion of the ſac, attended with pain. Upon preſſing the ſac, much ropy fluid, of a whitiſh colour, was forced through the puncta. The diſcharge was always in greateſt abundance in the evening; at which time he had a dimneſs of ſight in that eye.

The uſual means had been employed, without ſucceſs, by his ſurgeon, who approved of the ſuggeſted experiment, and the patient agreed to have it tried.

Meſſ. Nairne and Blunt provided an inſtrument for the purpoſe. It conſiſts of a fine ſteel pipe, a little curved, cemented in

a glaſs tube about ſix inches long. At the top of the tube is a wooden funnel; and at the bottom of this is a valve, which may be elevated by a ſilken ſtring that is conveyed through a hole in the brim of the funnel, and hangs down by the ſide of the tube*.

The ſteel pipe was paſſed into the inferior punctum, without pain or difficulty. The quickſilver was then poured into the funnel, and let down the tube by pulling the ſtring of the valve. When the quickſilver regurgitated out by the ſuperior punctum, the inſtrument was withdrawn. The quickſilver lay in the ſac and duct, without exciting pain, about thirty hours, when it paſſed into the noſe, and the patient caught ſome of it in his hand.

I thought it beſt at this time not to compreſs the ſac; apprehending it would diſcharge the quickſilver through the puncta, and ſo fruſtrate the intention.

On the third day the operation was repeated; when, on gently compreſſing the ſac, ſome of the quickſilver paſſed into the noſe, and with it a piece of congealed whitiſh mucus. A ſmall quantity of the quickſilver, upon making the preſſure, returned through the puncta.

At the third and fourth times of repeating the operation, without any compreſſion, at intervals of a few days, the quickſilver paſſed readily into the noſe.

I once introduced the point of a ſteel pipe, uſed for injecting the lymphatic veſſels. It is cemented to a tube of glaſs eighteen inches long. This pipe is not ſo fine as that of the other inſtrument, yet it was conveyed into the punctum without difficulty, and with little or no pain. To gain a greater degree of *momentum* I raiſed the column of quickſilver to about twelve inches, when it flowed into the noſe with a conſiderable degree of velocity.

From the time that the quickſilver paſſed into the noſe, leſs fluid trickled down the cheek than before. After the ſecond or third operation, the ſwelling or diſtention of the ſac intirely ſubſided. The patient at this time has no diſcharge of mucus, and a tear but very ſeldom: the parts have a perfectly healthy appearance.

To aſcertain the effects of medicines in diſeaſes of the conſtitution, many experiments, under various circumſtances, are neceſſary; but in matters determinable by a mechanical operation, the effect, as far as our ſenſes can direct us, is in general very plain and explicable.

In the caſe related this is clear, namely, that previouſly to the injecting of quickſilver, the tears, ſebaceous matter, and mucus, did not paſs through the naſal duct, or, but in a very ſmall proportion to the quantity ſecreted; that at the firſt experiment, quickſilver did not paſs; but that quickſilver, tears, &c. have ſince readily paſſed.

I cannot, however, flatter myſelf that this method will avail,

* I have deſcribed the inſtrument as it was uſed; but I have ſince thought, that it would not only be more ſimple but do as well without a valvular apparatus, the quickſilver being poured in by an aſſiſtant.

except

except in the firſt or ſimple ſtage of the diſorder; but many caſes have a favourable ſtate for the trial in their early period, and that opportunity may be ſeized with a probability of ſucceſs.

The operation is ſimple, eaſily executed, productive of but little pain, and attended with no kind of danger.

Account of a Woman who had the Small Pox during Pregnancy, and who ſeemed to have communicated the ſame Diſeaſe to the Fœtus. By John Hunter, *Eſq. F. R. S. From the ſame.*

Mr. Grant's *Account.*

ON the 5th of December, 1776, Mrs. Ford had been ſeized with ſhivering and the other common ſymptoms of fever, to which were added great difficulty of breathing, and a very hard cough. Mr. Grant ſaw her on the 7th; and he took from her eight ounces of blood, and gave her a compoſition of the ſaline mixture with ſpermaceti and magneſia every ſix hours.

This had operated by the 8th two or three times very gently, when moſt of the complaints were relieved; but the cough ſtill ſhaking her violently, bleeding ſeemed neceſſary to be repeated, more particularly as ſhe looked upon herſelf to be in the ſixth month of her pregnancy. The medicine was continued without the magneſia.

In the evening (*viz.* the 8th) the ſmall pox appeared, which proved of a mild kind, and moderate in quantity. Its progreſs was rather ſlower than might have been expected; but the woman paſſed through the diſeaſe in great ſpirits, ſitting up the greateſt part of the day during the whole time, and taking only a paregoric at night, and, as occaſion required, a little magneſia: thus the ſymptoms were mitigated, and the cough at laſt became very little troubleſome.

On the 25th ſhe complained of a pain in her ſide. Eight ounces of blood were taken away. The next day ſhe was quite free from pain, and thought herſelf as well on the 27th as her particular ſituation would admit of; after which ſhe was not viſited by Mr. Grant till the 31ſt, when ſhe was in labour.

Mr. Waſtall's *Letter on the ſame Subject.*

Dec. 30, 1776, I was ſent for to Mrs Ford, a healthy woman, about twenty-two years of age, who was pregnant with her firſt child. She had come out of the country about three months before. Soon after her arrival in town ſhe was ſeized with the ſmall pox, and had been under the care of Meſſrs. Hawkins and Grant, who have favoured me with the particulars here annexed.

I called upon her in the afternoon; ſhe complained of violent griping pains in her bowels, darting down to the *pubes.* On examining I found the *os tincæ* a little dilated, with other ſymptoms of approaching labour. I ſent her an anodyne ſpermaceti emulſion, and deſired to be called if her pains increaſed. I was ſent for. The labour advanced

very slowly; her pains were long and severe; she was delivered of a dead child, with some difficulty.

Observing an eruption all over the body of the child, and several of the *pustules* filled with matter, I examined them more particularly; and recollecting, that Dr. Leake, in his Introductory Lecture to the Practice of Midwifery, had observed, that it might be necessary to enquire, whether those adults who are said totally to escape the small pox have not been previously affected with it in the womb, I sent a note to Dr. Leake, and likewise to Dr. Hunter, in hopes of ascertaining a fact hitherto much doubted. Dr. Leake came the same evening, and saw the child. Dr. Hunter came afterwards, with Mr. Cruickshanks, and examined it; also Mr. John Hunter and Mr. Falconer; who all concurred with me, that the eruption on the child was the small pox. Dr. Hunter thought the eruption so like the small pox that he could hardly doubt; but said, that in all other cases of the same kind, that he had met with, the child *in utero* had escaped the contagion.

From Mr. Grant's *Notes.*

The eruption appeared on Mrs. Ford in the evening of the 8th of December, and she was delivered the 31st, that is, twenty-three days after the appearance of the eruptions.

Reflections by Mr. John Hunter.

The singularity of the above case, with all its circumstances, has inclined me to consider it with some attention.

There can be no doubt but that the mother had the small pox, and that the eruption began to appear on the 8th of December: also, that it went through its regular stages, and that on the 31st, *viz.* twenty-three days after the first appearance of the eruption, the woman was delivered of the child, who is the subject of this paper.

Secondly, The distance of time when she had the small pox before delivery, joined with the stage of the disease in the child when born, which probably was about the sixth or seventh day of the eruption, *viz.* about fifteen or sixteen days after the beginning of the eruption on the mother, perfectly agrees with the possibility of the infection's being caught from the mother.

Thirdly, The external appearance of the *pustules* in the child was perfectly that of the small pox, as must have appeared from the relation given in Mr. Wastall's letter. Most of the *pustules* were distinct, but some were blended or united at their base. The face had the greatest number; and these were in general the most indistinct. They were somewhat flattened with a dent in the middle *.

So far were the leading circumstances and external appearances in favour of their being the variolous eruption; but although these leading circumstances and external appearances were incontrovertible, yet they were not an absolute

* I endeavoured to take some matter upon the point of two lancets; but not having an opportunity of making an experiment myself, I gave them to two gentlemen, who, I imagine, were afraid of inoculating with them.

proof

proof of this being the genuine ſmall pox; therefore I muſt be allowed to conſider this ſubject a little further, and ſee how far all the circumſtances correſpond or are ſimilar to the true ſmall pox. In the ſmall pox we have a previous fever, in place of which, in the preſent caſe, we have no information but that of the mother's having had the ſmall pox within ſuch a limited time as may favour the poſſibility of infection in the womb; yet we may preſume, that the child muſt have had conſiderable fever preceding ſuch an eruption, of whatſoever kind it was.

In the ſmall pox the eruption goes through pretty regular ſtages in its progreſs and declenſion, which circumſtances we know nothing of in the preſent caſe; but even this fever, the eruptions, and their progreſs, are not abſolutely proofs that the diſorder is the ſmall pox when it is caught in the common and natural way: and in proof of this aſſertion it may be obſerved, that practitioners every now and then are miſtaken.

It may be aſked, what is the true characteriſtic of the ſmall pox? that by which it differs from all other eruptions that we are acquainted with? The moſt certain character of the ſmall pox, that I know, is the formation of a ſlough, or a part becoming dead by the variolous inflammation; a circumſtance which hitherto, I believe, has not been taken notice of.

This was very evident in the arms of thoſe who were inoculated in the old way, where the wounds were conſiderable, and were dreſſed every day; which mode of treatment kept them from ſcabbing, by which means this proceſs was eaſily obſerved; but in the preſent method of inoculation it is hardly obſervable: the ſore being allowed to ſcab, the ſlough and ſcab unite and drop off together. The ſame indiſtinctneſs attends the eruptions on the ſkin; and in thoſe patients who die of, or die while in, the diſeaſe, where we have an opportunity of examining them while the part is diſtinct, this ſlough is very evident.

This ſlough is the cauſe of the pitt after all is cicatrized; for it is a real loſs of ſubſtance of the ſurface of the *cutis:* and in proportion to this ſlough is the remaining depreſſion.

The chicken pox comes the neareſt in external appearance to the ſmall pox; but it does not commonly produce a ſlough.

As there is generally no loſs of ſubſtance in this caſe, there can be no pitt. But it ſometimes happens, although but rarely, that there is a pitt in conſequence of a chicken pock; then ulceration has taken place on the ſurface of the *cutis*, a common thing in ſores.

In the preſent caſe, beſides the leading circumſtances mentioned in the caſe of the mother, correſponding with the appearances on the child, and the external appearances themſelves, we have in the fulleſt ſenſe the third and real or principal character of the ſmall pox, *viz.* the ſlough in every *puſtule*; from all which, I think, we may conclude, that the child had caught the ſmall pox in the

womb; or at leaſt a diſeaſe, the effects of which were ſimilar to no other known diſeaſe.

In opening the bodies of thoſe who had either died of, or died while under, the ſmall pox, I always examined carefully to ſee whether any internal cavity, ſuch as the *æſophagus*, *trachea*, ſtomach, inteſtines, *pleura*, *peritoneum*, &c. had eruptions upon them or not, and never finding any in any of thoſe cavities, I began to ſuſpect, that either the ſkin itſelf was the only part of the body ſuſceptible of ſuch a *ſtimulus*; or that the ſkin was ſubject to ſome influence to which the other parts of the body were not ſubject, and which made it alone ſuſceptible of the *variolous ſtimulus*. If from the firſt cauſe, I then concluded it muſt be an original principle in the animal œconomy. If from the ſecond, I then ſuſpected, that external expoſure was the cauſe; and I was the more led into this idea, from finding that theſe eruptions often attack the mouth and throat, two expoſed parts; add to which, that we generally find the eruptions moſt on the expoſed parts of the body, as the face, &c.

With theſe ideas in my mind, I thought I ſaw the moſt favourable opportunity of clearing up this point. I therefore very attentively examined moſt of the internal cavities of this child; ſuch as the *peritonæum*, *pleura*, *trachea*, inſide of the *æſophagus*, ſtomach, inteſtines, &c. but obſerved nothing uncommon. I have already obſerved, that in this child the face and extremities were the fulleſt, ſimilar to what happens in common; from all which I may be allowed to draw this concluſion, that the ſkin is the principal part which is ſuſceptible of the variolous *ſtimulus*, and is not affected by any external influence whatever.

The communication of the ſmall pox to the child in the womb may be ſuppoſed to happen in two ways; one by infection from the mother, as is ſuppoſed in the above caſe; the other by the mother's having abſorbed the ſmall pox matter from ſome other perſon, and the matter being carried to the child from the connection between the two, which we may ſuppoſe done with or without firſt affecting the mother.

Teſtimonies and opinions are various with reſpect to theſe two facts. Boerhaave ſeems to have been led by his experience to think that ſuch infection was not communicable: for we find that he attended a lady, who having, in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, had the confluent ſmall pox, brought forth at the regular period a child, who ſhewed not the leaſt veſtige of his mother's diſeaſe.

His commentator, however, Van Swieten, ſupports a different opinion (ſee his comment, vol. v.). He quotes a caſe from the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xxviii. N° 337. p. 165, of a woman, who, having juſt gone through a mild ſort of ſmall pox, was, by means of a ſtrong doſe of purging phyſic, thrown into a miſcarriage, and brought forth a dead female child, whoſe whole body was covered with *variolous puſtules* full of ripe matter; but this hiſtory is founded only on the relation of a midwife to a clergyman, and therefore not abſolutely

abſolutely to be depended upon as accurately ſtated: however, it is more than probable, that there was a caſe as deſcribed; and that there were really eruptions on the ſkin of the child ſimilar to the ſmall pox.

Van Swieten likewiſe mentions what Mauriceau relates of himſelf. This author teſtifies, that he had often heard his father and mother ſay, that the latter, when big with him, and very near her time of delivery, had a painful attendance on one of her children, who died of the ſmall pox on the ſeventh day of the eruption; and that on the day following the death of this child, Mauriceau came into the world, bringing with him five or ſix true *puſtules* of the ſmall pox.

It does not appear, however, from this recital, whether or not Mauriceau paſſed through life free from any poſterior infection; but admitting that this eruption of Mauriceau's was truly the ſmall pox, yet I ſhould very much doubt his having caught it from the child who died of it: as it ſhould ſeem that the *puſtules* of Mauriceau were of the ſame date with thoſe of the child who died. Van Swieten appeals to a more recent caſe, which had been reported to him by perſons of great credit, and is recorded in the Phil. Tranſ. vol. xlvi. p. 235.

"A woman, big with child, "having herſelf long ago had the "ſmall pox, very aſſiduouſly "nurſed a maid ſervant during "the whole proceſs of this diſ-"eaſe. At the proper time ſhe "brought forth a healthy female "child, in whoſe ſkin Dr. Wat-"ſon aſſerted, that he diſcovered "evident marks of the ſmall pox, "which ſhe muſt have gone "through in the womb; and the "ſame phyſician pronounced, "that this child would be free "from future infection. After "four years her brother was ino-"culated; and Dr. Watſon ob-"tained permiſſion of the parents "to try the ſame experiment on "the girl. The operation was "performed on both children in "the ſame manner; and the *pus* "uſed in both caſes was taken "from the ſame patient. The "event, however, was different; "for the boy had the regular "eruption, and got well; but "the girl's arm did not inflame "nor ſuppurate. On the tenth "day from the inſertion of the "matter, ſhe turned pale ſud-"denly, was languid for two "days, and afterwards was very "well. In the neighbourhood of "the inciſion there appeared a "*puſtule* like thoſe *puſtules* that "we ſometimes obſerve in perſons "who, having had the diſeaſe, "attend patients ill of the ſmall "pox."

In the epiſtles of T. Bartholinus, cent. ii. p. 682, there is the following hiſtory. "A poor woman, "aged thirty-eight years, preg-"nant, and now near the time of "delivery, was ſeized with the "ſymptoms of the ſmall pox, and "had a very numerous eruption. "In this ſtate ſhe was delivered "of a child, as full of *variolous* "*puſtules* as herſelf. The child "died ſoon after birth; the mo-"ther three days afterwards." Van Swieten infers, that the mother and the child were in this caſe

case infected at the same time; therefore, the child not infected by the mother.

Dr. Mead asserts, that when a woman in the small pox suffers an abortion, the *fœtus* is generally full of the contagion; but that this does not happen always. This variety, he says, depends on the state of the mother's *pustules* when the child is born; that is, whether they are or are not in a state of purulence. Whence he has observed it sometimes to happen, that on the second day from the birth, or the third, or any day before the eighth, the disease caught from the mother shews itself in eruptions on the child.

Dr. Mead here relates the history of a lady of quality, of which this is the substance. A lady, in the seventh month of her pregnancy, had the confluent small pox, and on the eleventh day of the disease brought forth a son, having no signs of the disease on his body; and she died on the fourteenth day. The infant having lived four days, was seized with convulsions, and, the small pox appearing, died. The doctor infers from hence, that the suppuration being in some measure compleated on the eleventh day, the mother's disease was communicated then to the *fœtus*, and made its appearance on the child after eight days.

If there be no abortion, Dr. Mead pronounces, that the child will ever be free from the disease, unless the birth should happen before the maturation of the *pustules*. He brings a case to prove, that the *fœtus* in the womb may be infected by the contagion of which the mother does not partake. "A "woman, who had long before "suffered the small pox, nursed "her husband, under that dis- "ease, towards the end of her "pregnancy; and was brought "to bed at the due time. The "child was dead, and covered "all over with *variolous pustules*."

With respect to the case quoted from Mauriceau, it has been proved by Sir George Baker (Med. Transact. vol. ii. p. 275.) that Dr. Mead drew a conclusion from it directly contrary to the author's meaning. The negative opinion appears evidently to be supported by that history.

Sir George Baker mentions in the same paper the case of two pregnant women who were inoculated at Hertford. They both had the small pox favourably, and afterwards brought forth their children perfectly healthy at the usual time. Both these children, at the age of three years, were inoculated with effect.

Sir George Baker likewise mentions a case which fell under the observation of Dr. Clarke of Epsom. "A woman towards the "end of her pregnancy had the "small pox, from which she nar- "rowly escaped. Five weeks "after the crisis she was delivered "of an healthy female child, who "having numerous marks on her "skin, was judged by all who "saw her to have undergone the "same distemper before her birth. "However, at the end of twelve "months she had the small pox "in a very severe manner. Both "the mother and child were late- "ly living at Epsom."

Since then we see that it is very probable, that the small pox may be caught from the mother when

when she is infected, it may be asked, why does not this happen oftener? In answer to this we may suppose, that this is not so ready a way as when the child is exposed to catch it after the birth, as we find too that a difference can be produced after birth: *viz.* inoculation is a much readier way of catching it than what is called the natural way. It may likewise be said, that many women who are with child, and have the small pox during pregnancy, do not recover; therefore both mother and child die before the disease can have time to produce eruptions upon the child. Finally, in many of those cases, where the mother recovers, there is sometimes produced a miscarriage, which also hinders the infection from taking place in the child. However, many women go through the whole disease, and the child shews no marks of the small pox.

Thus have I stated facts relative to the present subject, with some of the best authorities on both sides of the question; and shall now leave the reader to form his own judgment.

Dr. Guthrie's Account of the Russian Manner of treating Persons affected by the Fumes of burning Charcoal, and other Effluvia of the same Nature. From the same.

St. Petersburg, Oct. 12, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I SHALL endeavour to recollect, according to your desire, the particulars of that part of my former letter which related to the mode of recovering people in Russia, who are apparently deprived of life by the principle emitted from burning charcoal, or by the incrustation formed upon the insides of the boors huts when it thaws.

People of condition in this country have double windows to their houses in winter; but the commoner sort have only single ones, which is the reason that, during a severe frost, there is an incrustation formed upon the insides of the glass windows. This seems to be composed of condensed breath, perspiration, &c. as a number of people live and sleep in the same small room, especially in great cities. This excrementitious crust is farther impregnated with the phlogiston of candles, and of the oven with which the chamber is heated.

When a thaw succeeds a hard frost of long duration, and this plate of ice is converted into water, there is a principle set loose, which produces all the terrible effects upon the human body which the principle emitted from charcoal is so well known to do in this country, where people every day suffer from it. However, the Russians constantly lay the blame upon the oven, when they are affected by the thawing of the crust, as the effects are perfectly similar, and they cannot bring themselves to believe, that the dissolving of so small a portion of ice can be attended with any bad consequence, when they daily melt larger masses without danger: yet the oven does not at all account for the complaints brought on at this period; for, upon examination, they generally find every thing

thing right there, and ſtill the *ugar*, or hurtful vapour, remaining in the room.

As the effects of both are ſimilar, as I have ſaid above, and likewiſe the mode of recovery, I ſhall only give you an account of the operation of the principle emitted by burning charcoal, and of the method of bringing thoſe people to life who have been *ſuffocated* by it (as I think it is erroneouſly termed); this will ſuperſede the neceſſity of giving the hiſtory of both, or rather it will be giving both at the ſame time.

Ruſſian houſes are heated by the means of ovens; and the manner of heating them is as follows. A number of billets of wood are placed in the peech or ſtove, and allowed to burn till they fall in a maſs of bright red cinders; then the vent above is ſhut up, and likewiſe the door of the peech which opens into the room, in order to concentrate the heat; this makes the tiles of which the peech is compoſed as hot as you deſire, and ſufficiently warms the apartment; but ſometimes a ſervant is ſo negligent as to ſhut up the peech or oven before the wood is ſufficiently burnt, for the red cinders ſhould be turned over from time to time to ſee that no bit of wood remains of a blackiſh colour, but that the whole maſs is of a uniform glare (as if almoſt tranſparent) before the openings are ſhut, elſe the *ugar* or vapour is ſure to ſucceed to miſmanagement of this ſort, and its effects are as follows.

If a perſon lays himſelf down to ſleep in the room expoſed to the influence of this vapour, he falls into ſo ſound a ſleep that it is difficult to awake him, but he feels (or is ſenſible of) nothing. There is no ſpaſm excited in the *trachea arteria* or lungs to rouſe him, nor does the breathing, by all accounts, ſeem to be particularly affected: in ſhort, there is no one ſymptom of ſuffocation; but towards the end of the cataſtrophe, a ſort of groaning is heard by people in the next room, which brings them ſometimes to the relief of the ſufferer. If a perſon only ſits in the room, without intention to ſleep, he is, after ſome time, ſeized with a drowzineſs and inclination to vomit. However, this laſt ſymptom ſeldom affects a Ruſſian, it is chiefly foreigners who are awaked to their dangers by a *nauſea*; but the natives, in common with ſtrangers, perceive a dull pain in their heads, and if they do not remove directly, which they are often too ſleepy to do, are ſoon deprived of their ſenſes and power of motion, inſomuch, that if no perſon fortunately diſcovers them within an hour after this worſt ſtage, they are irrecoverably loſt; for the Ruſſians ſay, that they do not ſucceed in reſtoring to life thoſe who have lain more than an hour in a ſtate of inſenſibility.

The recovery is always attempted, and often effected, in this manner. They carry the patient immediately out of doors, and lay him upon the ſnow, with nothing on him but a ſhirt and linen drawers. His ſtomach and temples are then well rubbed with ſnow, and cold water, or milk is poured down his throat. This friction is continued with freſh ſnow until the livid hue, which the body had when brought out, is changed to its natural colour, and life renewed; then they cure the violent head-

head-ach which remains by binding on the forehead a cataplasm of black rye bread, and vinegar.

In this manner the unfortunate man is perfectly restored, without blowing up the lungs, as is necessary in the case of drowned persons; on the contrary, they begin to play of themselves so soon as the surcharge of phlogiston makes its escape from the body.

It is well worthy of observation, how diametrically opposite the modes are of restoring to life, those who are deprived of it by water, and those who have lost it by the fumes of charcoal: the one consisting in the internal and external application of heat, and the other in that of cold. It may be alledged, that the stimulus of the cold produces heat, and the fact seems to be confirmed by the Russian method of restoring circulation in a frozen limb by means of friction with snow. But what is singular in the case of people apparently deprived of life in the manner treated of is, that the body is much warmer when brought out of the room than at the instant life is restored, and that they awake cold and shivering. The colour of the body is also changed from a livid red to its natural complexion, which, together with some other circumstances, would almost lead one to suspect, that they are restored to life by the snow and cold water somehow or other freeing them from the load of phlogiston with which the system seems to be replete; for although the first application of cold water to the human body produces heat, yet, if often repeated in a very cold atmosphere, it then cools instead of continuing to heat, just as the cold bath does when a person remains too long in it.

In short, I think it is altogether a curious subject, whether you take into consideration the mode of action of the principle emitted by burning charcoal, and our phlogisticated crust; or the operation of the snow and cold water. However, I shall by no means take upon me to decide, whether the dangerous symptoms related above are produced by the air in the room being so saturated with phlogiston as to be unable to take up the proper quantity from the lungs, which occasions a surcharge in the system, according to your theory, or whether so subtle a fluid may somehow find its way into the circulation, and thereby arrest the vital powers; nor shall I determine whether the livid hue of the body when brought out is changed into a paler colour by the atmosphere somehow or other absorbing and freeing the blood from the colouring principle, as you have shewn to be the case with blood out of the body: these are curious inquiries that I shall leave to your investigation. I have only endeavoured to collect facts from a number of natives who have met with this accident themselves, or have assisted in restoring others to life. It is so common a case here that it is perfectly familiar to them, and they never call in medical assistance.

I am, &c.

From Dr. Duncan's *Medical Commentaries*, 1780.

THE following directions for preventing fatal effects from drinking

drinking large quantities of ſpirits, have been printed and diſtributed at Liverpool. They were drawn up by Dr. Houlſton of that place, in conſequence of ſome melancholy accidents happening from this cauſe, where proper aſſiſtance was not ſought for. As ſuch accidents are but too common, it is of importance that the moſt ſucceſsful practice in thoſe caſes ſhould be generally known.

Many perſons are deſtroyed ſuddenly by drinking *large quantities* of Spirits. Their firſt effects are *ſtimulant*; they quicken the circulation, and occaſion much blood to be thrown upon the head. They afterwards prove *ſedative*; they bring on ſtupor; loſs of reaſon, total; of motion and ſenſation, almoſt total. Their effects may be partly owing to their entering, in ſome degree, into the circulation, but depend chiefly, when violent, on their action on the nerves of the ſtomach. In conſequence, the brain is affected, and the nervous influence ſuſpended if not deſtroyed. All the parts of the body therefore partake of this inſenſibility. As the ſkin in ſome caſes may be burnt even without feeling, ſo the ſtomach and inteſtines may be ſtimulated conſiderably without any effect. The motion of the heart and lungs is much enfeebled and interrupted, but continues irregularly till death enſues.

To reſcue the perſon from ſo dangerous a ſtate is extremely difficult. To counteract theſe effects by medicine is leſs likely, both as the power of ſwallowing is loſt, and as, probably, little or no abſorption then takes place. But we ought to endeavour, 1ſt, *to evacuate* the poiſon; or elſe, 2dly, *to dilute* it, and thereby weaken its action. With a view to the firſt, *briſk vomits* may be given; but, from the want of irritability of the ſtomach, *theſe* often will not act, unleſs given early, when they are of great ſervice in caſes of intoxication. A dock-porter, who died in the Liverpool Infirmary from this cauſe, Feb. 28, 1780, got down over night, nearly 12 grains of emetic tartar diſſolved, yet it produced little or no effect, though he lived till the next day. *Purges* are alſo proper, but liable, though in a leſs degree, to the ſame objections. Sharp *glyſters* may be adminiſtered and will produce ſome evacuation, but their operation does not extend far enough. *Large glyſters*, of water only, or of water in which purging ſalts are diſſolved, thrown up with ſome force by a ſyringe, might be of more ſervice.

Oil has been adviſed to be given, to help to evacuate the ſpirit, or to weaken its action.——But when the inactivity of the ſtomach is become ſo great and the danger ſo preſſing, there ſeems more reaſon to expect ſucceſs, from *largely diluting* that poiſon, which we in vain attempt to evacuate. When intoxication has been produced by drinking ſtrong liquors, large quantities of water, or weak liquids, drank are found to leſſen it very conſiderably. And though the power of ſwallowing be loſt, yet by means of a pipe (as a catheter) paſſed beyond the glottis, or even down into the ſtomach, *water* might be poured in, in ſuch quantity as was judged ſufficient to dilute and carry off the liquor in the ſtomach. To the water might be added,

added, with advantage probably, *vinegar*, or any kind of *acid*: or *purgatives* might be diſſolved in it, to facilitate the poiſon's paſſing off by the inteſtines. A pipe of this kind too would afford the beſt method of introducing ſubſtances into the ſtomach to promote vomiting.

Putting the body into a *warm bath*, or the legs and feet in warm water, will be of uſe, by leſſening the quantity of blood accumulated in the head and in the larger veſſels: and ſome of the water may perhaps be abſorbed. With a view to relieve the oppreſſion, *bleeding*, and *opening the temporal artery* are adviſeable. If the pulſe is found to become freer and fuller on loſing ſome blood, more may be taken away. *Bliſters* may alſo be applied with advantage.

The coldneſs of the extremities, and the evident difficulty with which the circulation is kept up, point out the propriety of aſſiſting it by *warmth* and *friction* applied to the ſkin (as in recovering drowned perſons.) *Motion*, to prevent ſleep, may probably be ſerviceable in ſuch caſes. Great care ſhould be taken to looſen the neck-band, garters, and every kind of bandage, and that the body ſhould lie in a natural, eaſy, poſture; on the ſide is perhaps better than on the belly, though that has been recommended, that the ſtomach might the eaſier diſcharge its contents. The breathing ſhould not be obſtructed nor the neck lie low, or in a bent poſition.

Hints for the General Improvement of Commons, recommended to the Conſideration of every Perſon concerned in them, by the Author of "Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property."

AMONG the number of reſources which this country is ſuppoſed to have in ſtore, none is perhaps pregnant with more benefit to the ſtate, and to individuals, than our commons, or waſte land. Every man who has turned his thoughts this way, perceives the loſs ſuſtained in the neglect of ſo ſtriking an object; but the brighteſt jewel cannot give luſtre, till it be poliſhed; nor can theſe rude tracts of land yield their due profit to ſociety, till they are cultivated. Some perſons, from mere indolence and inattention, ſome through timidity, and others, perhaps, from a commendable perſuaſion that the incloſing of them would tend to the prejudice of the pooreſt claſs of mankind, continue to overlook the advantage they might acquire from them; and thus ſociety loſes the advantages it ought to derive from this fruitful ſource. With reſpect to the latter objection, it is indeed more than ſpecious; there is, it muſt be allowed, ſomething invidious in the very idea of wreſting from the poor, the only inheritance they have; in which too they have that beſt of title—Long Poſſeſſion. Therefore, from equal motives of humanity, and ſound policy, their property and intereſt in commons ought to remain inviolate; and the more ſo, as they hold it by a tenure that does not admit of alienation.—Let commons then remain in their preſent ſtate, as to owners and poſſeſſors, but let the ſenſe of this country be ſhewn, in adopting ſome method for their improve-

ment

ment, which will be of infinite advantage to the nation at large.—— To promote ſo laudable a project then, it were to be wiſhed that a bill in parliament might be procured, not for the incloſing, but, *for the improvement and better regulation of all the commons in England*; which is the more earneſtly recommended to the attention of the landed intereſt, leſt the neceſſity of the times ſhonld hereafter happen to juſtify government, in ſtriving to graſp at an influence over this object, in a manner which may be leſs palatable, and yet not more beneficial to the public.——This bill ſhould be ſo framed, as to enforce ſomething like the following practice:—The overſeers of the poor, or rather ſome able ſurveyor or ſurveyors, to be employed for that purpoſe, ſhould firſt exactly aſcertain, in every pariſh, where there is any conſiderable tract of common, what ſtock that common will fairly ſupport.—This done, if the proportion of common be large in proportion to the number of inhabitants, let every houſe, from the largeſt manſion to the meaneſt cottage that is inhabited, have an equal right of keeping one cow, or ſix ſheep, or any other proper ſtock in the like proportion.—After this allotment, let every eſtate have a right to ſtock the ſurpluſage in proportion to what it pays to the poor rates. Let every cottager, and every proprietor of an eſtate, have a right to ſtock his proportion, or to let it to any other perſon at his option; but let no perſon preſume to overſtock, under ſuch penalty as the wiſdom of the legiſlature ſhall think proper to inflict. Let the overſeers of the poor have a power to oblige every perſon intereſted in the common, to labour himſelf, or to ſend a labourer in his ſtead, four days in the year; or elſe pay ſix ſhillings in money for every cow, or proportional ſtock he has a right to keep; provided he be not called upon in time of corn or hay harveſt, or ſeed ſeaſons. Let the money given in lieu of labour, and the perſonal labour of others, be employed, under proper direction, in extirpating brakes, buſhes, furze, fern, and other rubbiſh, in draining wet parts, levelling and filling up broken ground and rutts, in making baulks to confine the roads to narrower compaſs, in erecting flood-gates, and ſtops, and making trenches, for the purpoſe of watering and flooding ſuch parts as admit of that moſt valuable of all improvements; in ſhort, in doing every thing to the common, which a good huſbandman would do to his farm, or a gentleman to his park.

Where the commons are ſo ſmall as not to admit of a cow, or the like proportion of ſtock, to every houſe, then let the overſeers of the poor have a power to let them to any proper tenant; and, after deducting out of the rent what may be neceſſary towards their yearly improvement, diſtribute the remainder, among ſuch induſtrious pariſhioners as have nothing to truſt to but their labour, and who are *not relieved* by the poor rates.

Much improvement may undoubtedly be made upon this plan. —But it is to be preſumed that no perſon, unleſs he be blinded by prejudice, can make any objection to a ſcheme, which appears to be productive of ſo much advantage; for

for the good effect of ſuch an act muſt be obvious to every common underſtanding. A great many commons, under this regulation, will be as beneficial to ſociety as though they were incloſed:—they will, in the firſt place, ſupport nearly double the ſtock they now do, to ſay nothing about mending the breed, which, by the way, will be no inconſiderable object; the rot in ſheep, and many other diſorders in cattle, will be greatly diminiſhed, as they have frequently their riſe from unſound commons:—the face of the country will be very much improved; for many commons, now offenſive to the eye, and comfortleſs to the foot, will be as pleaſant, as ſmooth, and firm as a fine lawn or park.—The cottagers can advance no juſt plea againſt this project; for where commons are large they will have their full proportion, and where they are ſmall, they will have the whole. Owners of eſtates cannot object to it, becauſe they will, in the former caſe, have their juſt proportion ſecured to them; and in the latter, the little they give up will be ſo ſtrong an incentive to induſtry, that it will operate ultimately, though not immediately, in their favour.

Theſe particulars are ſuggeſted from mere motives of public ſpirit, and are addreſſed to every man of landed property, from a full perſuaſion, that ſuch a ſcheme will greatly tend to private emolument, and be of more national advantage than mankind are in general aware of. If it be thought too crude or futile, it is to be hoped, that it will at leaſt lead ſome abler perſon to offer a plan better digeſted, and of more importance in its operation.

ANTIQUITIES.

Of the ancient Engliſh *Stage. From Supplemental Obſervations to* Steevens's *Edition of* Shakſpeare, *by Mr.* Malone.

THE drama, before the time of Shakſpeare, was ſo little cultivated, or ſo ill underſtood, that it is unneceſſary to carry our reſearches higher than that period. Dryden has truly obſerved, that he "found not, but created firſt the ſtage;" of which no one can doubt, who conſiders, that of all the plays iſſued from the preſs antecedent to the year 1592, when there is good reaſon to believe he commenced a dramatick writer, the titles are ſcarcely known, except to antiquarians; nor is there one of them that will bear a ſecond peruſal. Yet theſe, contemptible and few as they are, we may ſuppoſe to have been the moſt popular productions of the time, and the beſt that had been exhibited before the appearance of Shakſpeare.

The moſt ancient Engliſh playhouſes of which I have met any accounts, are *the Curtain* in Shoreditch, and *the Theatre*.

In the time of our author, there were no leſs than ten theatres open: four private houſes, viz. that in *Black-friars*, the *Cockpit* or *Phœnix* in Drury Lane, a theatre in *White-friars*, and one in *Saliſbury Court*; and ſix that were called public theatres, viz. the *Globe*, the *Swan*, the *Roſe*, and the *Hope*, on the Bank-ſide; the *Red Bull* at the upper end of St. John's ſtreet, and the *Fortune* in White-croſs ſtreet. The two laſt were chiefly frequented by citizens.

Moſt, if not all of Shakſpeare's plays were performed either at *the Globe*, or at the theatre in *Black-friars*. I ſhall therefore confine my enquiries chiefly to theſe two. It appears that they both belonged to the ſame company of comedians, viz. his majeſty's ſervants, which title they aſſumed, after a licence had been granted to them by King James in 1603; having before that time been called the ſervants of the lord chamberlain.

The theatre in *Black-friars* was, as has been mentioned, a private houſe; but what were the peculiar and diſtinguiſhing marks of a private play-houſe, it is not eaſy to aſcertain. We know only that it was very ſmall; and that plays were there uſually repreſented by candle-light.

The Globe, which was ſituated on the ſouthern ſide of the river Thames, was an hexagonal building, partly open to the weather, partly covered with reeds. It was a public

a public theatre, and of conſiderable ſize; and there they always acted by day-light. On the roof of *the Globe*, and the other public theatres, a pole was erected, to which a flag was affixed. Theſe flags were probably diſplayed only during the hours of exhibition; and it ſhould ſeem, from a paſſage in one of the old comedies, that they were taken down during Lent, in which ſeaſon no plays were preſented.

The Globe, though hexagonal at the outſide, was probably a rotunda within, and perhaps had its name from its circular form. It might, however, have been denominated only from its ſign; which was a figure of Hercules ſupporting the globe. This theatre was burnt down in 1613; but it was rebuilt in the following year, and decorated with more ornament than had been originally beſtowed upon it.

The exhibitions at *the Globe* ſeem to have been calculated chiefly for the lower claſs of people; thoſe at *Black-friars* for a more ſelect and judicious audience. This appears from the following prologue to Shirley's *Doubtful Heir*, which is inſerted among his poems, printed in 1646, with this title:

Prologue at *the Globe*, to his comedy called *the Doubtful Heir*, which ſhould have been preſented at *the Black-friars*.

" Gentlemen, I am only ſent to ſay,
Our author did not calculate his play
For *this* meridian. The *Bank-ſide*, he knows,
Is far more ſkilful at the ebbs and flows
Of water than of wit; he did not mean
For the elevation of your poles, this ſcene.
No ſhews—no dance—and what you moſt delight in,
Grave underſtanders *, here's no target-fighting
Upon the ſtage; all work for cutlers barr'd;
No bawdry, nor no ballads;—this goes hard:
But language clean, and what affects you not,
Without impoſſibilities the plot;
No clown, no ſquibs, no devil in't.—Oh now,
You ſquirrels that want nuts, what will you do?
Pray do not crack the benches, and we may
Hereafter fit your palates with a play.
But you that can contract yourſelves, and ſit,
As you were now in the *Black-friars* pit,
And will not deaf us with lewd noiſe and tongues,
Becauſe we have no heart to break our lungs,
Will pardon our *vaſt* ſtage, and not diſgrace
This play, meant for your perſons, not the place."

The ſuperior diſcernment of the *Black-friars* audience may be likewiſe collected from a paſſage in the preface prefixed by Heminge and Condell to the firſt folio edition of our author's works: " and though you be *a magiſtrate of wit*, and ſit on the ſtage at *Black-friars* or the Cockpit, to arraigne plays dailie, know theſe plays have had their tryal already, and ſtood out all appeales."

A writer, already quoted, informs us that one of theſe theatres was a winter, and the other a ſummer houſe. As *the Globe* was partly expoſed to the weather, and

* The common people ſtood in *the Globe* theatre, in that part of the houſe which we now call the pit; which being lower than the ſtage, Shirley calls them *under* ſtanders. In the private play-houſes, it appears from the ſubſequent lines, there were ſeats in the pit.

they acted there usually by day-light, it was probably the summer theatre. The exhibitions here seem to have been more frequent than at *Black-friars*, at least till the year 1604 or 1605, when the *Bank side* appears to have become less fashionable, and less frequented than it formerly had been.

Many of our ancient dramatic pieces were performed in the yards of carriers' inns, in which, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the comedians, who then first united themselves in companies, erected an occasional stage *. The form of these temporary play-houses seems to be preserved in our modern theatre. The galleries are, in both, ranged over each other on three sides of the building. The small rooms under the lowest of these galleries, answer to our present boxes; and it is observable that these, even in theatres which were built in a subsequent period expressly for dramatic exhibitions, still retained their old name, and are frequently called *rooms* by our ancient writers. The yard bears a sufficient resemblance to the pit, as at present in use. We may suppose the stage to have been raised in this area, on the fourth side, with its back to the gateway of the inn, at which the money for admission was taken. Thus, in fine weather, a play-house not incommodious might have been formed.

Hence, in the middle of *the Globe*, and I suppose of the other *public* theatres, in the time of Shakspeare, there was an open yard or area, where the common people stood to see the exhibition; from which circumstance they are called by our author *groundlings*, and by Ben Jonson, "the *understanding* gentlemen of the *ground*."

In the ancient play-houses there appears to have been a private box; of which it is not easy to ascertain the situation. It seems to have been placed at the side of the stage, towards the rear, and to have been at a lower price; in this some people sat, either from œconomy or singularity. The galleries or *scaffolds*, as they are sometimes called, and that part of the house, which in private theatres was named the pit †, seem to have been at the same price; and probably

* Fleckno, in his *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, published in 1664, says, some remains of these ancient theatres were at that day to be seen in the inn-yards of the *Cross-keys* in Grace-church Street, and *the Bull* in Bishopsgate Street.

In the seventeen play-houses erected between the years 1570 and 1629, the continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle* reckons "five *inns* or common *osteryes* turned into play-houses."

† The pit, Dr. Percy supposes to have received its name from one of the play-houses having been formerly a *cock-pit*. This account of the term, however, seems to be somewhat questionable. The place where the seats are ranged in St. Mary's at Cambridge, *is* still called the *pit*; and no one can suspect that venerable fabric of having ever been a *cock-pit*, or that the phrase was borrowed from a play-house to be applied to a church. A *pit* is a place low in its relative situation, and such is the middle part of a theatre.

Shak-

bably in houſes of reputation, ſuch as *the Globe*, and that in *Black-friars*, the price of admiſſion into thoſe parts of the theatre was ſixpence, while in ſome meaner play-houſes it was only a penny, in others two-pence. The price of admiſſion into the beſt *rooms* or boxes, was, I believe, in our author's time, a ſhilling; though afterwards it appears to have riſen to two ſhillings and half a crown.

From ſeveral paſſages in our old plays we learn, that ſpectators were admitted on the ſtage, and that the critics and wits of the time uſually ſat there. Some were placed on the ground *; others ſat on ſtools, of which the price was either ſixpence or a ſhilling, according, I ſuppoſe, to the commodiouſneſs of the ſituation. And they were attended by pages, who furniſhed them with pipes and tobacco, which was ſmoked here as well as in other parts of the houſe. Yet it ſhould ſeem that perſons were ſuffered to ſit on the ſtage only in the private play-houſes, (ſuch as *Black-friars*, &c.) where the audience was more ſelect, and of a higher claſs; and that in *the Globe*, and the other public theatres, no ſuch licence was permitted.

The ſtage was ſtrewed with ruſhes, which, we learn from Hentzner and Caius de Ephemera, was, in the time of Shakſpeare, the uſual covering of floors in England. The curtain which hangs in the front of the preſent ſtage, drawn up by lines and pullies, though not a modern invention, (for it was uſed by Inigo Jones in the maſques at court) was yet an apparatus to which the ſimple mechaniſm of our ancient theatres had not arrived; for in them the curtains opened in the middle, and were drawn backwards and forwards on an iron rod. In ſome play-houſes they were woollen, in others made of ſilk. Towards the rear of the ſtage there appears to have been a balcony, the platform of which was probably eight or ten feet from the ground. I ſuppoſe it to have been ſupported by pillars. From hence, in many of our old plays, part of the dialogue was ſpoken; and in the front of this balcony curtains likewiſe were hung.

A doubt has been entertained, whether in our ancient theatres

Shakſpeare himſelf uſes *cock-pit* to expreſs a ſmall confined ſituation, without any particular reference:

"Can this *cock-pit* hold
"The vaſty fields of France—or may we cram,
"Within this wooden O, the very caſques
"That did affright the air at Agincourt?"

* "Being on your feet, ſneake not away like a coward, but ſalute all your gentle acquaintance *that are ſpread either on the ruſhes*, or on ſtooles about you; and draw what troops you can from the ſtage after you——" Decker's *Gul's Horn-book*, 1609. This accounts for Hamlet's ſitting on the ground at Ophelia's feet, during the repreſentation of the play before the king and court of Denmark. Our author has only placed the young prince in the ſame ſituation in which he perhaps often ſaw Eſſex or Southampton at the feet of ſome celebrated beauty. What ſome choſe from œconomy, gallantry might have recommended to others.

there were ſide and other ſcenes. The queſtion is involved in ſo much obſcurity, that it is very difficult to form any decided opinion upon it. It is certain, that in the year 1605, Inigo Jones exhibited an entertainment at Oxford, in which moveable ſcenes were uſed *; but he appears to have introduced ſeveral pieces of machinery in the maſques at court, with which undoubtedly the public theatres were unacquainted. A paſſage which has been produced from one of the old comedies, proves, it muſt be owned, that even theſe were furniſhed with ſome pieces of machinery, which were uſed when it was requiſite to exhibit the deſcent of ſome god or ſaint; but from all the cotemporary accounts, I am inclined to believe, that the mechaniſm of our ancient ſtage ſeldom went beyond a painted chair, or a trap-door, and that few, if any of them, had any moveable ſcenes. When king Henry VIII. is to be diſcovered by the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, reading in his ſtudy, the ſcenical direction in the firſt folio, 1623, (which was printed apparently from play-houſe copies) is, "The *king draws the curtaine*, [i. e. draws it open] *and ſits reading penſively*; for, beſides the principal curtains that hung in the front of the ſtage, they uſed others as ſubſtitutes for ſcenes. If a bed-chamber is to be exhibited, no change of ſcene is mentioned; but the property-man is ſimply ordered *to thruſt forth a bed*. When the fable requires the Roman capitol to be exhibited, we find two officers enter, "to lay cuſhions, *as it were* in the capitol." So, in *King Richard II.* act iv. ſc. i. "Bolingbroke, &c. enter *as* to the parliament." Again, in *Sir John Oldcaſtle*, 1600, "Enter Cambridge, Scroop, and Gray, *as* in a chamber." In *Romeo and Juliet*, I doubt much whether any exhibition of Juliet's monument was given on the ſtage. I imagine Romeo only opened with his mattock one of the ſtage trap-doors, (which might have repreſented a tomb-ſtone) by which he deſcended to a vault beneath the ſtage, where Juliet was depoſited; and this idea is countenanced by a paſſage in the play, and by the poem on which the drama was founded.

How little the imaginations of the audience were aſſiſted by ſcenical deception, and how much neceſſity our author had to call on them to "piece out imperfections with their thoughts," may be alſo collected from Sir Philip Sidney,

* See Peck's *Memoirs of Milton*, p. 282: "The above-mentioned art of varying the face of the whole ſtage was a new thing, and never ſeen in England till Auguſt 1605, at what time, king James I. being to be entertained at Oxford, the heads of that Univerſity hired the aforeſaid Inigo Jones (a great traveller) who undertook to farther them much, and to furniſh them with rare devices for the king's entertainment. Accordingly he erected a ſtage cloſe to the upper end of the hall, (as it ſeemed at the firſt ſight) at Chriſt-church; but it was indeed but a falſe wall, fair painted and adorned with ſtately pillars, which pillars would turn about. By reaſon whereof, with other *painted clothes*, on Wedneſday, Aug. 28, he varied their ſtage three times in the acting of one tragedy."

who,

who, deſcribing the ſtate of the drama and the ſtage in his time, ſays, "Now you ſhall ſee three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we muſt believe the ſtage to be a garden. By and by we heare news of a ſhipwracke in the ſame place; then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that, comes out a hideous monſter with fire and ſmoke; then the miſerable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while in the mean time two armies fly in, repreſented with four ſwords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field."

All theſe circumſtances induce me to believe that our ancient theatres, in general, were only furniſhed with curtains, and a ſingle ſcene compoſed of tapeſtry, which appears to have been ſometimes ornamented with pictures: and ſome paſſages in our old dramas incline one to think, that when tragedies were performed, the ſtage was hung with black.

In the early part, at leaſt, of our author's acquaintance with the theatre, the want of ſcenery ſeems to have been ſupplied by the ſimple expedient of writing the names of the different places where the ſcene was laid in the progreſs of the play, which were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as to be viſible to the audience.

Though the apparatus for theatric exhibitions was thus ſcanty, and the machinery of the ſimpleſt kind, the invention of trap-doors appears not to be modern; for in an old morality, entitled, *All for Money*, we find a marginal direction, which implies that they were early in uſe.

It appears from Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, that the covering, or internal roof of the ſtage, was anciently termed *the heavens*. It was probably painted of a ſky-blue colour; or perhaps pieces of drapery tinged with blue were ſuſpended acroſs the ſtage, to repreſent the heavens.

From a plate prefixed to Kirkman's *Drolls*, printed in 1672, in which there is a view of a theatrical booth, it ſhould ſeem that the ſtage was formerly lighted by two large branches, of a form ſimilar to thoſe now hung in churches. They being, I ſuppoſe, found incommodious, as they obſtructed the ſight of the ſpectators, gave place in a ſubſequent period to ſmall circular wooden frames, furniſhed with candles, eight of which were hung on the ſtage, four at either ſide: and theſe within a few years were wholly removed by Mr. Garrick, who, on his return from France, firſt introduced the preſent commodious method of illuminating the ſtage by lights not viſible to the audience.

If all the players, whoſe names are enumerated in the firſt folio edition of our author's works, belonged to the ſame theatre, they compoſed a numerous company; but it is doubtful whether they all performed at the ſame period, or in the ſame houſe. Many of the companies certainly were ſo thin, that one perſon played two or three parts; and a battle, on which the fate of an empire was ſuppoſed to depend, was decided by half a dozen combatants. It appears to have been a common practice, in their mock engagements, to diſcharge ſmall pieces of ordnance on the ſtage.

Before the exhibition began, three flouriſhes or pieces of muſic were played, or, in the ancient language, there were three ſoundings. Muſic was likewiſe played between the acts. The inſtruments chiefly uſed were trumpets, cornets, and hautboys. The band, which did not conſiſt of more than five or ſix performers, ſat (as I have been told by a very ancient ſtage veteran, who had his information from Bowman, the contemporary of Betterton) in an upper balcony, over what is now called the ſtage-box.

The perſon who ſpoke the prologue was uſhered in by trumpets, and uſually wore a long black velvet cloak, which, I ſuppoſe, was conſidered as beſt ſuited to a ſupplicatory addreſs. Of this cuſtom, whatever might have been its origin, ſome traces remained till very lately; a black coat having been, if I miſtake not, within theſe few years, the conſtant ſtage-habiliment of our modern prologue-ſpeakers. The dreſs of the ancient prologue-ſpeaker is ſtill retained in the play that is exhibited in *Hamlet*, before the king and court of Denmark.

An epilogue does not appear to have been a regular appendage to a play in Shakſpeare's time; for many of his dramas had none; at leaſt, they have not been preſerved. In *All's Well that Ends Well*, the *Midſummer Night's Dream*, *As you like it*, *Troilus and Creſſida*, and *The Tempeſt*, the epilogue is ſpoken by one of the perſons of the drama, and adapted to the character of the ſpeaker; a circumſtance that I have not obſerved in the epilogues of any other author of that age. The epilogue was not always ſpoken by one of the performers in the piece, for that ſubjoined to *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* appears to have been delivered by a dancer.

The performers of male characters generally wore periwigs, which in the age of Shakſpeare were not in common uſe. It appears, from a paſſage in Puttenham's *Art of Engliſh Poeſy*, 1589, that vizards were on ſome occaſions uſed by the actors of thoſe days; and it may be inferred from a ſcene in one of our author's comedies, that they were ſometimes worn in his time, by thoſe who performed female characters. But this, I imagine, was very rare. Some of the female part of the audience likewiſe appeared in maſks.

The ſtage-dreſſes, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, were much more coſtly at ſome theatres than others. Yet the wardrobe of even the king's ſervants at *the Globe* and *Black-friars*, was, we find, but ſcantily furniſhed; and our author's dramas derived very little aid from the ſplendor of exhibition.

It is well known, that in the time of Shakſpeare, and for many years afterwards, female characters were repreſented by boys or young men. Sir William D'Avenant, in imitation of the foreign theatres, firſt introduced females in the ſcene, and Mrs. Betterton is ſaid to have been the firſt woman that appeared on the Engliſh ſtage. Andrew Pennycuicke played the part of *Matilda*, in a tragedy of Davenport's, in 1655; and Mr. Kynaſton acted ſeveral female parts after the Reſtoration. Downes, a cotempo-

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rary of his, assures us, "that being then very young, he made a complete stage beauty, performing his parts so well, (particularly *Arthiope* and *Aglaura*) that it has since been disputable among the judicious, whether any woman that succeeded him touched the audience so sensibly as he."

Both the prompter, or book-holder, as he was sometimes called, and the property-man, appear to have been regular appendages of our ancient theatres.

No writer that I have met with intimates, that, in the time of Shakspeare, it was *customary* to exhibit more than a single dramatic piece on one day.

The Yorkshire Tragedy, or All's one, indeed, appears to have been one of four pieces that were represented on the same day; and Fletcher has also a piece called *Four Plays in One*; but probably these were either exhibited on some particular occasion, or were ineffectual efforts to introduce a new species of amusement; for we do not find any other instances of the same kind. Had any shorter pieces been exhibited after the principal performance, some of them probably would have been printed: but there are none extant of an earlier date than the time of the Restoration. The practice therefore of exhibiting two dramas successively in the same evening, we may be assured, was not established before that period. But though the audiences, in the time of our author, were not gratified by the representation of more than one drama in the same day, the entertainment was diversified, and the populace diverted, by vaulting, tumbling, slight of hand, and morris-dancing: a mixture not much more heterogeneous than that with which we are daily presented, a tragedy and a farce.

The amusements of our ancestors, before the commencement of the play, were of various kinds. While some part of the audience entertained themselves with reading, or playing at cards, others were employed in less refined occupations; in drinking ale, or smoking tobacco: with these they were furnished by male attendants, of whose clamour a satirical writer of the time of James I. loudly complains.

It was a common practice to carry table-books to the theatre, and either from curiosity, or enmity to the author, or some other motive, to write down passages of the play that was represented: and there is reason to believe that the imperfect and mutilated copies of some of Shakspeare's dramas, which are yet extant, were taken down in short-hand during the exhibition.

At the end of the piece, the actors, in noblemens' houses and in taverns, where plays were frequently performed, prayed for the health and prosperity of their patrons; and in the public theatres, for the king and queen. This prayer sometimes made part of the epilogue. Hence, probably, as Mr. Steevens has observed, the addition of *Vivant rex et regina* to the modern play-bills.

Plays in the time of our author began at one o'clock in the afternoon; and the exhibition was usually finished in two hours. Even in 1667 they commenced at three o'clock.

When Gosson wrote his *School of Abuse*, in 1579, it seems that dramatic entertainments were usually

ally exhibited on Sundays. Afterwards they were performed on that and other days indiscriminately. From the silence of Prynne on this subject, it has been supposed that the practice of exhibiting plays on the Lord's day was discontinued when he published his *Histriomastix*, in 1633; but I doubt whether this conjecture be well founded, for it appears, from a cotemporary writer, that it had not been abolished in the third year of king Charles I.

It has been a question whether it was formerly a common practice to ride on horseback to the playhouse; a circumstance that would scarcely deserve consideration, if it were not in some sort connected with our author's history, a plausible story having been built on this foundation, relative to his first introduction to the stage.

The modes of conveyance to the theatre, anciently, as at present, seem to have been various; some going in coaches, others on horseback, and many by water. To *the Globe* play-house the company probably were conveyed by water; to that in *Black-friars*, the gentry went either in coaches*, or on horse-back; and the com-

* See a letter from Mr. Garrard to Lord Strafford, dated Jan. 9, 1633-4; Strafford's *Letters*, vol. I. p. 175: "Here hath been an order of the lords of the council hung up in a table near *Paul's* and the *Black-friars*, to command all that resort to the play-house there, to send away their *coaches*, and to disperse abroad in *Paul's-church-yard*, *Carter-lane*, the *Conduit* in *Fleet-street*, and other places, and not to return to fetch their company, but they must trot a-foot to find their *coaches*:—'twas kept very strictly for two or three weeks, but now I think it is disordered again."—It should however be remembered, that this was written above forty years after Shakspeare's first acquaintance with the theatre. Coaches, in the time of queen Elizabeth, were possessed but by very few. They were not in ordinary use till after the year 1605. See Stowe's *Annals*, p. 867. Even when the above-mentioned order was made, there were no *hackney* coaches. These, as appears from another letter in the same collection, were established a few months afterwards.—"I cannot (says Mr. Garrard) omit to mention any new thing that comes up amongst us, though never so trivial. Here is one captain Baily, he hath been a sea-captain, but now lives on the land, about this city, where he tries experiments. He hath erected, according to his ability, some *four hackney coaches*, put his men in livery, and appointed them to stand at the *May-pole* in the *Strand*, giving them instructions at what rates to carry men into several parts of the town, where all day they may be had. Other hackney-men seeing this way, they flocked to the same place, and perform their journies at the same rate. So that sometimes there is twenty of them together, which disperse up and down, that they and others are to be had every where, as water-men are to be had by the water-side. Every body is much pleased with it. For whereas, before, coaches could not be had but at great rates, now a man may have one much cheaper." This letter is dated April 1, 1634.—Strafford's *Letters*, vol. I. p. 227.

A few months afterwards, hackney-chairs were introduced: "Here is also another project for carrying people up and down in *close chairs*, for the sole doing whereof, Sir Sander Duncombe, a traveller, now a pensioner, hath obtained a patent from the king, and hath forty or fifty making ready for use." *Ibid.* p. 336.

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mon people on foot. In an epigram by Sir John Davis, the practice of riding to the theatre is ridiculed as a piece of affectation or vanity; and therefore we may presume it was not very general.

Though from the want of newspapers and other periodical publications, intelligence was not so speedily circulated in former times as at present, our ancient theatres do not appear to have laboured under any disadvantage in this respect; for the players printed and exposed accounts of the pieces that they intended to exhibit, which, however, did not contain a complete list of the characters, or the names of the actors by whom they were represented*.

The long and whimsical titles that are prefixed to the quarto copies of our author's plays, I suppose to have been transcribed from the play-bills of the time. They were equally calculated to attract the notice of the idle gazer in the walks at St. Paul's, or to draw a crowd about some vociferous Autolycus, who perhaps was hired by the players thus to raise the expectations of the multitude. It is indeed highly improbable that the modest Shakspeare, who has more than once apologized for his *untutored lines*, should in his manuscripts have entitled any of his dramas *most excellent and pleasant* performances. A contemporary writer has preserved something like a play-bill of those days, which seems to corroborate this observation; for if it were divested of rhime, it would bear no very distant resemblance to the title-pages that stand before some of our author's dramas:

" ———Prithee, what's the play?
(The first I visited this twelvemonth day)
They say—" A new invented boy of *Purle*,
That jeoparded his necke to steale a girl
Of twelve; and lying fast impounded for't,
Has hither sent his bearde to act his part;
Against all those in open malice bent,
That would not freely to the theft consent:
Faines all to's wish, and in the epilogue
Goes out applauded for a famous—rogue."
" —Now hang me if I did not look at first
For some such stuff, by the fond people's thrust."

It is uncertain at what time the usage of giving authors a benefit on the third day of the exhibition of their piece commenced. Mr. Oldys, in one of his manuscripts, intimates that dramatic poets had anciently their benefit on the first day that a new play was represented; a regulation which would have been very favourable to some of the ephemeral productions of modern times. But for this there is not, I believe, any sufficient authority. From D'Avenant, in-

* This practice did not commence till the beginning of the present century. I have seen a play-bill, printed in the year 1697, which expressed only the titles of the two pieces that were to be exhibited, and the time when they were to be represented. Notices of plays to be performed on a future day, similar to those now daily published, are found in the original edition of the *Spectators* in 1711. In these early theatrical advertisements, our author is always styled the *immortal* Shakspeare. Hence Pope:

" Shakspeare, whom you and every *play-house bill*
" Style the *divine*, the matchless, what you will——"

deed,

deed, we learn, that in the latter part of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the poet had his benefit on the second day. As it was a general practice, in the time of Shakspeare, to sell the copy of the play to the theatre, I imagine, in such cases, an author derived no other advantage from his piece, than what arose from the sale of it. Sometimes, however, he found it more beneficial to retain the copy-right in his own hands; and when he did so, I suppose he had a benefit. It is certain that the giving authors the profits of the third exhibition of their play, which seems to have been the usual mode during almost the whole of the last century, was an established custom in the year 1612; for Decker, in the prologue to one of his comedies, printed in that year, speaks of the poet's *third day*. The unfortunate Otway had no more than one benefit on the production of a new play; and this too, it seems, he was sometimes forced to mortgage before the piece was acted.

Southerne was the first dramatic writer who obtained the emoluments arising from two representations; and to Farquhar, in the year 1700, the benefit of a third was granted. To the honour of Mr. Addison, it should be remembered, that he first discontinued the ancient, but humiliating, practice of distributing tickets, and soliciting company to attend at the theatre, on the poet's nights.

When an author sold his piece to the sharers or proprietors of a theatre, it remained for several years unpublished; but, when that was not the case, he printed it for sale, to which many seem to have been induced, from an apprehension that an imperfect copy might be issued from the press without their consent. The customary price of the copy of a play, in the time of Shakspeare, appears to have been twenty nobles, or six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. The play when printed was sold for six-pence; and the usual present from a patron, in return for a dedication, was forty shillings.

On the first day of exhibiting a new play, the prices of admission appear to have been raised; and this seems to have been occasionally practised on the benefit-nights of authors, to the end of the last century.

Dramatic poets in those times, as at present, were admitted gratis into the threatre.

The custom of passing a final censure on plays at their first exhibition, is as ancient as the time of our author; for no less than three plays of his rival, Ben Jonson, appear to have been damned; and Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, written by him and Beaumont, underwent the same fate.

It is not easy to ascertain what were the emoluments of a successful actor in the time of Shakspeare. They had not then annual benefits, as at present. The performers at each theatre seem to have shared the profits arising either from each day's exhibition, or from the whole season, among them. I think it is not unlikely, that the clear emoluments of the theatre, after deducting whatever was

was appropriated to the proprietors of the houſe, were divided into one hundred parts, of which the actors had various ſhares, according to their rank and merit. From Ben Jonſon's *Poetaſter*, we learn, that one of either the performers or proprietors had ſeven ſhares and a half; but of what integral ſum is not mentioned.

On the Origin of the Engliſh *Language. By the Rev. Mr.* Drake. Archæol. Vol. V.

MR. Whitaker, in his Hiſtory of Manchester, having controverted the opinion of thoſe who affirm the Engliſh language to be genuine and unmixed Teutonic, and having aſſerted it to be of Celtic origin, a learned and ingenious advocate for the former opinion, has endeavoured in the following memoir to ſupport it by an appeal to the ſenſes of his readers.

As all conjectural reaſoning, ſays Mr. Drake, muſt be vague and undeciſive upon this ſubject, the moſt ſolid and rational mode of determining the queſtion will be to have recourſe to matter of fact. For this purpoſe I ſhall take a part of a chapter in Ulphilas's Gothic verſion of the goſpel, a work executed above fourteen hundred years ago, and confront it with the ſame chapter of our preſent tranſlation, and I believe, Sir, you will be amazed at the ſtriking affinity between the two languages, notwithſtanding the different mediums through which they have deſcended, and the many ages that have elapſed ſince they have been ſeparated. I ſhall make uſe of the tenth chapter of St. John, though any other would equally anſwer the purpoſe.

The original Gothic of the firſt verſe is this:

Amen amen qwitha izwis ſa ni atgangith in thairh daur in garden lambè, ak ſteigith alathro ſa iſt hliftus. Now that you may have a clearer view of the connection I am endeavouring to prove, I will render this verſe verbatim into the preſent Engliſh. *Amen amen* verily verily *qwitha* I ſay *izwis* to you *ſa* he that *ni atgangith in* entereth not *thairh daur* through or by the door *ak* but *ſteigith* climbeth up *alathro* ſome other way *ſa* he *iſt* is *hliftus* a thief. I will now ſeparate the words from the context, and, by an accurate examination of each particular one, I am convinced that, notwithſtanding the variations of orthography and pronunciation which neceſſarily muſt be in the two tongues, it will appear very viſibly that the one is the genuine production of the other. *Qwitha* I ſay. Thoſe who recollect the old word Quoth will eaſily perceive that it is the imperfect tenſe of this verb *quithan* dicere. *Izwis*, the Somerſet dialect for you. What connection this *izwis*, to *you*, had with our ancient language, may be ſeen from this ſentence of a letter written to K. Henry the Vth by the Earl of Saliſbury: "We were "afore diverſe places, what time "it liketh *zow* to ſette on them, "they be not able to hold ajenſt "*zow* no while." In the ſame letter *your* is written *zour*, which is very little different from the Gothic *izwar* veſter. *Atgangith in*; this

this expreſſion for entereth muſt be familiar to an Engliſh ear, eſpecially to thoſe who are converſant with the northern ſpeech. The peaſants in Yorkſhire, particularly in the Weſt Riding, apply the verb to *gang* in general for to go. It was the common language of our ancient poets, and Johnſon has inſerted it in his dictionary as ſynonimous with to go, from which many nouns are apparently derived, as a gang ſignifying a number herding together, that go, metaphorically ſpeaking, the ſame way; gangweek, rogation week, and the gangway in a ſhip. *Thairu daur* for through the door is too obvious a reſemblance to take notice of. *In garden lambe.* In the ſheepfold. This is a compound word, the latter part of it, *lambe*, requires no explication; the former, *gardan*, may appear at firſt ſight foreign to us, but it really is not ſo, but naturally inherent both in the Saxon and Engliſh languages. *Gard* in its primary ſignification denoted a houſe, as, *Ni fareith us garda in gard*; Go not from houſe to houſe; but was transferred from this original meaning to expreſs an incloſure of any kind, *ſepem* vel *munimentum claudens aliquid*; hence the Goths ſaid, *aurtigard* hortus; whence the Saxons had their *ortgearde*, and we our orchard. And it is obſervable in this inſtance, that all the European tongues that have the leaſt mixture of Gothiſm in them, have in general interpreted the Latin *hortus* with words originating from this *gard*: as French, *Jardin*; Italian, *Giardino*; Spaniſh, *Gardin*; German, *Gardo*; Daniſh, *Gaard*; Dutch, *Gaerde*; Engliſh, *Garden*. Another noun the Goths have formed in compoſition with gard is weingard, ſignifying an incloſure of vines, from which the Saxon and our vineyard is made. Perhaps it may not be impertinent in this place to adviſe the gentlemen who are engaged in the vineyard controverſy, as ſome of their arguments ſeem drawn from the force and origin of the term vineyard and others relative to it, not to ſtop their enquiries at the Saxon, but to apply to the fountain's head, the Goths, for their information—Antiquos accedere fontes—They will there be ſupplied with not only *weingard*, but alſo *weintriu* a vine, *weinabaſge* grapes, *weinatains* a vine branch, and others. We are told by the Hanoverian Knittel, who publiſhed a fragment of Gothic literature, lately found in that country, that Buſbequius, who viſited the leſſer Tartary, the early reſidence of the Goths, found there an infinite number of words and phraſes of Gothic birth, and among the reſt this weingard pure and unadultered. However, to put an end to this term, if the ſupporters of the Celtic ſyſtem deny the reſemblance here, we are at liberty to introduce the Saxon *ſceape falde*, equally Teutonic, the root indiſputably of our ſheepfold. But I forgot to mention, that I am apprehenſive the learned Mr. Barrington, in his anſwer to Mr. Pegge about the Engliſh vineyards, has made a miſtake as to matter of fact. "There is great reaſon," ſays that gentleman, "to think "that the Saxons had no term "for a grape, or the fruit of the "vine; for that paſſage in St. "Matthew, Do men gather grapes

"of

" of thorns? runs thus in the " Saxon verſion, *cuithes ut ſom-* " *nigas of thornum uvas.* It ſeems " evident," concludes he, " that " the tranſlator had no Saxon " word for the fruit of the vine, " otherwiſe he would not have " uſed the Latin term *uvas.*" Now it unfortunately happens, that in the Saxon tranſlation of the goſpel that is now open before me, not the Latin but the Saxon noun is made uſe of in the above-mentioned place: *cwyſt thu gaderath man winberian of thornum*; where you will obſerve, that *winberian* is the Saxon word for grapes or the fruit of the vine*; and this term occurs repeatedly in the verſion of the Heptateuch. When Moſes ſent out the ſpies to examine the land of Canaan, we are told in our bible, that the time was the time of the firſt ripe grapes; and in the Saxon tranſlation *hit was tha tima that winberian ripodon.* This word *winberian* or grapes ſeems to be perfectly agreeable to the genius of the language, for berries in compound expreſs the fruit of many of our trees and ſhrubs in our preſent ſpeech, as mulberries, raſberries, ſtrawberries, black-berries, gooſeberries; and in Yorkſhire, where more genuine Saxon is retained than in any other part of England, they in general ſay currantberries. *Steigeth* climbeth up, may alſo with ſome attention be traced in our language. Johnſon has the verb to *ſty*, which he interprets to ſoar or aſcend; hence the ſubſtantive *ſtile* explained as a ſet of ſteps to paſs from one incloſure to another; and in the north of England, the common appellation for a ladder, among the lower ſort of people is, a *ſtee*; all derivative from the Gothick *ſteigan.*

Alothre. We can diſcern our *other* in this word.

Iſt hliftus, is a thief. However unconnected with the Engliſh *hliftus* may appear, yet an accurate obſerver may find it lurking in a compound. Shoplifting, a practice pretty prevalent in this town, is undoubtedly deducible from it; and I remember that a very ſenſible gentleman, who had been ſome time in Scotland, informed me, that he heard a man arraigned in a court of juſtice in that kingdom for the crime of cowlifting, which he found upon the trial to mean the ſtealing of a cow.

I muſt beg leave to take notice, that the Gothick *hliftus* is the Greek Κλεπτης, the aſpirate being aſſumed inſtead of the K. This analogy is obſervable in our modern Engliſh, as *hollow* is made from Κοιλος, and *hede* for Κηδος, and we have many other inſtances of the ſame nature. The reſemblance indeed between the Gothick and the Greek is ſo ſtriking and remarkable, that many learned men have judged them to be only different dialects of the ſame radical tongue. Theſe are the ſentiments of that great maſter of Northern literature Franciſcus Junius;

* The paſſage however is accurately referred to, and to be found, in Dr. Hickes's Anglo-Saxon grammar, p. 92, where *uvas* is uſed for *grapes*, though the word may be rendered *winberian* in the printed verſion of the Anglo-Saxon goſpel, which is not cited in the Archæologia, vol. iii. p. 89.

" Linguam

"Linguam Gothicam," says he, "(ut quae solâ dialecto differat a "Graeca vetere) ab eadem ori-"gine cum Graeca profluxisse ju-"dicabam." And Dr. Hickes tells us, that "Gothica lingua in "multis locis Grecissat." To which opinion, I confess, I am much inclined to accede, as it seems the only rational way to account for that variety of Greek idioms and terms that are so plentifully interspersed in our language.

But to proceed to the second verse:

Sa inngangands thairh daur, hairdeis est lambe.

Sa he that *ingangand* entereth *in thauru daur* through or by the door *ist* is *hairdeis* the shepherd *lambe* of the sheep.

The only word not noticed in the preceding verse is *hairdeis*, which the Saxons call sceapa hyrde, and we shepherd. Perhaps it is unnecessary to inform you that *hairdeis*, joined with some particular species of cattle, denotes the person that has the management of them in our present English, as shepherd, swineherd, goatherd, neatherd.

The third verse runs thus:

Thamm daurawards unlukith, jah tho lamba stibna is hausgand, jah tho lamba haitith bi namin.

Thamm to him *daurawards* the porter *unlukith* openeth, *jah* and *tho lambe* the sheep *hausgand* hear *is stibna* his voice, *jah* and *haitith* he calleth *lambe* the sheep *bi namin* by name.

The first word that occurs here is *daurawards*, which being of the compositе kind signifies *ostiarius* or doorkeeper. The Saxons call him *greatewearde*, but we have adopted a French term *porter*. *Wards* is formed from the Gothick verb *wardan gustodire*, which supplies us with many terms derivative from it; as to ward, a ward, warden of a college or cinque ports, a warder of the tower, wardship, and many others. *Unlukith* openeth, certainly puts us in mind of unlocketh, from which it is derived. As for *hausgand, audiunt*, I shall not venture to deduce *to hear* from it, shall therefore take the Saxon *hyrath* instead of it, which is equally Teutonick. *Stibna* voice, from which the Saxons made *stefne*, is at present quite obsolete, but some centuries ago it prevailed very general, as our old ballads will bear witness, which seem to have had no other word for voice than *stevin*, and it was even used so low as Spenser. From *haitan, vocare* vel *appellare*, we perceive our old English word *hight*, named or called. *Bi namin* and *by name* correspond so exactly, that one is amazed that the space of fourteen hundred years should make so small an alteration in a language.

The fourth verse is this:

Faura im gangith jah tho lamba ina laistgand, unte kunnum stebna is. Gangith he goeth *faura im* before them *jah* and *tho lamba* the sheep *laistgand* follow *ina* him, *unte* for *kunnum* they know *is stebna* his voice. As to *laistgand* they follow, I must acknowledge, I can trace no vestige relative to it in our language. The Saxon, however, furnishes us with *fyliyeath* from whence our *follow*. *Kunnan, scire*, appears in various instances, as to *kenn*, to know, and many nouns dependent upon those verbs.

Verse 5th. *Framathgana ni laist-*

gand,

gand, ak fluihand faura imma, unte ni kunnun framathgane ſtibna. Ni laiſtgand they will not follow *framathgana* a ſtranger, *ak* but *fluihand* will flee *faura imma* from or before him, *unte* for *ni kunnan* they know not *ſtibna* the voice *framathgana* of ſtrangers. The firſt clauſe of this verſe, it muſt be confeſſed, is perfectly unintelligible to an Engliſh ear, but the Saxon is not ſo; *ne fyliyeath* they will not follow *uncuthum* the unknown or ſtranger. *Uncouth* is an Engliſh word, and in its primary acceptation ſignified unknown; the preſent uſe however has made it ſomewhat deviate from that ſenſe. Milton has given it its original meaning, when Raphael gives Adam the reaſon why he was abſent at the time of his creation.

For I that day was abſent, as befel,
Bound on a voyage uncouth and obſcure,
Far on excurſion towards the gates of hell.

The radix, however, of this word is diſcernable in the Gothick, for in a chapter or two beyond this we meet with *kuntha* I have known, and by prefixing the negative particle *un* which prevailed much among the Goths, as *un*bairans, barren, *un*barnas, childleſs, we form the compound *un*kuntha, Sax. *un*coutha, Eng. *un*couth and *un*known.

But to go on with the next verſe:

Than qwath aftra du im Jaiſus, Amen Amen qwitha izwis, thata ik am daur lambe. Than there *Jaiſus* Jeſus *qwath* ſay'd *du im* to them *aftra* again or after, *amen amen* verily verily *quitha* I ſay *izwis* to you, *thata* that *ik am* I am *daur* the door *lambe* of the ſheep.

Here is nothing not taken notice of, ſo ſhall proceed to the next:

Allai ſwa magnagai ſa qwemun thiubos ſind, ak ni hauſidedun im tho lamba. Allai ſwa managai ſwa all the many that *qwemun* came *ſind* are *thiubos* thiefs, *ak* but *tho lamba* the ſheep *ni hauſidenun* did not hear *im* them.

Allai, our *all*.

Managai, the root of this word is *manag*, which by ſoftning the g in the pronunciation, becomes the Engliſh *many*.

Qwemun, *venire* Sax. *cuman*. Eng. to come.

Thiubs hence the Saxon *theofa* and our *thief*. We muſt remember that this word is ſynonymous with *hliftus*.

But to the next verſe:

Thiubs the thief *ni qwimith* cometh not *nibai* but for *ſtilai* to ſteal *jah* and *ſnithai* to kill *jah* and *fraviſtgai* to deſtroy. *Ik qwam* I am come *ei* that *aigeina* they might have *libain* life.

Nibai is not Engliſh, the Saxons have *butan* from whence our *but*, except.

Stilai, the dulleſt ſight may perceive the origin of to *ſteal*.

Snitha is the Saxon *ſnidan* or *ſnithan*, and the German *ſniden ſcindere*; and we have yet a glimpſe of it among us. Littleton in his dictionary mentions *ſnithe*, which he interprets *ventus pergelidus*, and which we may properly call a cutting wind: the accurate Ainſworth has copied it from him, but Johnſon has taken no notice of it. The Saxon verſion makes uſe of *ſlea*, from which our ſlay.

Fraviſtgai, no remains of this obſervable in Engliſh. The Saxon

ſays *fordo* to deſtroy. Our Shakſpeare uſes it in the ſame ſenſe.

Thus in Hamlet,

> This is the very extaſie of love,
> Whoſe violent property fordoes itſelf.

Liba, from which the Saxon *lif* and our life.

Aigan, *habere*, a Gothick noun from this verb *aihn*, is explained *peculiaris & propria poſſeſſio*; hence the Engliſh *own*.

The ſucceeding verſe is very remarkably Engliſh:

Ik am I am *god hairdeis* the good ſhepherd, *ſa god hairdeis* the good ſhepherd *lagith* layeth down *ſaiwala* his life or ſoul *faura lamba* for the ſheep.

I ſhall only obſerve, that Ulphilas has more accurately turned the Greek τίθησι τὴν ψυχὴν by *lagith ſaiwala* than has been done by the Engliſh tranſlators.

The twelfth verſe:

Aſneis an hireling *ſaiquith* ſeeth *wulf* the wolf *quimandan* coming, *jah* and *leithith* leaveth *thaim lambam* the ſheep, *jah* and *fliuth* fleeth.

It is in vain that we hunt for any appearance of *aſneis*, *mercenarius*, in our tongue. The Saxons adopt *hyrelinge* for the ſame ſignification, and we *hireling*. *Leithith* is eaſily melted down to *leaveth*, ſo is *fliuth* into *fleeth*. As to *wulf* it ſpeaks for itſelf.

The thirteenth:

Sa aſneis the hireling *fliuth* fleeth *unte* becauſe *iſt* he is *aſneis* an hireling, *jah* and *ni iſt kar* there is no care *imma* to him *lambe* of the ſheep.

Ni iſt kar imma lambe is very intelligible indeed.

The fourteenth verſe:

Ik im I am *goda hairdeis* the good ſhepherd *jah* and *kann* know *meina* mine, *jah* and *meina* mine *kunnen* know *mik* me.

The fifteenth:

Swa as (ſo) *atta* the father *kann* knoweth *mik* me, *jah* and *ik kann* I know *attan* the father, *jah* and *laga* I lay down *meina ſaiwala* my life *faura tho lamba* for the ſheep.

Here is nothing to be particularly obſerved except the word *attan* the father. From what ſource the Goths drew it the ſharpeſt inveſtigators of languages have not been able as yet to diſcover; for that people have neither communicated it to the Saxons or to any of their various deſcendents; however we muſt take notice, that though *atta* is regularly made uſe of when a father ſolely is denoted, yet when parents are intended, Ulphilas's verſion always ſubſtitutes *fadrein*, the radix indiſputably of the Saxon *fæder* and our *father*.

To this ſpecimen let me add, that every circumſtance that conſtitutes the true genius of a language, is viſibly derived to the Engliſh from the Goths and Saxons. The articles, flexion of the genitive caſe, prepoſitions, and auxiliary verbs are all abſolutely Teutonick. If the Goths ſay *ik am*, *thu was*, *thu magaiſt*, *thu maightes*, *thu ſkuldais*, *thu moſtais*, *ik ſkal*; the Engliſh in the ſame mode of ſpeaking repeat after them, *I am*, *thou was*, *thou mayſt*, *thou mights*, *thou ſhouldſt*, *thou muſt*, *I ſhall*.

I have now, Sir, finiſhed what I had to ſay upon the compariſon of the two languages the Gothick and the Engliſh, and, I think, a man muſt be little ſagacious in diſtinguiſhing likeneſſes who does not diſcover

diſcover that the one is the natural deſcendant of the other; their complexions, their manners, their features, are exactly ſimilar, and I challenge the deepeſt enquirer into the Celtick to produce ſo deciſive a proof of any affinity of that tongue with ours. The Britiſh, to ſpeak plainly, has little or no reſemblance to the Engliſh. Many of their terms may have gained admiſſion among us, as from the vicinity and long intercourſe we have had with that people may neceſſarily be imagined, but their idioms and genius are as radically and eſſentially different as any two languages can poſſibly be.

The following Article is taken from the Appendix to Martin's *Hiſtory of* Thetford.

IT is copied from an original record in that borough, when John le Forreſter was mayor in the tenth year of Edward III. A. 1336. It is ſo far curious, as it exhibits an authentic account of the value of many articles at that time; being a bill, inſerted in the town-book, of the expences attending the ſending two light horſemen from Thetford, to the army which was to march againſt the Scots that year.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
' To two men choſen to go into the army againſt Scotland	1	0	0
' For cloth, and to the taylor for making it into two *gowns*	0	6	11
' For two pair of gloves, and a ſtick or ſtaff —	0	0	2
' For two horſes — — — —	1	15	0½
' For ſhoeing theſe horſes — — —	0	0	4
' For two pair of boots for the light horſemen —	0	2	8
' Paid to a lad for going with the mayor' (to Lenn) ' to take ' care of the horſes * — — —	0	0	3
' To a boy for a *letter* at Lenn,' (viz. carrying it thither)	0	0	3
' Expences for the horſes of two light horſemen for four days ' before they departed — — —	0	1	0

* The diſtance between Thetford and Lynn is about 33 miles.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

History of Gardening. From Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in* England.

GARDENING was probably one of the firſt arts that ſucceeded to that of building houſes, and naturally attended property and individual poſſeſſion. Culinary, and afterwards medicinal herbs, were the objects of every head of a family: it became convenient to have them within reach, without ſeeking them at random in woods, in meadows, and on mountains, as often as they were wanted. When the earth ceaſed to furniſh ſpontaneouſly all theſe primitive luxuries, and culture became requiſite, ſeparate incloſures for rearing herbs grew expedient. Fruits were in the ſame predicament, and thoſe moſt in uſe or that demand attention, muſt have entered into and extended the domeſtic incloſure.

Matters, we may well believe, remained long in this ſituation; and though the generality of mankind form their ideas from the import of words in their own age, we have no reaſon to think that for many centuries the term *garden* implied more than a kitchen-garden or orchard. When a Frenchman reads of the garden of Eden, I do not doubt but he concludes it was ſomething approaching to that of Verſailles, with clipt hedges, berceaus, and trellis-work. If his devotion humbles him ſo far as to allow that, conſidering who deſigned it, there might be a labyrinth full of Æſop's fables, yet he does not conceive that four of the largeſt rivers in the world were half ſo magnificent as an hundred fountains full of ſtatues by Girardon. It is thus that the word *garden* has at all times paſſed for whatever was underſtood by that term in different countries. But that it meant no more than a kitchen-garden or orchard for ſeveral centuries, is evident from thoſe few deſcriptions that are preſerved of the moſt famous gardens of antiquity.

That of Alcinous, in the Odyſſey, is the moſt renowned in the heroic times. Is there an admirer of Homer who can read his deſcription without rapture; or who does not form to his imagination a ſcene of delights more picturesque than the landſcapes of Tinian or Juan Fernandez? Yet what was that boaſted Paradiſe with which

> the gods ordain'd
> To grace Alcinous and his happy land?
> Pope.

Why,

Why, diveſted of harmonious Greek and bewitching poetry, it was a ſmall orchard and vineyard, with ſome beds of herbs and two fountains that watered them, incloſed within a quickſet hedge. The whole compaſs of this pompous garden incloſed—four acres.

Four acres was th' allotted ſpace of ground,
Fenc'd with a green incloſure all around.

The trees were apples, figs, pomegranates, pears, olives, and vines.

Tall thriving trees confeſs'd the fruitful mold;
The redning apple ripens into gold.
Here the blue fig with luſcious juice o'erflows,
With deeper red the full pomegranate glows.
The branch here bends beneath the weighty pear,
And verdant olives flouriſh round the year.
* * * * * *
Beds of all various herbs, for ever green,
In beauteous order terminate the ſcene.

Alcinous's garden was planted by the poet, enriched by him with the fairy gift of eternal ſummer, and no doubt an effort of imagination ſurpaſſing any thing he had ever ſeen. As he had beſtowed on the ſame happy prince a palace with brazen walls and columns of ſilver, he certainly intended that the garden ſhould be proportionably magnificent. We are ſure therefore that as late as Homer's age, an incloſure of four acres, comprehending orchard, vineyard and kitchen-garden, was a ſtretch of luxury the world at that time had never beheld.

The hanging gardens of Babylon were a ſtill greater prodigy. We are not acquainted with their diſpoſition or contents; but as they are ſuppoſed to have been formed on terraſſes and the walls of the palace, whither ſoil was conveyed on purpoſe, we are very certain of what they were not; I mean they muſt have been trifling, of no extent, and a wanton inſtance of expence and labour. In other words, they were what ſumptuous gardens have been in all ages till the preſent, unnatural, enriched by art, poſſibly with fountains, ſtatues, baluſtrades, and ſummer-houſes, and were any thing but verdant and rural.

From the days of Homer to thoſe of Pliny, we have no traces to lead our gueſs to what were the gardens of the intervening ages. When Roman authors, whoſe climate inſtilled a wiſh for cool retreats, ſpeak of their enjoyments in that kind, they ſigh for grottos, caves, and the refreſhing hollows of mountains, near irriguous and ſhady founts; or boaſt of their porticos, walks of planes, canals, baths and breezes from the ſea. Their gardens are never mentioned as affording ſhade and ſhelter from the rage of the dog-ſtar. Pliny has left us deſcriptions of two of his villas. As he uſed his Laurentine villa for his winter-retreat, it is not ſurpriſing that the garden makes no conſiderable part of the account. All he ſays of it is, that the geſtatio or place of exerciſe, which ſurrounded the garden (the latter conſequently not being very large) was bounded by a hedge of box, and where that was periſhed, with roſemary; that there was a walk of vines, and that moſt of the trees were fig and mulberry, the ſoil not being proper for any other ſorts.

On his Tuſcan villa he is more diffuſe, the garden makes a con-

ſiderable part of the deſcription—and what was the principal beauty of that pleaſure-ground? Exactly what was the admiration of this country about threeſcore years ago; box-trees cut into monſters, animals, letters, and the names of the maſter and the artificer. In an age when architecture diſplayed all its grandeur, all its purity, and all its taſte; when aroſe Veſpaſian's amphitheatre, the temple of Peace, Trajan's forum, Domitian's baths, and Adrian's villa, the ruins and veſtiges of which ſtill excite our aſtoniſhment and curioſity; a Roman conſul, a poliſhed emperor's friend, and a man of elegant literature and taſte, delighted in what the mob now ſcarce admire in a college-garden. All the ingredients of Pliny's correſponded exactly with thoſe laid out by London and Wiſe on Dutch principles. He talks of ſlopes, terraſſes, a wilderneſs, ſhrubs methodically trimmed, a marble baſon, pipes ſpouting water, a caſcade falling into the baſon, bay trees, alternately planted with planes, and a ſtrait walk, from whence iſſued others parted off by hedges of box, and apple-trees, with obeliſks placed between every two. There wants nothing but the embroidery of a parterre, to make a garden in the reign of Trajan ſerve for a deſcription of one in that of King William *. In one paſſage above Pliny ſeems to have conceived that natural irregularity might be a beauty; *in opere urbaniſſimo*, ſays he, *ſubita velut illati ruris imitatio*. Something like a rural view was contrived amidſt ſo much poliſhed compoſition. But the idea ſoon vaniſhed, lineal walks immediately enveloped the ſlight ſcene, and names and inſcriptions in box again ſucceeded to compenſate for the daring introduction of nature.

In the paintings found at Herculaneum are a few traces of gardens, as may be ſeen in the ſecond volume of the prints. They are ſmall ſquare incloſures formed by trellis-work, and eſpaliers †, and regularly ornamented with vaſes, fountains and careatides, elegantly ſymmetrical, and proper for the narrow ſpaces allotted to the garden of a houſe in a capital city. From ſuch I would not baniſh thoſe playful waters that refreſh a ſultry manſion in town, nor the neat trellis, which preſerves its wooden verdure better than natural greens expoſed to duſt. Thoſe treillages in the gardens at Paris, particularly on the Boulevard, have a gay and delightful effect.—They form light corridores, and tranſpicuous arbours through which the ſun-

* Dr. Plot, in his natural hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 380, ſeems to have been a great admirer of trees carved into the moſt heterogeneous forms, which he calls *topiary works*, and quotes one Laurembergius for ſaying that the Engliſh are as expert as moſt nations in that kind of ſculpture; for which Hampton-court was particularly remarkable. The doctor then names other gardens that flouriſhed with animals, and caſtles, formed arte topiariâ, and above all a wren's neſt that was capacious enough to receive a man to ſit on a ſeat made within it for that purpoſe.

† At Warwick-caſtle is an ancient ſuit of arras, in which there is a garden exactly reſembling theſe pictures of Herculaneum.

beams

beams play and chequer the ſhade, ſet off the ſtatues, vaſes and flowers, that marry with their gaudy hotels, and ſuit the galant and idle ſociety who paint the walks between their parterres, and realize the fantaſtic ſcenes of Watteau and Durfé.

We do not preciſely know what our anceſtors meant by a bower, it was probably an arbour; ſometimes it meant the whole frittered incloſure, and in one inſtance it certainly included a labyrinth. Roſamond's bower was indiſputably of that kind, though whether compoſed of walls or hedges we cannot determine. A ſquare and a round labyrinth were ſo capital ingredients of a garden formerly, that in Du Cerceau's architecture, who lived in the time of Charles IX. and Henry III. there is ſcarce a ground-plot without one of each. The enchantment of antique appellations has conſecrated a pleaſing idea of a royal reſidence, of which we now regret the extinction. Havering in the bower, the jointure of many dowager queens, conveys to us the notion of a romantic ſcene.

In Kip's views of the ſeats of our nobility and gentry, we ſee the ſame tireſome and returning uniformity. Every houſe is approached by two or three gardens, conſiſting perhaps of a gravel-walk and two graſs-plats, or borders of flowers. Each riſes above the other by two or three ſteps, and as many walls and terraſſes; and ſo many iron-gates, that we recollect thoſe ancient romances, in which every entrance was guarded by nymphs or dragons. At lady Orford's at Piddleton in Dorſetſhire, there was, when my brother married, a double incloſure of thirteen gardens, each I ſuppoſe not an hundred feet ſquare, with an enfilade of correſpondent gates; and before you arrived at theſe, you paſſed a narrow gut between two ſtone terraſſes, that roſe above your head, and which were crowned by a line of pyramidal yews.

Yet though theſe and ſuch prepoſterous inconveniencies prevailed from age to age, good ſenſe in this country had perceived the want of ſomething at once more grand and more natural. Theſe reflections and the bounds ſet to the waſte made by royal ſpoilers, gave origin to parks. They were contracted foreſts, and extended gardens. Hentzner ſays, that according to Rous of Warwick the firſt park was that at Woodſtock. If ſo, it might be the foundation of a legend that Henry II. ſecured his miſtreſs in a labyrinth: it was no doubt more difficult to find her in a park than in a palace, when the intricacy of the woods and various lodges buried in covert might conceal her actual habitation.

It is more extraordinary that having ſo long ago ſtumbled on the principle of modern gardening, we ſhould have perſiſted in retaining its reverſe, ſymmetrical and unnatural gardens. That parks were rare in other countries, Hentzner, who travelled over great part of Europe, leads us to ſuppoſe, by obſerving that they were common in England. In France they retain the name, but nothing is more different both in compaſs and diſpoſition. Their parks are uſually ſquare or oblong incloſures regularly planted with walks of cheſnuts or limes, and generally every large town has one for its public

recreation. They are exactly like Burton's-court at Chelsea-college, and rarely larger.

One man, one great man we had, on whom nor education nor custom could impose their prejudices; who, *on evil days though fallen, and with darkness and solitude compassed round,* judged that the mistaken and fantastic ornaments he had seen in gardens, were unworthy of the Almighty hand that planted the delights of Paradise. He seems with the prophetic eye of taste [as I have heard taste well defined] to have conceived, to have foreseen modern gardening; as Lord Bacon announced the discoveries since made by experimental philosophy. The description of Eden is a warmer and more just picture of the present style than Claud Lorrain could have painted from Hagley or Stourhead. The first lines I shall quote, exhibit Stourhead on a more magnificent scale.

Thro' Eden went a river large,
Nor chang'd his course, but thro' the shaggy hill
Pass'd underneath ingulph'd, for God had thrown
That mountain as his garden-mound, high rais'd
Upon the rapid current———

Hagley seems pictured in what follows,

which through veins
Of porous earth with kindly thirst updrawn,
Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
Water'd the garden———

What colouring, what freedom of pencil, what landscape in these lines,

——from that saphire fount the crisped brooks,
Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
With mazy error under pendent shades
Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
Flow'rs worthy of Paradise, which not *nice art*
In beds and curious knots, but *nature* boon
Pour'd forth profuse on hill and dale and plain,
Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
The *open field*, and where the unpierc'd shade
Imbrown'd the noon-tide bow'rs.—*Thus was this place*
A happy rural seat of various view.

Read this transporting description, paint to your mind the scenes that follow, contrast them with the savage but respectable terror with which the poet guards the bounds of his Paradise, fenced

———with the champion head
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild
Access denied; and over head upgrew
Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
Cedar and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
A sylvan scene, and as the ranks ascend,
Shade above shade, a woody theatre
Of statelicst view———

and then recollect that the author of this sublime vision had never seen a glimpse of any thing like what he has imagined, that his favourite ancients had dropped not a hint of such divine scenery, and that the conceits in Italian gardens, and Theobalds and Nonsuch, were the brightest originals that his memory could furnish. His intellectual eye saw a nobler plan, so little did he suffer by the loss of sight. It sufficed him to have seen the materials with which he could work. The vigour of a boundless imagination told him how a plan might be disposed, that would embellish nature, and restore

reſtore art to its proper office, the juſt improvement or imitation of it.

It is neceſſary that the concurrent teſtimony of the age ſhould ſwear to poſterity that the deſcription above-quoted was written above half a century before the introduction of modern gardening, or our incredulous deſcendents will defraud the poet of half his glory, by being perſuaded that he copied ſome garden or gardens he had ſeen—ſo minutely do his ideas correſpond with the preſent ſtandard. But what ſhall we ſay for that intervening half century who could read that plan and never attempt to put it in execution?

Now let us turn to an admired writer, poſterior to Milton, and ſee how cold, how inſipid, how taſteleſs is his account of what he pronounced a perfect garden. I ſpeak not of his ſtyle, which it was not neceſſary for him to animate with the colouring and glow of poetry. It is his want of ideas, of imagination, of taſte, that I cenſure, when he dictated on a ſubject that is capable of all the graces that a knowledge of beautiful nature can beſtow. Sir William Temple was an excellent man; Milton, a genius of the firſt order.

We cannot wonder that Sir William declares in favour of parterres, fountains and ſtatues, as neceſſary to break the ſameneſs of large graſs-plats, which he thinks have an ill effect upon the eye, when he acknowledges that he diſcovers fancy in the gardens of Alcinous. Milton ſtudied the ancients with equal enthuſiaſm, but no bigotry, and had judgment to diſtinguiſh between the want of invention and the beauties of poetry. Compare his Paradiſe with Homer's garden, both aſcribed to a celeſtial deſign. For Sir William, it is juſt to obſerve, that his ideas centered in a fruit-garden. He had the honour of giving to his country many delicate fruits, and he thought of little elſe than diſpoſing them to the beſt advantage. Here is the paſſage I propoſed to quote; it is long, but I need not make an apology to the reader for entertaining him with any other words inſtead of my own.

"The beſt figure of a garden is either a ſquare or an oblong, and either upon a flat or a deſcent: they have all their beauties, but the beſt I eſteem an oblong upon a deſcent. The beauty, the air, the view makes amends for the expence, which is very great in finiſhing and ſupporting the terras-walk, in levelling the parterres, and in the ſtone-ſtairs that are neceſſary from one to the other.

"The perfecteſt figure of a garden I ever ſaw, either at home or abroad, was that of Moor-park in Hertfordſhire, when I knew it about thirty years ago. It was made by the Counteſs of Bedford, eſteemed among the greateſt wits of her time, and celebrated by Doctor Donne; and with very great care, excellent contrivance and much coſt; but greater ſums may be thrown away without effect or honour, if there want ſenſe in proportion to money, or *if nature be not followed*, which I take to be the great rule in this, and perhaps in every thing elſe, as far as the conduct not only of our lives, but our

our governments." [We ſhall ſee how *natural* that admired garden was.]

"Becauſe I take * the garden I have named to have been in all kinds the moſt beautiful and perfect, at leaſt in the figure and diſpoſition, that I have ever ſeen, I will deſcribe it for a model to thoſe that meet with ſuch a ſituation, and are above the regards of common expence. It lies on the ſide of a hill, upon which the houſe ſtands, but not very ſteep. The length of the houſe, where the beſt rooms and moſt uſe or pleaſure are, lies upon the breadth of the garden; the great parlour opens in the middle of a terras gravel-walk that lies even with it, and which may lie, as I remember, about three hundred paces long, and broad in proportion; the border ſet with ſtandard laurels and at large diſtances, which have the beauty of orange-trees out of flower and fruit. From this walk are three deſcents by many ſtone ſteps, in the middle and at each end, into a very large parterre. This is divided into quarters by gravel-walks, and adorned with two fountains and eight ſtatues in the ſeveral quarters. At the end of the terras-walk are two ſummer-houſes, and the ſides of the parterre are ranged with two large cloiſters open to the garden, upon arches of ſtone, and ending with two other ſummer-houſes even with the cloiſters, which are paved with ſtone, and deſigned for walks of ſhade, there being none other in the whole parterre. Over theſe two cloiſters are two terraſſes covered with lead and fenced with baluſters; and the paſſage into theſe airy walks is out of the two ſummer-houſes at the end of the firſt terras-walk. The cloiſter facing the ſouth is covered with vines, and would have been proper for an orange-houſe, and the other for myrtles or other more common greens, and had, I doubt not, been caſt for that purpoſe, if this piece of gardening had been then in as much vogue as it is now.

"From the middle of this parterre is a deſcent by many ſteps flying on each ſide of a grotto that lies between them, covered with lead and flat, into the lower garden, which is all fruit-trees ranged about the ſeveral quarters of a wilderneſs which is very ſhady; the walks here are all green, the grotto embelliſhed with figures of ſhell-rock-work, fountains, and water-works. If the hill had not ended with the lower garden, and the wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the park, they might have added a third quarter of all greens; but this want is ſupplied by a garden on the other ſide the houſe, which is all of that ſort, very wild, ſhady, and adorned with rough rock-work and fountains.

"This was Moor-park, when I was acquainted with it, and the ſweeteſt place, I think, that I have ſeen in my life, either before or ſince, at home or abroad."—

I will make no farther remarks on this deſcription. Any man

* The garden ſeems to have been made after the plan laid down by Lord Bacon in his 46th eſſay, to which, that I may not multiply quotations, I will refer the reader.

might

might design and *build* as sweet a garden who had been born in and never stirred out of Holbourn. It was not peculiar to Sir William Temple to think in that manner. How many Frenchmen are there who have seen *our* gardens, and still prefer *natural* flights of steps and shady cloisters covered with lead! Le Nautre, the architect of the groves and grottoes at Versailles, came hither on a mission to improve our taste. He planted St. James's and Greenwich parks —no great monuments of his invention.

To do farther justice to Sir William Temple, I must not omit what he adds. "What I have said of the best forms of gardens, is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other forms wholly irregular, that may, for aught I know, have more beauty than any of the others; but they must owe it to some extraordinary dispositions of nature in the seat, *or some great race of fancy or judgment in the contrivance*, which may reduce many disagreeing parts *into some figure*, which shall yet, upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the Chinese, a people whose way of thinking seems to lie as wide of ours in Europe, as their country does.—Their greatest reach of imagination is employed in contriving figures, where the beauty shall be great and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts, that shall be commonly or easily observed. And though we have hardly any notion of this sort of beauty, yet they have a particular word to express it; and where they find it hit their eye at first sight, they say that Sharawadgi is fine or is admirable, or any such expression of esteem—but I should hardly advise any of these attempts in the figure of gardens among us, they are adventures of too hard atchievement for any common hands; and though there may be more honour if they succeed well, yet there is more dishonour if they fail, and it is twenty to one they will; whereas in regular figures, it is hard to make any great and remarkable faults."

Fortunately Kent and a few others were not quite so timid, or we might still be going up and down stairs in the open air.

It is true, we have heard much lately, as Sir William Temple did, of irregularity and imitations of nature in the gardens or grounds of the Chinese. The former is certainly true; they are as whimsically irregular, as European gardens are formally uniform, and unvaried—but with regard to nature, it seems as much avoided, as in the squares and oblongs, and strait lines of our ancestors. An artificial perpendicular rock starting out of a flat plain, and connected with nothing, often pierced through in various places with oval hollows, has no more pretension to be deemed natural than a lineal terrass or a parterre. The late Mr. Joseph Spence, who had both taste and zeal for the present style, was so persuaded of the Chinese emperor's pleasure-ground being laid out on principles resembling ours, that he translated and published, under the name of Sir Harry Beaumont, a particular account of that inclosure from the collection of the

letters

letters of the Jeſuits. I have looked it over, and except a determined irregularity, can find nothing in it that gives me any idea of attention being paid to nature. It is of vaſt circumference, and contains 200 palaces, beſides as many contiguous for the eunuchs, all gilt, painted and varniſhed. There are raiſed hills from 20 to 60 feet high, ſtreams and lakes, and one of the latter five miles round. Theſe waters are paſſed by bridges —but even their bridges muſt not be ſtrait—they ſerpentize as much as the rivulets, and are ſometimes ſo long as to be furniſhed with reſting-places, and begin and end with triumphal arches. Methinks a ſtrait canal is as rational at leaſt as a mæandring bridge. The colonades undulate in the ſame manner. In ſhort, this pretty gaudy ſcene is the work of caprice and whim; and when we reflect on their buildings, preſents no image but that of unſubſtantial tawdrineſs. Nor is this all. Within this fantaſtic Paradiſe is a ſquare town, each ſide a mile long. Here the eunuchs of the court, to entertain his imperial majeſty with the buſtle and buſineſs of the capital in which he reſides, but which it is not of his dignity ever to ſee, act merchants and all ſorts of trades, and even deſignedly exerciſe for his royal amuſement every art of knavery that is practiſed under his auſpicious government. Methinks this is the childiſh ſolace and repoſe of grandeur, not a retirement from affairs to the delights of rural life. Here too his majeſty plays at agriculture; there is a quarter ſet apart for that purpoſe; the eunuchs ſow, reap, and carry in their harveſt in the imperial preſence; and his majeſty returns to Pekin perſuaded that he has been in the country.

Having thus cleared my way by aſcertaining what have been the ideas on gardening in all ages, as far as we have materials to judge by, it remains to ſhow to what degree Mr. Kent invented the new ſtyle, and what hints he had received to ſuggeſt and conduct his undertaking.

We have ſeen what Moor-park was, when pronounced a ſtandard. But as no ſucceeding generation in an opulent and luxurious country contents itſelf with the perfection eſtabliſhed by its anceſtors, more perfect perfection was ſtill ſought; and improvements had gone on, till London and Wiſe had ſtocked our gardens with giants, animals, monſters *, coats of arms and mottoes in yew, box and holly. Abſurdity could go no farther, and the tide turned. Bridgman, the next faſhionable deſigner of gardens, was far more chaſte; and whether from good ſenſe, or that the nation had been ſtruck and reformed by the admirable paper in the Guardian, N° 173, he baniſhed verdant ſculpture, and did not even revert to the ſquare preciſion of the foregoing age. He enlarged his plans, diſdained to make every diviſion tally to its oppoſite, and though

* On the piers of a garden-gate not far from Paris I obſerved two very coquet ſphinxes. Theſe lady monſters had ſtraw hats gracefully ſmart on one ſide of their heads, and ſilken cloaks half veiling their necks; all executed in ſtone.

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he ſtill adhered much to ſtrait walks with high clipped hedges, they were only his great lines; the reſt he diverſified by wilderneſs, and with looſe groves of oak, though ſtill within ſurrounding hedges. I have obſerved in the garden * at Gubbins in Hertfordſhire many detached thoughts, that ſtrongly indicate the dawn of modern taſte. As his reformation gained footing, he ventured farther, and in the royal garden at Richmond dared to introduce cultivated fields, and even morſels of a foreſt appearance, by the ſides of thoſe endleſs and tireſome walks, that ſtretched out of one into another without intermiſſion. But this was not till other innovators had broke looſe too from rigid ſymmetry.

But the capital ſtroke, the leading ſtep to all that has followed, was [I believe the firſt thought was Bridgman's] the deſtruction of walls for boundaries, and the invention of foſsès—an attempt then deemed ſo aſtoniſhing, that the common people called them Ha! Ha's! to expreſs their ſurprize at finding a ſudden and unperceived check to their walk.

One of the firſt gardens planted in this ſimple though ſtill formal ſtyle, was my father's at Houghton. It was laid out by Mr. Eyre, an imitator of Bridgman. It contains three and-twenty acres, then reckoned a conſiderable portion.

I call a ſunk fence the leading ſtep, for theſe reaſons. No ſooner was this ſimple enchantment made, than levelling, mowing, and rolling followed. The contiguous ground of the park without the ſunk fence was to be harmonized with the lawn within; and the garden in its turn was to be ſet free from its prim regularity, that it might aſſort with the wilder country without. The ſunk fence aſcertained the ſpecific garden, but that it might not draw too obvious a line of diſtinction between the neat and the rude, the contiguous out-lying parts came to be included in a kind of general deſign: and when nature was taken into the plan, under improvements, every ſtep that was made, pointed out new beauties and inſpired new ideas. At that moment appeared Kent, painter enough to taſte the charms of landſcape, bold and opinionative enough to dare and to dictate, and born with a genius to ſtrike out a great ſyſtem from the twilight of imperfect eſſays. He leaped the fence, and ſaw that all nature was a garden. He felt the delicious contraſt of hill and valley changing imperceptibly into each other, taſted the beauty of the gentle ſwell, or concave ſcoop, and remarked how looſe groves crowned an eaſy eminence with happy ornament, and while they called in the diſtant view between their graceful ſtems, removed and extended the perſpective by deluſive compariſon.

Thus the pencil of his imagination beſtowed all the arts of landſcape on the ſcenes he handled. The great principles on which he

* The ſeat of the late Sir Jeremy Sambroke. It had formerly belonged to Lady More, mother-in-law of Sir Thomas More, and had been tyrannically wrenched from her by Henry VIII. on the execution of Sir Thomas, though not her ſon, and though her jointure from a former huſband.

worked

worked were perſpective, and light and ſhade. Groups of trees broke too uniform or too extenſive a lawn; evergreens and woods were oppoſed to the glare of the champain, and where the view was leſs fortunate, or ſo much expoſed as to be beheld at once, he blotted out ſome parts by thick ſhades, to divide it into variety, or to make the richeſt ſcene more enchanting by reſerving it to a farther advance of the ſpectator's ſtep. Thus, ſelecting favourite objects, and veiling deformities by ſcreens of plantation; ſometimes allowing the rudeſt waſte to add its foil to the richeſt theatre, he realized the compoſitions of the greateſt maſters in painting. Where objects were wanting to animate his horizon, his taſte as an architect could beſtow immediate termination.

But of all the beauties he added to the face of this beautiful country, none ſurpaſſed his management of water. Adieu to canals, circular baſons, and caſcades tumbling down marble ſteps, that laſt abſurd magnificence of Italian and French villas. The forced elevation of cataracts was no more. The gentle ſtream was taught to ſerpentize ſeemingly at its pleaſure, and where diſcontinued by different levels, its courſe appeared to be concealed by thickets properly interſperſed, and glittered again at a diſtance where it might be ſuppoſed naturally to arrive. Its borders were ſmoothed, but preſerved their waving irregularity. A few trees ſcattered here and there on its edges ſprinkled the tame bank that accompanied its meanders; and when it diſappeared among the hills, ſhades deſcending from the heights leaned towards its progreſs, and framed the diſtant point of light under which it was loſt, as it turned aſide to either hand of the blue horizon.

Thus dealing in none but the colours of nature, and catching its moſt favourable features, men ſaw a new creation opening before their eyes. The living landſcape was chaſtened or poliſhed, not tranſformed. Freedom was given to the forms of trees; they extended their branches unreſtricted, and where any eminent oak, or maſter beech had eſcaped maiming and ſurvived the foreſt, buſh and bramble was removed, and all its honours were reſtored to diſtinguiſh and ſhade the plain. Where the united plumage of an ancient wood extended wide its undulating canopy, and ſtood venerable in its darkneſs, Kent thinned the foremoſt ranks, and left but ſo many detached and ſcattered trees, as ſoftened the approach of gloom and blended a chequered light with the thus lengthened ſhadows of the remaining columns.

Succeeding artiſts have added new maſter-ſtrokes to theſe touches; perhaps improved or brought to perfection ſome that I have named. The introduction of foreign trees and plants, which we owe principally to Archibald Duke of Argyle, contributed eſſentially to the richneſs of colouring ſo peculiar to our modern landſcape. The mixture of various greens, the contraſt of forms between our foreſt-trees and the northern and Weſt-Indian firs and pines, are improvements more recent than Kent, or but little known to him. The weeping-willow and every florid ſhrub, each tree of delicate or bold leaf, are new tints in the compoſition of our gardens.

gardens. The laſt century was certainly acquainted with many of thoſe rare plants we now admire. The Weymouth-pine has long been naturalized here; the patriarch plant ſtill exiſts at Longleat. The light and graceful acacia was known as early; witneſs thoſe ancient ſtems in the court of Bedford-houſe in Bloomſbury-ſquare: and in the biſhop of London's garden at Fulham are many exotics of very ancient date. I doubt therefore whether the difficulty of preſerving them in a clime ſo foreign to their nature did not convince our anceſtors of their inutility in general, unleſs the ſhapelineſs of the lime and horſe-cheſnut, which accorded ſo well with eſtabliſhed regularity, and which thence and from their novelty grew in faſhion, did not occaſion the neglect of the more curious plants.

That Kent's ideas were but rarely great, was in ſome meaſure owing to the novelty of his art. It would have been difficult to have tranſported the ſtyle of gardening at once from a few acres to tumbling of foreſts: and though new faſhions often lead men to the moſt oppoſite exceſſes, it could not be the caſe in gardening, where the experiments would have been ſo expenſive. Yet it is true too that the features in Kent's landſcapes were ſeldom majeſtic. His clumps were puny, he aimed at immediate effect, and planted not for futurity. One ſees no large woods ſketched out by his direction. Nor are we yet entirely riſen above a too great frequency of ſmall clumps, eſpecially in the elbows of ſerpentine rivers. How common to ſee three or four beeches, then as many larches, a third knot of cypreſſes, and a revolution of all three! Kent's laſt deſigns were in a higher ſtyle, as his ideas opened on ſucceſs. The north terras at Claremont was much ſuperior to the reſt of the garden,

A return of ſome particular thoughts was common to him with other painters, and made his *hand* known. A ſmall lake edged by a winding bank with ſcattered trees that led to a ſeat at the head of the pond, was common to Claremont, Eſher, and others of his deſigns. At Eſher,

Where Kent and nature vied for Pelham's love,

the proſpects more than aided the painter's genius.—They marked out the points where his art was neceſſary or not; but thence left his judgment in poſſeſſion of all its glory.

Having routed *profeſſed* art, for the modern gardener exerts his talents to conceal his art, Kent, like other reformers, knew not how to ſtop at the juſt limits. He had followed nature, and imitated her ſo happily, that he began to think all her works were equally proper for imitation. In Kenſington-garden he planted dead trees, to give a greater air of truth to the ſcene—but he was ſoon laughed out of this exceſs. His ruling principle was, that *nature abhors a ſtrait line.*—His mimics, for every genius has his apes, ſeemed to think that ſhe could love nothing but what was crooked. Yet ſo many men of taſte of all ranks devoted themſelves to the new improvements, that it is ſurprizing how much beauty has been ſtruck out, with how few abſurdities. Still in ſome lights

lights the reformation ſeems to me to have been puſhed too far. Though an avenue croſſing a park or ſeparating a lawn, and intercepting views from the ſeat to which it leads, are capital faults, yet a great avenue * cut through woods, perhaps before entering a park, has a noble air. In other places the total baniſhment of all particular neatneſs immediately about a houſe, which is frequently left gazing by itſelf in the middle of a park, is a defect. Sheltered and even cloſe walks in ſo very uncertain a climate as ours, are comforts ill exchanged for the few pictureſque days that we enjoy: and whenever a family can purloin a warm and even ſomething of an old faſhioned garden from the landſcape deſigned for them by the undertaker in faſhion, without interfering with the picture, they will find ſatisfactions on thoſe days that do not invite ſtrangers to come and ſee their improvements.

Fountains have with great reaſon been baniſhed from gardens as unnatural; but it ſurprizes me that they have not been allotted to their proper poſitions, to cities, towns, and the courts of great houſes, as proper accompaniments to architecture, and as works of grandeur in themſelves. Their decorations admit the utmoſt invention, and when the waters are thrown up to different ſtages, and tumble over their border, nothing has a more impoſing or a more refreſhing ſound. A palace demands its external graces and attributes, as much as a garden. Fountains and cypreſſes peculiarly become buildings, and no man can have been at Rome, and ſeen the vaſt baſons of marble daſhed with perpetual caſcades in the area of St. Peter's, without retaining an idea of taſte and ſplendor. Thoſe in the piazza Navona are as uſeful as ſublimely conceived.

Grottoes in this climate are receſſes only to be looked at tranſiently. When they are regularly compoſed within of ſymmetry and architecture, as in Italy, they are only ſplendid improprieties. The moſt judiciouſly, indeed moſt fortunately placed grotto, is that at Stourhead, where the river burſts from the urn of its god, and paſſes on its courſe through the cave.

But it is not my buſineſs to lay down rules for gardens, but to give the hiſtory of them. A ſyſtem of rules puſhed to a great degree of refinement, and collected from the beſt examples and practice, has been lately given in a book intituled *Obſervations on modern Gardening*.

The author divides his ſubject into gardens, parks, farms, and ridings. I do not mean to find fault with this diviſion. Directions are requiſite to each kind, and each has its department at many of the great ſcenes from whence

* Of this kind one of the moſt noble is that of Stanſtead, the ſeat of the Earl of Halifax, traverſing an ancient wood for two miles and bounded by the ſea. The very extenſive lawns at that ſeat, richly incloſed by venerable beech woods, and chequered by ſingle beeches of vaſt ſize, particularly when you ſtand in the portico of the temple and ſurvey the landſcape that waſtes itſelf in rivers of broken ſea, recall ſuch exact pictures of Claud Lorrain, that it is difficult to conceive that he did not paint them from this very ſpot.

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he drew his obſervations. In the hiſtoric light, I diſtinguiſh them into the garden that connects itſelf with a park, into the ornamented farm, and into the foreſt or ſavage garden. Kent, as I have ſhown, invented or eſtabliſhed the firſt ſort. Mr. Philip Southcote founded the ſecond or ferme ornée, of which is a very juſt deſcription in the author I have been quoting. The third I think he has not enough diſtinguiſhed. I mean that kind of alpine ſcene, compoſed almoſt wholly of pines and firs, a few birch, and ſuch trees as aſſimilate with a ſavage and mountainous country. Mr. Charles Hamilton, at Pain's-hill, in my opinion has given a perfect example of this mode in the utmoſt boundary of his garden. All is great, and foreign, and rude; the walks ſeem not deſigned, but cut through the wood of pines; and the ſtyle of the whole is ſo grand, and conducted with ſo ſerious an air of wild and uncultivated extent, that when you look down on this ſeeming foreſt, you are amazed to find it contain a very few acres. In general, except as a ſcreen to conceal ſome deformity, or as a ſhelter in winter, I am not fond of total plantations of ever-greens. Firs in particular form a very ungraceful ſummit, all broken into angles.

Sir Henry Englefield was one of the firſt improvers on the new ſtyle, and ſelected with ſingular taſte that chief beauty of all gardens, proſpect and fortunate points of view. We tire of all the painter's art when it wants theſe finiſhing touches. The faireſt ſcenes, that depend on themſelves alone, weary when often ſeen. The Doric portico, the Palladian bridge, the Gothic ruin, the Chineſe pagoda, that ſurpriſe the ſtranger, ſoon loſe their charms to their ſurfeited maſter. The lake that floats the valley is ſtill more lifeleſs, and its lord ſeldom enjoys his expence but when he ſhews it to a viſiter. But the ornament whoſe merit ſooneſt fades, is the hermitage or ſcene adapted to contemplation. It is almoſt comic to ſet aſide a quarter of one's garden to be melancholy in.

The moſt imminent danger that threatens the preſent, as it has ever done all taſte, is the purſuit of variety. A modern French writer has in a very affected phraſe given a juſt account of this, I will call it, diſtemper. He ſays, *l'ennui du beau amene le gout du ſingulier.* The noble ſimplicity of the Auguſtan age was driven out by falſe taſte. The gigantic, the puerile, the quaint, and at laſt the barbarous and the monkiſh, had each their ſucceſſive admirers. Muſic has been improved, till it is a ſcience of tricks and ſleight of hand: the ſober greatneſs of Titian is loſt, and painting ſince Carlo Maratti, has little more relief than Indian paper. Barromini twiſted and curled architecture, as if it was ſubject to change of faſhions like a head of hair. If we once loſe ſight of the propriety of landſcape in our gardens, we ſhall wander into all the fantaſtic ſharawadgis of the Chineſe. We have diſcovered the point of perfection. We have given the true model of gardening to the world: let other countries mimic or corrupt our taſte; but let it reign here on its verdant throne, original by its elegant ſimplicity, and proud of no

other art than that of softening nature's harshnesses and copying her graceful touch.

The ingenious author of the Observations on modern Gardening is, I think, too rigid when he condemns some deceptions, because they have been often used. If those deceptions, as a feigned steeple of a distant church, or an unreal bridge to disguise the termination of water, were intended only to surprise, they were indeed tricks that would not bear repetition; but being intended to improve the landscape, are no more to be condemned because common, than they would be if employed by a painter in the composition of a picture. Ought one man's garden to be deprived of a happy object, because that object has been employed by another? The more we exact novelty, the sooner our taste will be vitiated. Situations are every where so various, that there never can be a sameness, while the disposition of the ground is studied and followed, and every incident of view turned to advantage.

In the mean time how rich, how gay, how picturesque the face of the country! The demolition of walls laying open each improvement, every journey is made through a succession of pictures; and even where taste is wanting in the spot improved, the general view is embellished by a variety. If no relapse to barbarism, formality, and seclusion, is made, what landscapes will dignify every quarter of our island, when the daily plantations that are making have attained venerable maturity! A specimen of what our gardens will be, may be seen at Petworth, where the portion of the park nearest the house has been allotted to the modern style. It is a garden of oaks two hundred years old. If there is a fault in so august a fragment of improved nature, it is, that the size of the trees are out of all proportion to the shrubs and accompaniments.

It was fortunate for the country and Mr. Kent, that he was succeeded by a very able master; and did living artists come within my plan, I should be glad to do justice to Mr. Brown; but he may be a gainer, by being reserved for some abler pen.

In general it is probably true, that the possessor, if he has any taste, must be the best designer of his own improvements. He sees his situation in all seasons of the year, at all times of the day. He knows where beauty will not clash with convenience, and observes, in his silent walks or accidental rides, a thousand hints that must escape a person who in a few days sketches out a pretty picture, but has not had leisure to examine the details and relations of every part.

On Improving the Memory. From a Treatise on Education, by Mr. Knox.

THE great and obvious utility of the memory, has urged the ingenious to devise artificial modes of increasing its power of retention. The great orator of Rome, whose judgment and experience, as well as his genius, give great weight to his opinions on didactic subjects, has spoken rather favourably of the *memoria technica*, or artificial memory. But, notwith-

notwithstanding the authority of him, and of other truly ingenious writers, the art is rather to be considered as a curious than an useful contrivance, and it is rejected by Quintilian. Few have really availed themselves of it; and many who have attempted to acquire it, have only added to the obscurity of their conceptions *.

That mode of improvement, then, may be totally laid aside, and may be numbered among the fanciful inventions, which serves to amuse the idle and the speculative, without being reducible to general and practical utility. The only infallible method of augmenting its powers, is frequent, regular, and well-directed exercise; such exercise, indeed, as it is commonly led to use in the classical schools, where a night seldom passes without a task appointed for the exercise of the memory.

In order to improve the memory, it is necessary to acquire a confidence in it. Many render it treacherous by fearing to trust it; and a practice has arisen from this fear, really injurious, though apparently useful. It is the practice of committing to writing every thing which the student remarks, and desires to remember. Nothing is more common, and nothing more effectually frustrates the purpose it means to promote †. It is better that many things should be lost, than retained in the table-book, without confiding in the memory. Like a generous friend, the memory will repay habitual confidence with fidelity.

There are injudicious and illiterate persons, who consider the cultivation of the memory as the first object in education. They think it is to be loaded with historical minutiæ, and with chronological dates. They entertain a mean opinion of the scholar, who cannot recite matters of fact, however trivial, and specify the year of an event, however doubtful or insignificant. They expect to have the chapter and verse mentioned on every citation, and are more pleased with that little accuracy, than with a just recollection of a beautiful passage, or a striking sentiment. But to labour to remem-

* The few following rules have been given, and they may possibly be useful. 1. Si longior oratio mandanda fuerit memoriæ, proderit, totâ prius semel lectâ et intellecta, *per partes edisce*re. 2. Juvabit, *iisdem*, quibus scripseris, *chartis* edisce*re*. 3. Tempus matutinum longè commodius est; tamen perquam utile erit *pridie vesperi*, priusquam dormitum concedas, semel et iterum percurrere ea, quæ postridie sunt edisce*nda*. 4. Si quidpiam difficilius addiscitur, illi loco non erit inutile aliquod signum vel notam apponere, cujus recordatio excitet memoriam. 5. Præstat non tumultuariè sed declamando statim et cum gestu edisce*re*. 6. Maxima tamen fabricandæ et servandæ sibi memoriæ ars est frequens exercitatio. See John Holmes, Rhet.

† Illa, quæ scriptis repositimus, velut custodire definimus, et ipsâ securitate dimittimus. *Those things which we have once committed to writing, we cease, as it were, to* guard, *and we lose them by thinking them in no danger of being lost.* Quintilian.

Μεγίστη δὲ φυλακὴ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ, ἀλλ' ἐκμαιθάνειν. οὐ γαρ ἐστιν τὰ γραφέντα μὴ οὐκ ἐκπεσεῖν. *The surest method of keeping what we wish to retain, is,* not to commit it to writing, *but to trust it to the memory; for it is scarcely possible that written memoranda should not slip from the mind.*

ber unideal dates, and unintereſting tranſactions, muſt ever be an irkſome ſtudy to a lively genius; and he who ſhall train young perſons in this laborious track, will give them a diſguſt for literature. It is to feed them with the huſks of learning, which, as they are both dry and hard, afford neither pleaſure nor nouriſhment. Let the reading be pleaſant and ſtriking, and the memory will graſp and retain all that is ſufficient for the purpoſes of valuable improvement.

There is one circumſtance which has had an unfavourable influence on aſpiring at the excellence of a retentive memory. An idea has prevailed, that memory and genius are ſeldom united. To be poſſeſſed of memory in a great degree, has led ſome to conclude, that genius was deficient; and all pretenſions to memory have been readily ſacrificed for the credit of poſſeſſing genius. Pope's famous lines, in which he ſays, that the beams of a warm imagination diſſolve the impreſſions on the memory, ſeem to have induced thoſe who wiſhed to be thought to poſſeſs a fine imagination, to neglect their memory, in order to poſſeſs one ſymptom of a fine imagination. But I believe the remark of the inconſiſtency of great genius and great memory, is not univerſally true. There are inſtances, among the living, as well as the dead, which prove ſomething againſt its univerſality. It is, however, often true.

It cannot be denied, that nature has made a difference in diſpenſing the power of retaining ideas. If we may believe ſome accounts, ſhe has ſometimes formed prodigies in this ſpecies of excellence. Muret relates, that he recited words to the number of thirty-ſix thouſand, ſome of them without meaning, to a young man, who repeated them all immediately, from the beginning to the end, and from the end to the beginning, in the ſame order, without a moment's heſitation, or a ſingle miſtake. Miraculous, and even incredible, as this may appear, Muret tells us, there were innumerable witneſſes to the truth of the fact, and mentions many names of reſpectable perſons, who were preſent at the repetition. Many other inſtances might be ſelected from authors of allowed veracity; but they are ſo different from that which falls within the experience of mankind in general, as ſcarcely to gain credit. If they are true, they afford encouraging motives for the cultivation of a faculty, which has ſometimes been advanced to ſo high a degree of perfection*.

In giving great attention to the cultivation of the memory, there is danger leſt it ſhould be overladen with minute objects; a circumſtance highly injurious, eſpecially in the courſe of education.

* Quintilian, after mentioning ſome extraordinary inſtances of memory, concludes with this judicious remark: Dicebantur etiam eſſe nunc qui facerent, ſed mihi nunquam ut ipſe intereſſem contigit; habenda tamen fides eſt vel in hoc, ut, qui crediderit, et ſperet. *It is ſaid there are ſome who can do ſo now; but I never have happened to meet with them; one would, however, believe it, if it were only for this reaſon, that he who believes that ſuch things have been, may hope that they may be again.*

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Let it therefore be considered, that a good memory *, according to a similitude of Erasmus, resembles a net so made as to confine all the great fish, but to let the little ones escape.

On the literary Education of Women.

From the same.

THERE are many prejudices entertained against the character of a learned lady; and perhaps if all ladies were profoundly learned, some inconveniences might arise from it; but I must own it does not appear to me, that a woman will be rendered less accept ble in the world, or worse qualified to perform any part of her duty in it, by having employed the time from six to sixteen, in the cultivation of her mind. Time enough will remain, after a few hours every day spent in reading, for the improvement of the person, and the acquisition of the usual accomplishments. With respect to these accomplishments, I will not presume to direct the method of pursuing them. I will not so far intrude on a province, which by no means belongs to me. The ladies themselves, and their instructors, want no directions in matters of external ornament, the end of which is to please on intuition. However arrogant the men have been in their claims of superiority, they have usually allowed the ladies the possession of a delicate taste in the improvement and perception of all kinds of beauty.

The literary education of women ought indisputably to be varied according to their fortunes, and their expectations. Much refinement, and a taste for books, will injure her, whose time, from prudential motives, must be entirely engrossed by œconomy. Few women are indeed exempted from all attention to domestic care. But yet the unmarried, and those who enjoy opulence, find many intervals which they often devote to some species of reading. And there is no doubt, but that the reading would be selected with more judgment, and would afford more pleasure and advantage, if

* Some persons seem to think, that a good memory consists in retaining dates and minute particulars; but I believe, that though a reader remembers but few dates, and few minute particulars, he may yet retain all the necessary *general ideas* and valuable *conclusions*. He will see a wide and beautiful arrangement of important objects; while another who stoops to pick up and preserve every trifle, will have his eyes fixed on the ground. It is not enough that the mind can re-produce just what it has received from reading, and no more; it must re-produce it digested, altered, improved, and refined. Reading, like food, must shew its effects in promoting *growth*; since, according to a striking remark of Epictetus, τὰ πρόβατα, οὐ χόρτον φέροντα, τοῖς ποιμέσιν ἐπιδεικνύει, ΠΟΣΟΝ ἘΦΑΓΕΝ· ἀλλὰ τὴν νομὴν ἘΣΩ ΠΕΨΑΝΤΑ, ἜΡΙΑ ἔξω φέρει καὶ ΓΑΛΑ. *Sheep do not shew the shepherd how much they have eaten, by producing the grass itself; but after they have inwardly digested the pasture, they produce outwardly wool and milk.*

the taſte were formed by early culture *.

I will then venture to recommend, that ladies of this deſcription ſhould have a claſſical education. But let not the reader be alarmed. I mean not to adviſe, that they ſhould be initiated, without exception, in Greek and Latin; but that they ſhould be well and early acquainted with the French and the Engliſh claſſics.

As ſoon as they can read with fluency, let them begin to learn Lowth's Grammar, and to read at the ſame time ſome very eaſy and elegant author, with a view to exemplify the rules. They ſhould learn a part in grammar every morning, and then proceed to read a leſſon; juſt in the manner obſerved in claſſical ſchools in learning Latin. After a year ſpent in this method, if the ſucceſs is adequate to the time, they ſhould advance to French, and ſtudy that language exactly in the ſame mode. In the French grammar, it will not be neceſſary to go through thoſe particulars which are common to the grammars of all languages, and which have been learned in ſtudying Engliſh.

Several years ſhould be ſpent in this elementary proceſs; and when the ſcholar is perfectly acquainted with orthography and grammar, ſhe may then proceed to the cultivation of taſte. Milton, Addiſon, and Pope, muſt be the ſtanding models in Engliſh; Boileau, Fontenelle †, and Vertot, in French; and I wiſh theſe to be attended to ſolely for a conſiderable time. Many inconveniences ariſe from engaging young minds in the peruſal of too many books. After theſe authors have been read over with attention, and with a critical obſervation of their beauties, the ſcholar may be permitted to ſelect any of the approved writers of France and England, for her own improvement. She will be able to ſelect with ſome judgment, and will have laid a foundation which will bear a good ſuperſtructure. Her mind, if ſhe has been ſucceſsful in this courſe, will have imbibed an elegance which will naturally diffuſe itſelf over her converſation, addreſs, and behaviour. It is well known, that internal beauty contributes much to perfect external grace. I believe it will alſo be favourable to virtue, and will operate greatly in reſtraining from any conduct groſsly indelicate, and obviouſly improper. Much of the profligacy of female manners has proceeded from a levity occaſioned by a want of a proper education. She who has no taſte for well written books, will often be at a loſs how to ſpend her time ‡; and the conſequences

* "The girl is altogether kept from exerciſes of good learning and knowledge of good letters, or elſe ſhe is ſo nouſeled in amorous bookes, vaine ſtories, and fonde trifling fancies, &c." E. Hake's Touchſtone for the time preſent. See the paſſage quoted in the ingenious Mr. T. Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry.

† Though Fontenelle is accuſed by the critics of deviating a little from the claſſical ſtandard, he is yet a very pleaſing writer.

‡ How happy is it TO KNOW HOW to live with oneſelf, to find oneſelf again with pleaſure, to leave oneſelf with regret! The world then is leſs neceſſary to one. MARCHIONESS de LAMBERT.

of

of such a state are too frequent not to be known, and too fatal not to be avoided.

Whenever a young lady in easy circumstances appears to possess a genius, and an inclination for learned pursuits, I will venture to say, she ought, if her situation and connections permit, to be early instructed in the elements of Latin and Greek. Her mind is certainly as capable of improvement, as that of the other sex. The instances which might be brought to prove this, are all too well known to admit of citation. And the method to be pursued must be exactly the same as that which is used in the private tuition of boys, when judiciously conducted.

And here I cannot refrain from adding, that though I disapprove, for the most part, of private tuition for boys, yet I very seriously recommend it to girls, with little exception. All sensible people agree in thinking, that large seminaries of young ladies, though managed with all the vigilance and caution which human abilities can exert, are in danger of great corruption. Vanity and vice will be introduced by some among a large number, and the contagion soon spreads with irresistible violence. Who can be so proper an instructor and guardian, as a tender and a sensible mother? Where can virgin innocence and delicacy be better protected, than under a parent's roof, and in a father's and a brother's bosom? Certainly no where, provided that the parents are sensible and virtuous, and that the house is free from improper or dangerous connections. But where the parents are much engaged in pleasure, or in business; where they are ignorant or vicious; where a family is exposed to the visits or constant company of libertine young persons; there it is certainly expedient to place a daughter under the care of some of those judicious matrons, who preside over the schools in or near the metropolis. But I believe it often happens, that young ladies are sent from their parent's eye, to these seminaries, principally with a view to form connections. I leave it to the heart of a feeling father to determine, whether it is not cruel * to endanger the morals of his offspring for the sake of interest †.

Reflections

* It must be remembered, that only those parents can incur this censure, who keep their daughters at school after a CERTAIN AGE.

† One of the strongest arguments in favour of the literary education of women, is, that it enables them to superintend the domestic education of their children in the earlier periods, especially of daughters. We are told, in the very elegant dialogue on the causes of the decline of eloquence, that it was the glory of the antient Roman matrons, to devote themselves to œconomy, and the care of their children's education. Jamprimum filius ex castâ parente natus, non in *cellâ emptæ nutricis* educabatur, sed in gremio ac sinu matris, cujus præcipua laus erat, tueri domum et inservire liberis. . . . Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Julii Cæsaris, sic Attiam Augusti matrem, præfuisse educationibus liberorum accepimus. *As soon as a son was born of a chaste parent, he was not brought up in the cottage of some hireling nurse, but in the lap and the bosom of his mother, whose principal merit it was to take care of the house, and to devote herself to the service of the children.* . . . Thus are

Reflections on the Diſtreſſes of the Poor.

THE fact which is here related, and the reflections to which it gave riſe, are too intereſting to require any excuſe for their being taken from one of the moſt chaſte and inſtructive miſcellanies of the age *.

WERE there no miſery or diſtreſs in the world, there would be few occaſions for exerciſing that benevolence, which excites gratitude and thankfulneſs on one hand, and the tender emotions of ſympathy and humanity on the other. Conſcious as we are, that no one is exempt from the painful viciſſitudes of life, and that the bleſſed to-day may to-morrow experience a bitter reverſe; the child of woe is always an object of commiſeration, and ſhould excite in our hearts that kind of compaſſion, and obtain that aid from us, which we ſhould look for, were ſuch afflictions ſuffered to overtake us.

Various are the occaſions to excite the ſympathetic feelings of the human heart, for diſtreſs appears in a thouſand ſhapes; but perhaps there are none more deſerving of our attention, than abject poverty, particularly at this time, when the inclemency of the ſeaſon requires additional expences, and when families, who have been ſupported by induſtry and labour, are many of them robbed of this ſupport by the exigences of war, and compelled to depend upon the ſcanty and precarious aſſiſtance of the pariſh. Many who are permitted to continue with their families are obliged to labour in all the ſevere changes of weather, and are conſequently more liable to violent diſeaſes and aggravated want. Their families are often numerous, their habitations cloſe and confined, and, when a fever or any infectious diſeaſe is once introduced, it extends its malignity, and augments deſolation and miſery: for the arm of the father,

we told, Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, thus Aurelia, of Julius Cæſar, thus Attia, of Auguſtus, preſided over the education of their children. And with reſpect to its not being the cuſtom to teach ladies Latin, we may ſay in the words of the learned Matron in Eraſmus, Quid mihi citas vulgum, peſſimum rei gerendæ auctorem? Quid mihi conſuetudinem, omnium malarum rerum magiſtram? Optimis aſſueſcendum: ita fiet ſolitum, quod erat inſolitum; et ſuave fiet, quod erat inſuave; fiet decorum, quod videbatur indecorum. *Why do you tell me of the generality of people, the very worſt pattern of conduct? Why do you talk to me of the cuſtom, the teacher of all that is bad? Let us accuſtom ourſelves to that which we know is beſt. So, that will become uſual which was unuſual; and that will become agreeable which was diſagreeable, and that faſhionable which appeared unfaſhionable.*

He of whom antiquity boaſts itſelf as of the wiſeſt of mortals, was inſtructed in many elegant and profound ſubjects of learning by a lady.

Ασπασία μὲν τοι ἡ σοφὴ τοῦ Σωκράτους διδάσκαλος τῶν ῥητορικῶν λόγων. *Aſpaſia, the learned lady, was the preceptreſs of Socrates in rhetoric.* ATHENÆUS.

Πλάτων τὸν Σωκράτην παρ' ἀυτῆς φησι μαθεῖν τὰ πολιτικά. *Plato ſays that Socrates learned politics of her.* HARPOCRATION.

See ſome excellent remarks on the ſubject of giving daughters a learned education, in Eraſ. Epiſt. to Budæus, cited in Jortin's Eraſ. vol. ii. p. 366.

* Gentleman's Magazine.

upon

upon which a family of helpleſs children naturally depend for ſupport, is thus equally proſtrate with the babe at the breaſt. Sickneſs under every exterior comfort excites our ſolicitude and concern; but what a picture of human woe is exhibited, when want, penury, and pain, conſtitute the pillow!

The benevolence of this nation is great beyond compariſon; and, when real diſtreſs is known, ſome tender boſom overflows with comfort and ſuccour; but the chief examples of miſery are unknown and unrelieved; many there are too diffident to apply for aid, or ignorant how to do it; ſome of theſe pine away in ſolitary want, till death cloſes their ſufferings: numbers, however, rather than ſilently ſuffer their huſbands, their wives, and their children, utterly to periſh, ſupplicate our aid in the public ſtreets and private avenues; but, unfortunately for them, the prevalent opinion, that there is ſomewhere abundant proviſion for the poor, and that idleneſs, not neceſſity, prompts their petitions, induces many to refuſe that pittance, which would prove no loſs to themſelves, and in ſome inſtances might ſave a life.

In ſome diſeaſes the attack is violent, and the progreſs rapid; and before the ſettlement of a poor helpleſs object can be aſcertained, death decides the controverſy.

I know that many undeſerving objects intrude upon the benevolent, to the injury of real diſtreſs; but, rather than thoſe ſhould ſuffer all the pangs of miſery unpitied and unaided, ſome enquiry might be made, and their caſe aſcertained: were this tried, it would frequently bring us acquainted with ſituations and circumſtances of miſery which cannot be deſcribed: acquaintance with ſuch ſcenes of human woe would equally excite thankfulneſs for ourſelves, and compaſſion for our fellow-creatures, who are viſited with ſufferings and pangs from which we have hitherto been providentially, if not undeſervedly, preſerved.

Theſe ſentiments were the reſult of a morning walk in the metropolis, which introduced the writer into ſome ſituations of real life, the relation of which, he truſts, will not be unacceptable to thoſe benevolent minds, who think

To pity human woe
Is what the happy to the unhappy owe.

A Morning Walk in the Metropolis.

"About the beginning of December, on going out of my houſe-door, I was accoſted by a tall thin man, whoſe countenance exhibited ſuch a picture of diſtreſs and poverty as fixed my attention, and induced me to enquire into his ſituation. He informed me that he was a day-labourer, juſt recovering from ſickneſs, and that feeble as he then was, in order to procure ſuſtenance for a ſick family at home, he was compelled to ſeek for work, and to exert himſelf much beyond his ſtrength; and he added, that he lived in a court called Little Greenwich, in Alderſgate-ſtreet. This poor object ſeemed to feel diſtreſs too deeply to be an impoſtor: and I could not avoid beſtowing ſome means of obviating his preſent want, for which he retired bowing, with tears in his eyes; but when he

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got out of ſight, his image was preſent with me: I was then ſorry that my generoſity had not been equal to my ſenſibility, and this induced me to attempt finding out his family. He had mentioned that his name was Foy, and by the information he gave me, I diſcovered his miſerable habitation: with difficulty I found my way up a dark paſſage and ſtair-caſe to a little chamber furniſhed with one bedſtead; an old box was the only article that anſwered the purpoſe of a chair, the furniture of the bed conſiſted of a piece of old ticken, and a worn-out blanket, which conſtituted the only couch, except the floor, whereon this afflicted family could recline their heads to reſt: and what a ſcene did they preſent! Near the centre of the bed lay the mother with half a ſhift, and covered as high as the middle with the blanket. She was incapable of telling her complaints—The ſpittle, for want of ſome fluid to moiſten her mouth, had dried upon her lips, which were black, as were likewiſe the gums, the concomitants of a putrid fever, the diſorder under which ſhe laboured. At another end of the blanket was extended a girl about five years old; it had rolled from under this covering, and was totally naked, except its back, on which a bliſter plaſter was tied by a piece of packthread croſſed over its breaſt; and, though labouring under this dreadful fever, the poor creature was aſleep. On one ſide of its mother lay a naked boy, about two years old; this little innocent was likewiſe ſleeping. On the other ſide of the mother, on the floor, or rather on an old box, lay a girl about twelve years old; ſhe was in part covered with her gown and petticoat, but ſhe had no ſhift. The fever had not bereaved her of her ſenſes: ſhe was perpetually moaning out, "I ſhall die of thirſt, pray give me ſome water to drink." Near her ſtood another girl, about four years old, bare-footed: her whole covering was a looſe piece of petticoat thrown over her ſhoulders; and to this infant it was that her ſiſter was crying for water.

I now experienced how greatly the ſight of real miſery exceeds the deſcription of it. What a contraſt did this ſcene exhibit to the plenty and elegance which reigned within the extent of a few yards only—for this miſerable receptacle was oppoſite to the ſtately edifice of an honourable alderman, and ſtill nearer were many ſpacious houſes and ſhops.

I have obſerved, that the daughter who was ſtretched on the floor was ſtill able to ſpeak. She told me that ſomething was the matter with her mother's ſide, and aſked me to look at it. I turned up an edge of the blanket, and found that a very large mortification had taken place, extending from the middle of her body to the middle of the thigh, and of a hand's breadth; the length was upwards of half a yard, and to ſtop its progreſs nothing had been applied. It was a painful ſight to behold; and many not leſs painful exiſt in this metropolis. I procured medical aſſiſtance immediately, and for a trifling gratuity got a neighbour to nurſe the family. The church-warden, to whom I made application, heard their hiſtory with concern, and added his humane aid, to reſcue from death a poor

poor and almoſt expiring family. I have, however, the pleaſure to conclude this relation of their unſpeakable diſtreſs, by communicating their total deliverance from it, which, I think, may be juſtly attributed to the timely aſſiſtance adminiſtered.

London, Jan. 6, 1780.

J. C. LETTSOM."

Deſcription of Pompey's *Pillar, in the Neighbourhood of* Alexandria, *in* Egypt, *and an Anecdote of ſome* Engliſh *Sea Officers there. From* Irwin's *Voyage up the* Red Sea.

IN the afternoon a large party of us ſallied out to take a view of Pompey's Pillar, the theme of the preſent age, and the admiration of paſt times! Beſides my companions and myſelf, we were joined by the two Engliſh commanders of the ſhips in the harbour, and Monſieur Meillon, and ſome young gentlemen of the French factory. We mounted the firſt aſſes that preſented themſelves for hire, and, attended by our Janizary, took the courſe we purſued yeſterday. We left the convent on our right, and preſently came among broken arches and long pavements, which are the remains of an aqueduct. Several towers reared up their diſmantled heads on each ſide of us, whoſe appearance pronounces them to have been poſts of great importance and ſtrength. A number of ſtately pillars next engaged our attention. They are placed in two parallel lines, and ſeem to have formerly ſupported ſome magnificent portico. The pillars are of granite, or Thebaic marble, and about thirty feet high, of a ſingle ſtone; and we counted no leſs than thirty of them ſtill ſtanding. But however choice theſe columns might be in any other place, they were but foils to the pillar which now appeared before us. We had been buried amid the ruins and the hills of ſand, which the winds have thrown up, when, leaving the city by the gate of Roſeto, we came unexpectedly upon the Pillar. It is impoſſible to tell which is moſt worthy of admiration, the height, the workmanſhip, or the condition of this pillar. By the beſt accounts we can obtain, it is an hundred and ten feet high. The ſhaft, which is of a ſingle ſtone of granite, is ninety feet, and the pedeſtal is twenty feet more. It is of the Corinthian order, which gives a beautiful dignity to its ſimplicity, rarely to be met with in modern architecture. It has ſuffered little or no injury from time. The poliſh upon the ſhaft has wonderfully withſtood the buffeting of the tempeſt; and it promiſes to hand down a patriot name to the late poſterity of the ignorant native, who has no other trace of the fame of Pompey! The pedeſtal has been ſomewhat damaged by the inſtruments of travellers, who are curious to poſſeſs a relic of this antiquity; and one of the volutes of the column was immaturely brought down about four years ago, by a prank of ſome Engliſh Captains, which is too ludicrous to paſs over.

Theſe jolly ſons of Neptune had been puſhing about the cann on board one of the ſhips in the harbour, until a ſtrange freak entered into one of their brains. The

eccentricity

eccentricity of the thought occasioned it immediately to be adopted; and its apparent impossibility was but a spur for putting it into execution. The boat was ordered, and, with proper implements for the attempt, these enterprizing heroes pushed ashore, to drink a bowl of punch on the top of Pompey's Pillar! At the spot they arrived; and many contrivances were proposed to accomplish the desired point. But their labour was vain; and they began to despair of success, when the genius who struck out the frolic happily suggested the means of performing it. A man was dispatched to the city for a paper kite. The inhabitants were by this time apprized of what was going forward, and flocked in crowds to be witnesses of the address and boldness of the English. The Governor of Alexandria was told that these seamen were about to pull down Pompey's Pillar. But whether he gave them credit for their respect to the Roman warrior, or to the Turkish government, he left them to themselves, and politely answered, that the English were too great patriots to injure the remains of Pompey. He knew little, however, of the disposition of the people who were engaged in this undertaking. Had the Turkish empire rose in opposition, it would not, perhaps, at that moment have deterred them. The kite was brought, and flown so directly over the pillar, that when it fell on the other side, the string lodged upon the capital. The chief obstacle was now overcome. A two-inch rope was tied to one end of the string, and drawn over the pillar by the end to which the kite was affixed. By this rope one of the seamen ascended to the top, and in less than an hour a kind of shroud was constructed, by which the whole company went up, and drank their punch amid the shouts of the astonished multitude. To the eye below, the capital of the pillar does not appear capable of holding more than one man upon it; but our seamen found it could contain no less than eight persons very conveniently. It is astonishing that no accident befel these madcaps, in a situation so elevated, that would have turned a landman giddy in his sober senses. The only detriment which the pillar received, was the loss of the volute before mentioned; which came down with a thundering sound, and was carried to England by one of the captains, as a present to a lady who commissioned him for a piece of the pillar. The discovery which they made, amply compensated for this mischief; as without their evidence, the world would not have known at this hour, that there was originally a statue on this pillar, one foot and ancle of which are still remaining. The statue was, probably, of Pompey himself; and must have been of a gigantic size, to have appeared of a man's proportion at so great an height.

There are circumstances in this story which might give it an air of fiction, were it not demonstrated beyond all doubt. Besides the testimonies of many eye-witnesses, the adventurers themselves have left us a token of the fact, by the initials of their names, which are very legible in black paint just beneath the capital.

Exemplary

Exemplary Inſtance of Juſtice in the preſent King of Pruſſia.

ONE John Michael Arnold, a miller, had bought the leaſe of a mill, belonging to the eſtate of Count Schmettau of Pommerzig, ſituated in the New Marche of Brandenburgh, near the city of Cuſtrin, and known in that province under the name of the Pommerziger Kreb's Mill. This mill, at the time when Mr. Arnold bought the leaſe of it, was plentifully ſupplied with water, by a rivulet which empties itſelf into the river Warta. During ſix years, Mr. Arnold had made various improvements in the ſaid mill, and, by means of his labour and induſtry, had been enabled to pay his rent regularly, and to acquire a ſufficiency for the maintenance of his family. At the end of that period, about four years ago, the proprietor of the ſaid mill reſolved to enlarge a fiſh-pond contiguous to his ſeat, and cauſed a canal to be cut from the ſaid rivulet, at a ſmall diſtance above the mill, to ſupply his fiſh-pond with water. By theſe means the current of the ſtream was leſſened, and the quantity of water ſo much diminiſhed, that the mill could no longer do the uſual work.

The miller had foreſeen the event, and from the beginning had remonſtrated againſt the cutting of the canal. But his remonſtrances, as well as his ſolicitations for cancelling the leaſe, proving in vain, he was at laſt forced to ſeek redreſs in a court of judicature at Cuſtrin, to whoſe cognizance the affair belonged: but his lord being a man of fortune and conſequence in that province, ſoon found means to fruſtrate his endeavours. He continued to enlarge his fiſh-pond, ſo that the miller, inſtead of finding redreſs, found his water daily decreaſing to ſuch a degree, that at laſt he could only work during two or three weeks in ſpring, and about as many in the latter part of the year.

Under theſe circumſtances, the miller could no longer procure his livelihood, and pay his rent, and conſequently became indebted to his lord for a conſiderable ſum. The latter, in order to obtain his rent, entered a ſuit againſt him in the ſame court of law at Cuſtrin, which had before refuſed relief to the miller, and ſoon obtained a ſentence againſt the miller's effects; which ſentence being approved of and ratified in the High Court of Appeals at Berlin, was put into execution. The miller's leaſe, utenſils, goods, and chattels, were ſeized, and ſold, in order to pay the arrears of rent, and the expences of a moſt iniquitous law-ſuit; and thus poor Arnold and his family were reduced to want and wretchedneſs.

A glaring injuſtice of that kind could not paſs unnoticed by ſome friends to humanity, who well knew the benevolent and equitable intentions of their ſovereign. They adviſed and aſſiſted the miller to lay his caſe before the king. His majeſty, ſtruck with the ſimplicity of the narrative, and the injuſtice that had apparently been committed, reſolved to inquire minutely into this affair, and if the miller's aſſertions were founded in truth, to puniſh, in an exem-

plary

plary manner, the authors and promoters of such an unjust sentence.

The king accordingly made inquiries, and the informations he received corroborated the miller's narrative. His majesty afterwards ordered the Register of his High Court of Appeals, as also all the memorials and pleadings of the said law-suit, to be laid before him, which he revised himself, assisted by an eminent lawyer; and that nothing might be wanting, his majesty sent a person of confidence to Custrin, with orders to survey the said mill, the rivulet, and the new canal, as also to inquire into the miller's character, his former situation in life, the true cause of his failure, and all other circumstances attending this affair. And after being fully convinced, as well from the report of the said commissioner, as also from the papers laid before him, that the sentence against the said miller Arnold was an act of the most singular injustice and oppression, his majesty immediately dictated and signed his resolutions thereupon.

On the next day the king ordered his high chancellor, baron Furst, as also Messrs. Christ. Eman. Friedell, Henry Lewis Graun, and John Lewis Ransleben, the three counsellors learned in law, who, together with the chancellor, had signed and approved the said sentence, into his cabinet, and on their arrival his majesty put the following questions to them:

QUESTION I.

When a lord takes from a peasant, who rents a piece of ground under him, his waggon, horse, plough, and other utensils, by which he earns his living, and is thereby prevented from paying his rent, can a sentence of distress be in justice pronounced upon that peasant?

They all answered in the negative.

QUESTION II.

Can a like sentence be pronounced upon a miller for non-payment of rent for a mill, after the water, which used to turn his mill, is wilfully taken from him by the proprietor of the mill?

They also answered in the negative.

"Then (said the king) you have yourselves acknowledged the injustice you have committed.—Here is the case:—A nobleman, in order to enlarge his fish-pond, has caused a canal to be cut, to receive more water from a rivulet which used to turn a mill. By these means the miller lost his water, and could not work his mill above a fortnight in spring, and about as many days in autumn;—notwithstanding, it is expected that he shall pay his rent as before, when his mill was plentifully supplied with water; but as that was out of his power, from the impossibility of pursuing his trade, the court of justice at Custrin decreed, that the miller's effects, goods, and chattels, should be sold, to pay the arrears of rent; which sentence being sent to the High Court of Appeals here, is confirmed and signed by you, and has since been executed."

Here the king ordered the sentence, with their respective signatures, to be laid before them, and afterwards commanded his private secretary to read the resolutions which

which his majesty had dictated to him, and signed before, and which are as follow:

"The sentence decreed against the miller Arnold, of the Pomertziger Kreb's Mill, in the New Marche of Brandenburgh, being an act of the most singular injustice, and entirely opposite to the paternal intentions of his majesty, whose desire it is that impartial justice be speedily administered to all his subjects, whether rich or poor, without any regard to their rank or persons; his majesty, in order to prevent similar iniquities for the future, is resolved to punish, in an exemplary manner, the authors of that unjust sentence, and to establish an example for the future conduct of judges and magistrates in his dominions. For they all are to consider, that the meanest peasant, nay, even the beggar, is a man as well as the king, and consequently equally entitled to impartial justice; especially as in the presence of justice all are equal, whether it be a prince who brings a complaint against a peasant, or a peasant who prefers one against a prince; in similar cases justice should act uniformly, without any retrospect to rank or person.——This ought to be an universal rule for the conduct of judges; and if the courts of law in his majesty's dominions should ever deviate from this principle of equity, they may depend upon being severely punished. For an unjust magistrate, or a court of law, guilty of wrong, and subservient to oppression, are more dangerous than a band of robbers, against whom any man may be on his guard; but bad men entrusted with authority, who under the cloak of justice practise their iniquities, are not so easily guarded against; they are the worst of villains, and deserve double punishment.

"The king, at the same time, hereby signifies to all his courts of law, that he has appointed a new high chancellor, and that his majesty will be very exact for the future in the examination of his, and of their proceedings. They are, moreover, hereby strictly commanded,

"I. To bring all law-suits to the speediest conclusion.

"II. Carefully to avoid that the sacred name of justice may never be profaned by acts of oppression and injustice; and

"III. To act with the most absolute impartiality towards every one, whether prince or peasant, without the least regard to situations in life.

"And in case his majesty should find their proceedings in any ways contrary to the above orders, they may depend upon a rigorous punishment; the president, as well as the respective judges and counsellors, who shall be found guilty of, or accessary to, any sentence directly opposite to the fundamental principles of justice. Whereof all the courts of law in all his majesty's dominions are to take notice.

(Signed) FREDERICK."

Berlin, Dec. 11, 1779.

After the reading of the above, the king told the high chancellor that he had no further occasion for his services, and ordered them all to withdraw, and the three counsellors, Friedel, Graun, and Ransleben,

ſleben, to be taken into cuſtody. He alſo ſent immediate orders to Cuſtrin, for the preſident, judges, and counſellors, who had decreed the unjuſt ſentence in the firſt inſtance, to be arreſted; and afterwards nominated a commiſſion, under the direction of Baron de Zedlitz, miniſter of ſtate, to proceed againſt them all according to law.

His majeſty, in conſideration of the ſaid injuſtice, has preſented the miller Arnold with the ſum of fifteen hundred rix-dollars. He alſo ordered, that a ſum, equal to that produced by the ſale of the miller's effects, be ſtopped and paid to him from the ſalaries due to the reſpective judges, &c. who had any ſhare in that unjuſt ſentence; and has, moreover, condemned the proprietor of the mill to reimburſe to the miller all the rent he had received from the time when he firſt opened the canal.

POETRY.

POETRY.

Ode *for the* New Year. *Written by* William Whitehead, *Esq; Poet Laureat.*

AND dares inſulting France pretend
To graſp the Trident of the Main,
And hope the aſtoniſh'd World ſhould bend
To the mock pageantry aſſum'd in vain?
What, though her fleets the billows load,
What, though her mimic thunders roar,
She bears the enſigns of the God,
But not his delegated power.
Even from the birth of Time, 'twas Heaven's decree,
The Queen of Iſles ſhould reign ſole empreſs of the ſea.

United Bourbon's giant pride
Strains every nerve, each effort tries,
With all but Juſtice on its ſide,
That Strength can give, or Perfidy deviſe.
Dread they not Him who rules the ſky,
Whoſe nod directs the whirlwind's ſpeed,
Who bears his red right arm on high
For vengeance on the perjur'd head?
Th' Almighty Power, by whoſe auguſt decree
The Queen of Iſles alone is ſovereign of the ſea?

Vain-glorious France! deluded Spain!
Whom ev'n experience warns in vain,
Is there a ſea, that daſhing pours
Its big waves round your trembling ſhores;
Is there a Promontory's brow
That does not Britain's vaſt atchievements know?

Aſk Biſcay's rolling flood,
Aſk the proud Celtic ſteep,
How oft her navies rode
Triumphant o'er the deep?
Aſk Lagos' ſummits that beheld your fate;
Aſk Calpes' jutting front, fair cauſe of endleſs hate.

Yet, 'midſt the loudeſt blaſts of Fame,
When moſt the admiring nations gaze,
What to herſelf does Britain claim?
—Not to herſelf ſhe gives the praiſe,
But low in duſt her head ſhe bows,
And proſtrate pays her grateful vows
To Him, the Almighty Pow'r, by whoſe decree
She reigns, and ſtill ſhall reign, ſole empreſs of the ſea.

ODE *for his Majeſty's Birth-Day. By the ſame.*

STILL o'er the deep does Britain reign,
Her monarch ſtill the trident bears:
Vain-glorious France, deluded Spain,
Have found their boaſted efforts vain;
Vain as the fleeting ſhades when orient light appears.

As the young eagle to the blaze of day
Undazzled, and undaunted turns his eyes;
So unappall'd, where glory led the way,
'Midſt ſtorms of war, 'midſt mingling ſeas and ſkies,
The genuine offspring of the Brunſwick name
Prov'd his high birth's hereditary claim,
And the applauding nation hail'd for joy
Their future hero in the intrepid boy.

Prophetic as the flames that ſpread
Round the young Iulus' head,
Be that bleſt omen of ſucceſs; the Muſe
Catches thence ecſtatic views,
Sees new laurels nobly won,
As the circling year rolls on.

Sees that triumphs of its own
Each diſtinguiſh'd month ſhall crown;
And, ere this feſtive day again
Returns to take the grateful ſtrain,
Sees all that hoſt of foes,
Both to her glory and repoſe,
Bend their proud necks beneath Britannia's yoke,
And court that peace which their injuſtice broke.

Still o'er the deep ſhall Britain reign,
Her monarch ſtill the trident bear;
The warring world is leagu'd in vain
To conquer thoſe who know not fear.

Graſp'd be the ſpear by ev'ry hand,
Let ev'ry heart united glow;
Collected, like the Theban band,
Can Britain dread a foe?

No,

No, o'er the deep ſhe ſtill ſhall reign,
Her monarch ſtill the trident bear;
The warring world is leagu'd in vain
To conquer thoſe who know not fear.

From an Elegy on the Death of Capt. COOK, *by Miſs* Seward.

YE, who 'ere while for Cook's illuſtrious brow
Pluck'd the green laurel, and the oaken bough,
Hung the gay garlands on the trophied oars,
And pour'd his fame along a thouſand ſhores,
Strike the ſlow death-bell!——weave the ſacred verſe,
And ſtrew the cypreſs o'er his honour'd hearſe;
In ſad proceſſion wander round the ſhrine,
And weep him mortal, whom ye ſung divine!
Say firſt, what Pow'r inſpir'd his dauntleſs breaſt
With ſcorn of danger, and inglorious reſt,
To quit imperial London's gorgeous plains,
Where, rob'd in thouſand tints, bright Pleaſure reigns;
In cups of ſummer-ice her nectar pours,
And twines, 'mid wintry ſnows, her roſeate bow'rs?
Where Beauty moves with undulating grace,
Calls the ſweet bluſh to wanton o'er her face,
On each fond Youth her ſoft artillery tries,
Aims her light ſmile, and rolls her frolic eyes?
What Pow'r inſpir'd his dauntleſs breaſt to brave
The ſcorch'd Equator, and th' Antarctic wave?
Climes, where fierce ſuns with cloudleſs ardour ſhine,
And pour the dazzling deluge round the Line;
The realms of froſt, where icy mountains riſe,
'Mid the pale ſummer of the polar ſkies?
IT WAS HUMANITY!—on coaſts unknown,
The ſhiv'ring natives of the frozen zone,
And the ſwart Indian, as he faintly ſtrays
"Where Cancer reddens in the ſolar blaze,"
She bade him ſeek;—on each inclement ſhore
Plant the rich ſeeds of her exhauſtleſs ſtore;
Unite the ſavage hearts, and hoſtile hands,
In the firm compact of her gentle bands;
Strew her ſoft comforts o'er the barren plain,
Sing her ſweet lays, and conſecrate her fane.
IT WAS HUMANITY!—O Nymph divine!
I ſee thy light ſtep print the burning Line!
There thy bright eye the dubious pilot guides,
The faint oar ſtruggling with the ſcalding tides.—
On as thou lead'ſt the bold, the glorious prow,
Mild, and more mild, the ſloping ſun-beams glow;

Now weak and pale the leſſen'd luſtres play,
As round th' horizon rolls the timid day;
Barb'd with the fleeted ſnow, the driving hail,
Ruſh the fierce arrows of the polar gale;
And thro' the dim, unvaried, ling'ring hours,
Wide o'er the waves incumbent horror low'rs.
And now antarctic Zealand's drear domain
Frowns, and o'erhangs th' inhoſpitable main.
On it's chill beach this dove of human kind
For his long-wandering foot ſhort reſt ſhall find,
Bear to the coaſt the * olive-branch in vain,
And quit on wearied wing the hoſtile plain.—
With jealous low'r the frowning natives view
The ſtately veſſel, and th' advent'rous crew;
Nor fear the brave, nor emulate the good,
But ſcowl with ſavage thirſt of human blood!
And yet there were, who in this iron clime
Soar'd o'er the herd on Virtue's wing ſublime;
Rever'd the ſtranger-gueſt, and ſmiling ſtrove
To ſoothe his ſtay with hoſpitable love;
Fann'd in full confidence the friendly flame,
Join'd plighted hands, and † name exchang'd for name.
To theſe the hero leads ‡ his living ſtore,
And pours new wonders on th' uncultur'd ſhore;
The ſilky fleece, fair fruit, and golden grain;
And future herds and harveſts bleſs the plain.
O'er the green ſoil his Kids exulting play,
And ſounds his clarion loud the Bird of day;
The downy Gooſe her ruffled boſom laves,
Trims her white wing, and wantons in the waves;
Stern moves the Bull along th' affrighted ſhores,
And countleſs nations tremble as he roars.
Now the warm ſolſtice o'er the ſhining bay,
Darts from the north its mild meridian ray;
Again the Chief invokes the riſing gale,
And ſpreads again in deſart ſeas the ſail;

* *The olive-branch.*—"To carry a green branch in the hand on landing, is a pacific ſignal, univerſally underſtood by all the iſlanders in the South Seas."

† *And name exchang'd.*—The exchange of names is a pledge of amity among theſe iſlanders, and was frequently propoſed by them to Captain Cook and his people; ſo alſo is the joining noſes.

‡ *His living ſtore.*—Captain Cook left various kinds of animals upon this coaſt, together with garden-ſeeds, &c. The Zealanders had hitherto ſubſiſted upon fiſh, and ſuch coarſe vegetables as their climate produced; and this want of better proviſion, it is ſuppoſed, induced them to the horrid practice of eating human fleſh.

O'er

O'er dangerous ſhoals his ſteady ſteerage keeps,
O'er * walls of coral, ambuſh'd in the deeps;
Strong Labour's hands the crackling cordage twine,
And † ſleepleſs Patience heaves the ſounding-line.

Εις οιωνος αριστος αμυνεσθαι περι πατρης.

On the Love of our Country. Spoken in the Theatre as the Prize Poem at Oxford, 1772. *By the Rev.* Chriſtopher Butſon.

YE ſouls illuſtrious, who in days of yore
With peerleſs might the Britiſh target bore,
Who clad in wolf-ſkin from the ſcythed car,
Frown'd on the iron brow of mailed war,
And dar'd your rudely-painted limbs oppoſe
To Chalybean ſteel and Roman foes!
And ye of later age, tho' not leſs fame
In Tilt and Tournament, the princely game
Of *Arthur*'s barons, wont by hardieſt ſport
To claim the faireſt guerdon of the court;
Say, holy Shades, did e'er your generous blood
Roll thro' your faithful ſons in nobler flood,
Than late, when *George* bade gird on every thigh
The myrtle-braided ſword of liberty?
Say, when the high-born Druids magic ſtrain
Rous'd on old *Mona*'s top a female train
To Madneſs, and with more than mortal rage
Bade them, like furies, in the fight engage,
Frantic when each unbound her briſtling hair,
And ſhook a flaming torch, and yell'd in wild deſpair;
Or when on *Creſſy*'s field the ſable might
Of *Edward* dar'd four monarchs to the fight;
Say, holy Shades, did patriotic heat
In your big hearts with quicker tranſports beat;
Than in your ſons, when forth, like ſtorms, they pour'd
In Freedom's cauſe the fury of the ſword;
Who rul'd the main, or gallant armies led,
With *Hawke*, who conquer'd, or with *Wolfe*, who bled?
Poor is his triumph, and diſgrac'd his name,
Who draws the ſword for empire, wealth, or fame;

* *Walls of coral.*—The coral rocks are deſcribed as riſing perpendicularly from the greateſt depths of the ocean, inſomuch that the ſounding-line could not reach their bottom; and yet they were but juſt covered with water.—Theſe rocks are now found to be fabricated by ſea-inſects.

† *And ſleepleſs Patience.*—"We had now paſſed ſeveral months with a man conſtantly in the chains heaving the lead."

For him tho' wealth be blown on every wind,
Tho' Fame announce him mightieſt of mankind,
Tho' twice ten nations crouch beneath his blade,
Virtue diſowns him, and his glories fade.
For him no prayers are pour'd, no pæans ſung,
No bleſſings chanted from a nation's tongue;
Blood marks the path to his untimely bier:
The curſe of Orphans, and the Widows tear,
Cry to high Heaven for vengeance on his head,
Alive, deſerted, and accurſt, when dead.
Indignant of his deeds the Muſe, who ſings
Undaunted truth, and ſcorns to flatter kings,
Shall ſhew the monſter in his hideous form,
And mark him as an earthquake or a ſtorm.
Not ſo the patriot Chief who dar'd withſtand
The baſe invader of his native land,
Who made her weal his nobleſt, only end,
Rul'd but to ſerve her, fought but to defend;
Her voice in council and in war her ſword,
Lov'd as her father, as her God, ador'd;
Who firmly virtuous and ſeverely brave,
Sunk with the freedom that he could not ſave;
On worth like his the Muſe delights to wait,
Reveres alike in triumph and defeat,
Crowns with true glory and with ſpotleſs fame,
And honours *Paoli*'s more than *Frederick*'s name.
Here let the Muſe withdraw the blood-ſtain'd veil,
And ſhew the boldeſt friend of public zeal.
Lo! *Sydney* pleading o'er the block—his mien,
His voice, his hand, unſhaken, clear, ſerene:
Yet no harangue proudly declaim'd aloud,
To gain the plaudit of a wayward crowd;
No ſpecious vaunt Death's terrors to defy,
Still Death deferring as afraid to dye;
But ſternly ſilent down he bows, to prove
How firm his virtuous, tho' miſtaken, Love.
Unconquer'd Patriot! form'd by antient lore,
The love of antient Freedom to reſtore;
Who nobly acted what he boldly thought,
And ſeal'd by Death the leſſon that he taught.
Dear is the tie that links the anxious Sire
To the fond Babe that prattles round his fire:
Dear is the love that prompts the generous youth,
His Sire's fond cares and drooping age to ſooth;
Dear is the brother, ſiſter, huſband, wife,
Dear all the charities of ſocial life:
Nor wants firm friendſhip holy wreaths to bind
In mutual ſympathy the faithful mind:

But

But not th' endearing ſprings that fondly move
To filial duty or parental love,
Nor all the ties that kindred boſoms bind,
Nor all in Friendſhip's holy wreaths entwin'd,
Are half ſo dear, ſo potent to controul
The generous working of the patriot ſoul,
As is that holy voice that cancels all
Thoſe ties, that bids him for his country fall.
At this high ſummons with undaunted zeal
He bares his breaſt; invites th' impending ſteel:
Smiles at the hand that deals the fatal blow,
Nor heaves one ſigh for all he leaves below.
Nor yet doth Glory, tho' her port be bold,
Her aſpect radiant and her treſſes gold,
Guide thro' the walks of Death alone her car,
Attendant only on the din of war:
She ne'er diſdains the gentle vale of peace,
Or olive ſhades of philoſophic eaſe;
Where Heaven-taught minds to woo the muſe reſort,
Create in colours or with ſounds tranſport;
More pleas'd on *Iſis* ſilent marge to roam,
Than bear in pomp the ſpoils of *Minden* home.
To read with *Newton*'s ken the ſtarry ſky,
And God the ſame in all his orbs deſcry;
To lead forth Merit from her humble ſhade;
Extend to riſing arts a patron's aid;
Build the nice ſtructure of the generous law,
That holds the free-born mind in willing awe;
To ſwell the ſail of trade—the barren plain
To bid with fruitage bluſh, and wave with grain;
O'er pale Misfortune drop with anxious ſigh
Pity's mild balm, and wipe affliction's eye;
Theſe, theſe are deeds Britannia muſt approve,
Muſt nurſe their growth with all a parent's love;
Theſe are the deeds that public virtue owns,
And, juſt to Public Virtue, Glory crowns.———

The following little Poem was wrote in a blank leaf before Thomſon's Seaſons, *as a compliment to that ingenious Author, by his great admirer and name ſake, the Rev. Mr.* William Thompſon, *ſome time Fellow of* Queen's College, *in* Oxford.

HAIL, Nature's Poet! whom ſhe taught alone
To ſing her Works in numbers like her own:
Sweet as the thruſh that warbles in the dale,
And ſoft as Philomela's tender tale,

She lent her pencil too, of wond'rous power,
To catch the rainbow, and to form the flower,
Of many mingling hues; and, ſmiling, ſaid,
(But firſt with laurel crown'd her Favourite's head)
"These beauteous children, tho' ſo fair they ſhine,
"Fade in *my* Seasons, let them live in *thine*."
And live they ſhall the charm of every eye,
'Till Nature ſickens, and the Seasons die.

The following beautiful Lines were written by a Lady on obſerving ſome white Hairs on her Lover's Head.

THOU, to whoſe power reluctantly we bend,
Foe to life's fairy dreams, relentleſs Time,
Alike the dread of lover, and of friend,
Why ſtamp thy ſeal on manhood's roſy prime?
Already twining 'midſt my Thyrſis' hair,
The ſnowy wreaths of age, the monuments of care.

Thro' all her forms, tho' Nature own thy ſway,
That boaſted ſway thou'lt here exert in vain;
To the laſt beam of life's declining day,
Thyrſis ſhall view, unmov'd, thy potent reign.
Secure to pleaſe, whilſt goodneſs knows to charm,
Fancy and taſte delight, or ſenſe and truth inform.

Tyrant, when from that lip of crimſon glow,
Swept by thy chilling wing, the roſe ſhall fly;
When thy rude ſcythe indents his poliſh'd brow,
And quench'd is all the luſtre of his eye;
When ruthleſs age diſperſes ev'ry grace,
Each ſmile that beams from that ingenuous face—

Then, thro' her ſtores, ſhall active Mem'ry rove,
Teaching each various charm to bloom anew,
And ſtill the raptur'd eye of faithful love
Shall bend on Thyrſis its delighted view;
Still ſhall he triumph, with reſiſtleſs power,
Still rule the conquer'd heart to life's remoteſt hour.

VERSES *by Lady* Craven, *on dreaming ſhe ſaw her Heart at her Feet.*

WHEN Nature, tir'd with thought, was ſunk to reſt,
And all my ſenſes were by ſleep poſſeſt;
Sweet ſleep, that ſoft and balmy comfort brings
Alike to beg gars anddeſpotic kings:

I dreamt

I dreamt of peace I never felt before,
I dreamt my heart was lying on the floor.
I view'd it, ſtrange to tell! with joyful eyes,
And, ſtranger ſtill, without the leaſt ſurpriſe!
Elated with the fight, I ſmiling ſat,
Exulting o'er the victim at my feet;
But ſoon with words of anguiſh thus addreſt
This painful ſweet diſturber of my breaſt:—
'Say, buſy, lively, trembling, hoping thing,
What new diſaſter haſt thou now to bring,
To torture with thy fears my tender frame,
Who muſt for all her ills thee only blame?
Speak now, and tell me why, ungrateful gueſt,
For ten years paſt haſt thou deny'd me reſt?
That in my boſom thou waſt nurs'd, 'tis true,
And with my life and with my ſtature grew.
At firſt ſo ſmall were all thy wants, that I
Vainly imagin'd I could ne'er deny
Whate'er thy fancy aſk'd.—Alas! but now
I find thy wants my ev'ry ſenſe outgrow;
And ever having, ever wanting more,
A power to pleaſe, to give, or to adore,
Say, why, like other hearts, thou doſt not bear
With callous apathy each wordly care?
Why doſt thou ſhrink at Envy's horrid cries?
In thee Compaſſion Hatred's place ſupplies.
Why not with malice treat malicious men?
Why ever pity, where thou ſhould'ſt condemn?
Why, at the hearing of a diſmal tale,
Doſt thou with ſorrow turn my beauty pale?
Why, when diſtreſs in any ſhape appears,
Doſt thou diſſolve my very ſoul in tears?
Why in thy ſecret folds is Friendſhip bred?
In other hearts its very name is dead.
Why, if keen Wit and learned Senſe draw nigh,
Doſt thou with emulation beat ſo high?
And while approving, wiſh to be approv'd,
And when you love, wiſh more to be belov'd?
Why not, in cold indifference ever clad,
Alike unmov'd, regard the good and bad?
Why doſt thou waſte my youthful bloom with care,
And ſacrifice myſelf, that I may ſhare
Diſtreſs in others? Why wilt thou adorn
Their days with roſes, and leave me a thorn?'
But here I ſaw it heave a heavy ſigh,
And thus in ſweeteſt ſounds it did reply:
'Ah! ceaſe, ELIZA! ceaſe thy ſpeech unjuſt;
Thy Heart has e'er fulfill'd its ſacred truſt;

And

And ever will its tender manſion ſerve,
Nor can it from thee this reproach deſerve:
Againſt my dictates murm'ring have I found,
Which thus has laid me bleeding on the ground.
Compare thyſelf in this ſame hour depriv'd
Of this ſoft Heart, from whence are all deriv'd
The ſame bewitching graces which adorn
And make thy face appear like beauteous morn:
With me its brilliant ornaments are fled,
And all thy features, like thy ſoul, are dead.
'Tis I that make thee other's pleaſures ſhare,
And in a ſiſter's joy forget thy care.
'Tis by my dictates thou art taught to find
A godlike pleaſure in a godlike mind;
That makes thee oft relieve a ſtranger's woes,
And often fix thoſe friends that would be foes.
'Tis I that tremblingly have taught thine ear
To cheriſh Muſic; and 'tis I appear
In all its ſofteſt dreſs, when to the hearts
Of all beholders my dear voice imparts
Harmonic ſtrains: 'tis not becauſe 'tis fine,
For every note that's felt is ſurely mine.
In ſmootheſt numbers all that I indite,
For 'tis I taught thy fearful hand to write;
My genius has with watchful care ſupply'd
What Education to thy ſex deny'd;
Made Sentiment and Nature all combine
To melt the Reader in each flowing line,
Till they in words this feeling truth impart,
She needs no more, who will conſult the Heart;
And own in reading what is writ by thee,
No ſtudy ever could improve like me.
And when thy bloom is gone, thy beauty flown,
And laughing youth to wrinkled age is grown,
Thy actions, writings, friendſhip, which I gave,
Still ſhall remain an age beyond the grave.
Then do not thus diſplac'd let me remain,
But take me to thy tender breaſt again.'
'Yes, ſoft perſuader (I return'd) I will;
And if I am deceiv'd, deceive me ſtill!'
Seduc'd I was in haſte; then ſtooping low,
Soon re-inſtated my ſweet, pleaſing foe;
And waking, found it had not leſs nor more
Than all the joys, the pangs it had before!

10 C——.

PRO-

PROLOGUE *to the* CHAPTER of ACCIDENTS.

Written by GEORGE COLMAN, *Esq.*

LONG has the paſſive ſtage, howe'er abſurd,
Been rul'd by *names*, and govern'd by a *word*;
Some poor *cant term*, like magic ſpells, can awe,
And bind our realms like a dramatic law.
When Fielding, Humour's fav'rite child, appear'd,
Low was the word—a word each author fear'd!
'Till chac'd at length, by pleaſantry's bright ray,
Nature and mirth reſum'd their legal ſway;
And Goldſmith's genius baſk'd in open day.
No beggar, howe'er poor, a cur can lack;
Poor bards, of critic curs, can keep a *pack*.
One yelper ſilenc'd, twenty barkers riſe,
And with new *howls*, their *ſnarlings* ſtill diſguiſe.
Low baniſh'd, the word *ſentiment* ſucceeds;
And at that ſhrine the modern playwright bleeds.
Hard fate! but let each would-be critic know,
That *ſentiments* from genuine *feeling* flow!
Critics! in vain declaim, and write, and rail;
Nature, eternal nature! will prevail.
Give me the bard, who makes me laugh and cry;
Diverts and moves, and all, I ſcarce know why!
Untaught by commentators, French or Dutch,
Paſſion ſtill anſwers to th' electric touch.
Reaſon, like Falſtaff, claims, when all is done,
The honours of the field already won.
To-night, our author's is a mixt intent—
Paſſion and humour—*low* and *ſentiment*:
Smiling in tears—a ſerio-comic play——
Sunſhine and ſhow'r—a kind of April Day!
A lord, whoſe pride is in his honour plac'd;
A governor, with av'rice not diſgrac'd;
An humble prieſt! a lady, and a lover
So full of virtue, *ſome of it runs over*.
No temporary touches, no alluſions
To camps, reviews, and all our late confuſions:
No perſonal reflections, no ſharp ſatire,
But a mere Chapter—from the book of nature.
Wrote by a woman too! the Muſes now
Few liberties to naughty men allow;
But like old maids on earth, reſolv'd to vex,
With cruel coyneſs treat the other ſex.

PRO-

PROLOGUE *to the* GENEROUS IMPOSTOR.

[*As he enters the Stage looking upon a Paper, and addreſſing himſelf to the Author behind, from whom he is ſuppoſed to have received it.*]

THIS, Sir, the Prologue? Why this piteous whine,
Forebodes a catcall in each croaking line.
"The Author's firſt offence!"—"implore!"—"beſeech!"
Zounds! 'tis as diſmal as a dying ſpeech—
Will prove, itſelf, the piece's ſure damnation,
And give, like hawkers, by *anticipation*,
"Life, birth, and parentage, and education."
Do you diſcover in this caſt of feature
The ſtriking traits to ſuit the doleful metre?
Give it to *Parſons*—his ſad—tragice face
Such plaintive ſentiments will aptly grace.
The rueful meaning *Moody* may ſupply
E'en from the fruitful river of his eye;
Or with mute *pathos*, walk about and ſigh.

[*To the Audience.*]

Prologues are alter'd ſince that Gothic day
When only hungry playwrights wrote—for pay.
Then while the Bard—poor miſerable ſinner!
Trembled behind—uncertain of his dinner—
Forth came in black—with ſolemn ſtep—and ſlow,
The actor to unfold the tale of woe.
But in theſe days, when e'en the titled dame
Glows with the paſſion of dramatic fame,
When as the faſhion gains, it may indite
The card of compliments for a third night,
With ſtile laconic, in the meaſured ſtrain,
"Lady Charade ſees friends at Drury-lane"—
In thoſe bright days—this literary age,
When 'tis the taſte—the very thing—the rage
To pen ſome lively *morceau* for the ſtage.
When belles write comedies, and beaux have wit,
The Prologue too the ſprightly *ton* muſt hit;
Flippant and ſmart in careleſs eaſy rhymes,
Reflect the gayeſt colours of the times,
Camelion-like, on faſhion's air muſt live,
And, like that too, each varying tint muſt give.

[*Returning to the Paper, and ſuppoſed again to addreſs the Author.*]

This will ne'er do *(pauſing)*—Can't you contrive to ſwell
To thirty lines, ſome airy bagatelle?
Or take your ſubject from ſome modiſh ſcenes—
"Elections"—"Camps"—"Electrical machines?"

That

That thought's not bad—Why then ſuppoſe I try,
In metaphor—the Houſe t' electrify.
Wind the *conducting* ſtrains that may diſpenſe
The mild effluvia's genial influence,
Or fill the charge, the powerful charge that draws,
From yon dread Gods! the thunder of applauſe:
Or if ſuch potent virtue can't controul
The angry critic's *non-electric* ſoul,
The ladies court——The lightning of whoſe eyes,
The apt alluſion readily ſupplies.—
From thoſe bright orbs th' æthereal beam that plays,
Will blaſt the critic thorn, but ſpare the bays.
Something like this may do——ſome neat terſe thing,
With a few ſmirks—and ſmiles—and bows from King.
[*To the Audience.*]
Mean time the want of form for once forgive,
And for this night allow the piece to live.

EPILOGUE *to Lady* CRAVEN's *Comedy of the* MINIATURE PICTURE.

Spoken by the Hon. Mrs. HOBART, *at* Newbury, *and by Mrs.* ABINGTON, *at* Drury-lane. *Written by Mr.* JEKYLL.

THE men, like tyrants of the Turkiſh kind,
Have long our ſex's energy confin'd;
In full dreſs black, and bow, and ſolemn ſtalk,
Have long monopoliz'd the Prologue's walk.
But ſtill the flippant Epilogue was our's;
It aſk'd for gay ſupport—the female pow'rs;
It aſk'd a flirting air, coquet and free;
And ſo to murder it, they fix'd on *me*.
Much they miſtake my talents—I was born
To tell, in ſobs and ſighs, ſome tale forlorn;
To wet my handkerchief with Juliet's woes,
Or tune to Shore's deſpair my *tragic noſe*.
Yes, gentlemen, in education's ſpite,
You ſtill ſhall find that we can read and write;
Like you, can ſwell a debt or a debate,
Can quit the card-table to ſteer the ſtate;
Or bid our *Belle Aſſemblée*'s rhet'ric flow,
To drown your dull declaimers at Soho.
Methinks e'en now I hear my ſex's tongues,
The ſhrill, ſmart melody of female lungs!
The ſtorm of queſtion, the diviſion calm,
With "Hear her! Hear her! Mrs. ſpeaker! Ma'am,
"Oh,

"Oh, order! Order!"——Kates and Sufans riſe,
And Margaret moves, and Tabitha replies.
Look to the camp—Coxheath and Warley Common,
Supply'd at leaſt for ev'ry tent a woman.
The cartridge-paper wrapt the billet-doux,
The rear and picquet form'd the rendezvous.
The drum's ſtern rattle ſhook the nuptial bed;
The knapſack pillow'd lady Sturgeon's head.
Love was the watch-word, 'till the morning fife
Rous'd the tame major and his warlike wife.
Look to the ſtage. To night's example draws
A female dramatiſt to grace the cauſe.
So fade the triumphs of preſumptuous man!
And would you, ladies, but complete my plan,
Here ſhould ye ſign ſome Patriot Petition
To mend our conſtitutional condition.
The men invade our rights—the mimic elves
Liſp and nickname God's creatures, like ourſelves;
Rouge more than we do, ſimper, flounce, and fret;
And they coquet, good gods! how they coquet!
They too are coy; and, monſtrous to relate!
Their's is the coyneſs in a *tête-à-tête*.
Yes, ladies, yes, I could a tale unfold,
Would harrow up your——cuſhions! were it told;
Part your combined curls, and freeze——pomatum,
At griefs and grievances, as I could ſtate 'em.
But ſuch eternal blazon muſt not ſpeak—
Beſides, the Houſe adjourns ſome day next week—
This fair committee ſhall detail the reſt,
Then let the monſters (if they dare) proteſt!

Extract from the Ode to JOHN HOWARD, *Eſq. Author of the State of Engliſh and Foreign Priſons; by* W. HALEY.

HAIL! generous HOWARD! tho' thou bear
A name which Glory's hand ſublime
Has blazon'd oft, with guardian care,
In characters that fear not Time;
For thee ſhe fondly ſpreads her wings;
For thee from Paradiſe ſhe brings,
More verdant than her laurel bough,
Such wreaths of ſacred Palm, as ne'er till now
The ſmiling Seraph twin'd around a mortal brow.

I ſee

I see the hallow'd shade of HALES*,
Who felt, like thee, for human woe,
And taught the health-diffusing gales
Thro' Horror's murky cells to blow,
As thy protecting angel wait;
To save thee from the snares of Fate,
Commission'd from the Eternal Throne:
I hear him praise, in wonder's warmest tone,
The virtues of thy heart, more active than his own.

Thy soul supplies new funds of health
That fail not in the trying hour,
Above Arabia's spicy wealth
And Pharmacy's reviving power.
The transports of the generous mind,
Feeling its bounty to mankind,
Inspirit every mortal part;
And, far more potent than precarious art,
Give radiance to the eye, and vigor to the heart.

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Nature! on thy maternal breast
For ever be his worth engrav'd!
Thy bosom only can attest
How many a life his toil has sav'd:
Nor in thy rescued Sons alone,
Great Parent! this thy guardian own!
His arm defends a dearer slave;
Woman, thy darling! 'tis his pride to save †
From evils, that surpass the horrors of the grave.

* STEPHEN HALES, minister of Teddington: he died at the age of 84, 1761; and has been justly called "An ornament to his profession, as a clergyman, "and to his country, as a philosopher." I had the happiness of knowing this excellent man, when I was very young; and well remember the warm glow of benevolence which used to animate his countenance, in relating the success of his various projects for the benefit of mankind. I have frequently heard him dwell with great pleasure on the fortunate incident which led him to the discovery of his Ventilator, to which I have alluded.—He had ordered a new floor for one of his rooms; his carpenter not having prepared the work so soon as he expected, he thought the season improper for laying down new boards, when they were brought to his house, and gave orders for their being deposited in his barn;—from their accidental position in that place, he caught his first idea of this useful invention.

† Mr. HOWARD has been the happy instrument of preserving female prisoners from an infamous and indecent outrage.—It was formerly a custom in our gaols to load their legs and thighs with irons, for the detestable purpose of extorting money from these injured sufferers.—This circumstance, unknown to me when the Ode was written, has tempted me to introduce the few additional stanzas, as it is my ardent wish to render this tribute to an exalted character as little unworthy as I can of the very extensive and sublime merit which it aspires to celebrate.

Ye

Ye ſprightly nymphs, by Fortune nurſt,
Who ſport in Joy's unclouded air,
Nor ſee the diſtant ſtorms, that burſt
In ruin on the humble Fair;
Ye know not to what bitter ſmart
A kindred form, a kindred heart,
Is often doom'd, in life's low vale,
Where frantic fears the ſimple mind aſſail,
And fierce afflictions preſs, and friends and fortune fail.

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His Care, exulting BRITAIN found
Here firſt diſplay'd, not here confin'd!
No ſingle tract of earth could bound
The active virtues of his mind.
To all the lands, where'er the tear,
That mourn'd the Priſoner's wrongs ſevere,
Sad Pity's gliſt'ning cheek impearl'd,
Eager he ſteer'd, with every ſail unfurl'd,
A friend to every clime! a Patriot of the World!

Ye nations thro' whoſe fair domain
Our flying ſons of joy have paſt,
By Pleaſure driven with looſen'd rein,
Aſtoniſh'd that they flew ſo faſt!
How did the heart-improving ſight
Awake your wonder and delight,
When, in her unexampled chace,
Philanthropy outſtript keen Pleaſure's pace,
When with a warmer ſoul ſhe ran a nobler race!

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Sweet is the joy when Science flings
Her light on philoſophic thought;
When Genius, with keen ardor, ſprings
To claſp the lovely truth he ſought:
Sweet is the joy, when Rapture's fire
Flows from the ſpirit of the lyre;
When Liberty and Virtue roll
Spring-tides of fancy o'er the poet's ſoul,
That waft his flying bark thro' ſeas above the pole.

Sweet the delight, when the gall'd heart
Feels Conſolation's lenient hand
Bind up the wound from Fortune's dart
With Friendſhip's life-ſupporting band!
And ſweeter ſtill, and far above
Theſe fainter joys, when pureſt Love
The ſoul his willing captive keeps!
When he in bliſs the melting ſpirit ſteeps,
Who drops delicious tears, and wonders that he weeps!

But

But not the brighteſt joy, which Arts,
In floods of mental light, beſtow;
Nor what firm Friendſhip's zeal imparts,
Bleſt antidote of bittereſt woe!
Nor thoſe that Love's ſweet hours diſpenſe,
Can equal the ecſtatic ſenſe,
When, ſwelling to a fond exceſs,
The grateful praiſes of reliev'd diſtreſs,
Re-echoed thro' the heart, the ſoul of Bounty bleſs.

PROLOGUE *to the* MINIATURE PICTURE.

Written by RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN, *Eſq*; *Spoken by Mr.* KING.

CHILL'D by rough gales, while yet reluctant May
With-holds the beauties of the vernal day;
As ſome fond maid, whom matron frowns reprove,
Suſpends the ſmile her heart devotes to love;
The ſeaſon's pleaſures too delay their hour,
And Winter revels with protracted pow'r:
Then blame not, Critics, if, thus late, we bring
A Winter's drama—but reproach—the Spring.
What prudent cit dares yet the ſeaſon truſt,
Baſk in his whiſky, and enjoy the duſt?
Hors'd in Cheapſide, ſcarce yet the gayer ſpark
Atchieves the Sunday triumph of the Park;
Scarce yet you ſee him, dreading to be late,
Scour the New-road, and daſh through Groſvenor-gate,
Anxious—and fearful too—his ſteed to ſhew,
The hack'd Bucephalus of Rotten-row!
Careleſs he ſeems, yet, vigilantly ſly,
Woos the ſtray glance of Ladies paſſing by,
While his off heel, inſidiouſly aſide,
Provokes the caper which he ſeems to chide:
Scarce rural Kenſington due honour gains,
The vulgar verdure of her walk remains,
Where white-rob'd Miſſes amble two by two,
Nodding to booted beaux—'How do, how do?'
With generous queſtions that no anſwer wait,
'How vaſtly full! a'n't you come vaſtly late?
'Isn't it quite charming? When do you leave town?
'A'n't you quite tir'd? Pray, can we ſet you down?'
Theſe ſuperb pleaſures of a London May
Imperfect yet, we hail the cold delay;
But if this plea's denied, in our excuſe
Another ſtill remains you can't refuſe;
It is a Lady writes—and hark—a noble Muſe

But ſee a Critic ſtarting from his bench—
'A noble Author?' Yes, Sir; but the Play's not French:
Yet if it were, no blame on us could fall;
For we, you know, muſt follow Faſhion's call;
And true it is things lately were EN TRAIN
To woo the Gallic Muſe at Drury-lane;
Not to import a troop of foreign elves,
But treat you with French actors—in ourſelves:
A friend we had, who vow'd he'd make us ſpeak
Pure flippant French,—by contract—in a week;
Told us 'twas time to ſtudy what was good,
Poliſh, and leave off being underſtood,
That crouded audiences we thus might bring
To Monſieur Parſons and Chevalier King:
Or ſhould the vulgars grumble now and then,
The prompter might tranſlate—for country gentlemen.
Strait all ſubſcrib'd—Kings, Gods, Mutes, Singer, Actor,—
A Flanders figure-dancer our contractor.
But here, I grieve to own, tho't it be to you,
He acted—e'en as moſt contractors do;
Sold what he never dealt in, and th' amount
Being firſt diſcharg'd, ſubmitted his account:
And what th' event? Their induſtry was ſuch,
Dodd ſpoke good Flemiſh, Banniſter bad Dutch.
Then the rogue told us, with inſulting eaſe,
So it was foreign, it was ſure to pleaſe:
Beaux, wits, applaud, as faſhion ſhould command,
And Miſſes laugh—to ſeem to underſtand—
So from each clime our ſoil may ſomething gain;
Manhood from Rome, and ſprightlineſs from Spain;
Some Ruſſian Roſcius next delight the age,
And a Dutch Heinel ſkate along the ſtage.
Exotic fopperies, hail! whoſe flatt'ring ſmile
Supplants the ſterner virtues of our iſle!
Thus, while with Chineſe firs and Indian pines
Our nurs'ries ſwarm, the Britiſh oak declines:
Yet, vain our Muſes fear—no foreign laws
We dread, while native beauty pleads our cauſe:
While you're to judge, whoſe ſmiles are honours higher
Than verſe ſhould gain, but where thoſe eyes inſpire.
But if the men preſume your pow'r to awe,
Retort their churliſh ſenatorial law;
This is your houſe—and move—the gentlemen withdraw:
Then you may vote, with envy never ceaſing,
Your influence has increas'd, and is increaſing;
But there, I truſt, the reſolution's finiſh'd;
Sure none will ſay—it ought to be diminiſh'd.

Characters of SALLUST *and* LIVY. *From* HAYLEY'S *Eſſay on Hiſtory.*

BUT Rome's proud Genius, with exulting claim,
Points to her rivals of the Grecian name!
Sententious SALLUST leads her lofty train;
Clear, tho' conciſe, elaborately plain,
Poiſing his ſcale of words with frugal care,
Nor leaving one ſuperfluous atom there!
Yet well diſplaying, in a narrow ſpace,
Truth's native ſtrength, and Nature's eaſy grace;
Skill'd to detect, in tracing Action's courſe,
The hidden motive, and the human ſource.
His lucid brevity the palm has won,
By Rome's deciſion, from OLORUS' Son.
Of mightier ſpirit, of majeſtic frame,
With powers proportion'd to the Roman fame,
When Rome's fierce Eagle his broad wings unfurl'd,
And ſhadow'd with his plumes the ſubject world,
In bright pre-eminence, that Greece might own,
Sublimer LIVY claims th' Hiſtoric throne;
With that rich Eloquence, whoſe golden light
Brings the full ſcene diſtinctly to the ſight;
That Zeal for Truth, which Intereſt cannot bend,
That Fire, which Freedom ever gives her friend.
Immortal artiſt of a work ſupreme!
Delighted Rome beheld, with proud eſteem,
Her own bright image, of coloſſal ſize,
From thy long toils in pureſt marble riſe.
But envious Time, with a malignant ſtroke,
This ſacred ſtatue into fragments broke;
In Lethe's ſtream its nobler portions ſunk,
And left Futurity the wounded trunk.
Yet, like the matchleſs, mutilated frame,
To which great ANGELO bequeath'd his name,
This glorious ruin, in whoſe ſtrength we find
The ſplendid vigour of the Sculptor's mind,
In the fond eye of Admiration ſtill
Rivals the finiſh'd forms of modern ſkill.

On Biography and the Character of PLUTARCH. *From the ſame.*

OBLEST Biography! thy charms of yore
Hiſtoric Truth to ſtrong Affection bore,
And ſoft'ring Virtue gave thee as thy dower,
Of both thy parents the attractive power;

To win the heart, the wavering thought to fix,
And fond delight with wiſe inſtruction mix.
Firſt of thy votaries, peerleſs, and alone,
Thy PLUTARCH ſhines, by moral beauty known:
Enchanting Sage! whoſe living leſſons teach,
What heights of Virtue human efforts reach.
Tho' oft thy Pen, eccentrically wild,
Ramble, in Learning's various maze beguil'd;
Tho' in thy Style no brilliant graces ſhine,
Nor the clear conduct of correct Deſign,
Thy every page is uniformly bright
With mild Philanthropy's diviner light.
Of gentleſt manners, as of mind elate,
Thy happy Genius had the glorious fate
To regulate, with Wiſdom's ſoft controul,
The ſtrong ambition of a TRAJAN's ſoul.
But O! how rare benignant Virtue ſprings,
In the blank boſom of deſpotic kings!

Character of FROISSART. *From the ſame.*

YET Courteſy, with generous Valour join'd,
Fair Twins of Chivalry! rejoic'd to find
A faithful Chronicler in plain FROISSART;
As rich in honeſty as void of art.
As the young Peaſant, led by ſpirits keen
To ſome great city's gay and gorgeous ſcene,
Returning, with increaſe of proud delight,
Dwells on the various ſplendor of the ſight;
And gives his tale, tho' told in terms uncouth,
The charm of Nature, and the force of Truth,
Tho' rude engaging; ſuch thy ſimple page
Seems, O FROISSART! to this enlighten'd age.
Proud of their ſpirit, in thy writings ſhewn,
Fair Faith and Honour mark thee for their own;
Tho' oft the dupe of thoſe deluſive times,
Thy Genius, foſter'd with romantic rhymes,
Appears to play the legendary Bard,
And treſpaſs on the truth it meant to guard.
Still ſhall thy name, with laſting glory, ſtand
High on the liſt of that advent'rous band,
Who, bidding Hiſtory ſpeak a modern tongue,
From her cramp'd hand the Monkiſh fetters flung,
While yet depreſs'd in Gothic night ſhe lay,
Nor ſaw th' approaching dawn of Attic day.

Character

Character of FATHER PAUL. *From the ſame.*

SARPI, bleſt name! from every foible clear,
Not more to Science than to Virtue dear.
Thy pen, thy life, of equal praiſe ſecure!
Both wiſely bold, and both ſublimely pure!
That Freedom bids me on thy merits dwell,
Whoſe radiant form illum'd thy letter'd cell;
Who to thy hand the nobleſt taſk aſſign'd,
That earth can offer to a heavenly mind:
With Reaſon's arms to guard invaded laws,
And guide the pen of Truth in Freedom's cauſe.
Too firm of heart at Danger's cry to ſtoop,
Nor Lucre's ſlave, nor vain Ambition's dupe,
Thro' length of days invariably the ſame,
Thy country's liberty thy conſtant aim!
For this thy ſpirit dar'd th' Aſſaſſin's knife,
That with repeated guilt purſu'd thy life;
For this thy fervent and unweary'd care
Form'd, ev'n in death, thy patriotic prayer,
And, while his ſhadows on thine eye-lids hung,
"Be it immortal!" trembled on thy tongue.

Character of VOLTAIRE. *From the ſame.*

THO' Pontiffs execrate, and Kings betray,
Let not this fate your generous warmth allay,
Ye kindred Worthies! who ſtill dare to wield
Reaſon's keen ſword, and Toleration's ſhield,
In climes where Perſecution's iron mace
Is rais'd to maſſacre the human race!
The heart of Nature will your virtue feel,
And her immortal voice reward your zeal
Firſt in her praiſe her fearleſs champions live,
Crown'd with the nobleſt palms that earth can give.
Firm in this band, who to her aid advance,
And high amid th' Hiſtoric ſons of France,
Delighted Nature ſaw, with partial care,
The lively vigour of the gay VOLTAIRE;
And fondly gave him, with ANACREON'S fire
To throw the hand of Age acroſs the lyre:
But mute that vary'd voice, which pleas'd ſo long!
Th' Hiſtorian's tale is clos'd, the Poet's ſong!
Within the narrow tomb behold him lie,
Who fill'd ſo large a ſpace in Learning's eye!

Thou Mind unweary'd! thy long toils are o'er;
Cenſure and Praiſe can touch thy ear no more:
Still let me breathe with juſt regret thy name,
Lament thy foibles, and thy powers proclaim!
On the wide ſea of Letters 'twas thy boaſt
To croud each ſail, and touch at every coaſt:
From that rich deep how often haſt thou brought
The pure and precious pearls of ſplendid Thought!
How didſt thou triumph on that ſubject-tide,
Till Vanity's wild guſt, and ſtormy Pride,
Drove thy ſtrong bark, in evil hour, to ſplit
Upon the fatal rock of impious Wit!
But be thy failings cover'd by thy tomb!
And guardian laurels o'er thy aſhes bloom!
From the long annals of the world thy art,
With chemic proceſs, drew the richer part;
To Hiſt'ry gave a philoſophic air,
And made the intereſt of mankind her care;
Pleas'd her grave brow with garlands to adorn,
And from the roſe of Knowledge ſtrip the thorn.
Thy lively Eloquence, in proſe, in verſe,
Still keenly bright, and elegantly terſe,
Flames with bold ſpirit; yet is idly raſh:
Thy promis'd light is oft a dazzling flaſh:
Thy wiſdom verges to ſarcaſtic ſport,
Satire thy joy! and ridicule thy *fort!*
But the gay Genius of the Gallic ſoil,
Shrinking from ſolemn taſks of ſerious toil,
Thro' every ſcene his playful air maintains,
And in the light Memoir unrival'd reigns.
Thy Wits, O France! (as e'en thy Critics own)
Support not Hiſtory's majeſtic tone;
They, like thy Soldiers, want, in feats of length,
The perſevering ſoul of Britiſh ſtrength.

Characters of CAMDEN, RAWLEIGH, CLARENDON, BURNET, RAPIN, HUME, LYTTELTON. *From the ſame.*

HAIL to thee, Britain! hail! delightful land!
I ſpring with filial joy to reach thy ſtrand:
And thou! bleſt nouriſher of Souls, ſublime
As e'er immortaliz'd their native clime,
Rich in Poetic treaſures, yet excuſe
The trivial offering of an humble Muſe,
Who pants to add, with fears by love o'ercome,
Her mite of Glory to thy countleſs ſum!
With vary'd colours, of the richeſt die,
Fame's brilliant banners o'er thy Offspring fly:

In

In native Vigour bold, by Freedom led,
No path of honour have they fail'd to tread:
But while they wiſely plan, and bravely dare,
Their own atchievements are their lateſt care.
Tho' CAMDEN, rich in Learning's various ſtore,
Sought in Tradition's mine Truth's genuine ore,
The waſte of Hiſt'ry lay in lifeleſs ſhade,
Tho' RAWLEIGH's piercing eye that world ſurvey'd.
Tho' mightier names there caſt a caſual glance,
They ſeem'd to ſaunter round the field by chance,
Till CLARENDON aroſe, and in the hour
When civil Diſcord wak'd each mental Power,
With brave deſire to reach this diſtant goal,
Strain'd all the vigour of his manly ſoul.
Nor Truth, nor Freedom's injur'd Powers, allow
A wreath unſpotted to his haughty brow:
Friendſhip's firm ſpirit ſtill his fame exalts,
With ſweet atonement for his leſſer faults.
His pomp of phraſe, his period of a mile,
And all the maze of his bewilder'd ſtyle,
Illum'd by warmth of heart, no more offend:
What cannot Taſte forgive, in FALKLAND's friend?
Nor flow his praiſes from this ſingle ſource;
One province of his art diſplays his force:
His Portraits boaſt, with features ſtrongly like,
The ſoft preciſion of the clear VANDYKE:
Tho', like the Painter, his faint talents yield,
And ſink embarraſs'd in the Epic field,
Yet ſhall his labours long adorn our iſle,
Like the proud glories of ſome Gothic pile:
They, tho' conſtructed by a Bigot's hand,
Nor nicely finiſh'd, nor correctly plan'd,
With ſolemn Majeſty, and pious Gloom,
An awful influence o'er the mind aſſume;
And from the alien eyes of every ſect
Attract obſervance, and command reſpect.
In following years, when thy great name, NASSAU!
Stampt the bleſt deed of Liberty and Law;
When clear, and guiltleſs of Oppreſſion's rage,
There roſe in Britain an Auguſtan age,
And cluſter'd Wits, by emulation bright,
Diffus'd o'er ANNA's reign their mental light;
That conſtellation ſeem'd, tho' ſtrong its flame,
To want the ſplendor of Hiſtoric fame:
Yet BURNET's page may laſting glory hope,
Howe'er inſulted by the ſpleen of POPE.
Tho' his rough language haſte and warmth denote,
With ardent Honeſty of ſoul he wrote;

Tho' critic cenſures on his work may ſhower,
Like Faith, his freedom has a ſaving power.
Nor ſhalt thou want, RAPIN! thy well-earn'd praiſe,
The ſage POLYBIUS thou of modern days!
Thy ſword, thy pen, have both thy name endear'd;
This join'd our arms, and that our ſtory clear'd:
Thy foreign hand diſcharg'd th' Hiſtorian's truſt,
Unſway'd by Party, and to Freedom juſt.
To letter'd Fame we own thy fair pretence,
From patient Labour, and from candid Senſe.
Yet public Favour, ever hard to fix,
Flew from thy page, as heavy and prolix.
For ſoon, emerging from the Sophiſt's ſchool,
With Spirit eager, yet with Judgment cool,
With ſubtle ſkill to ſteal upon applauſe,
And give falſe vigour to the weaker cauſe;
To paint a ſpecious ſcene with niceſt art,
Retouch the whole, and varniſh every part;
Graceful in Style, in Argument acute;
Maſter of every trick in keen Diſpute!
With theſe ſtrong powers to form a winning tale,
And hide Deceit in Moderation's veil,
High on the pinnacle of Faſhion plac'd,
HUME ſhone the idol of Hiſtoric Taſte.
Already, pierc'd by Freedom's ſearching rays,
The waxen fabric of his fame decays.—
Think not, keen Spirit! that theſe hands preſume
To tear each leaf of laurel from thy tomb!
Theſe hands! which, if a heart of human frame
Could ſtoop to harbour that ungenerous aim,
Would ſhield thy grave, and give, with guardian care,
Each type of Eloquence to flouriſh there!
But public Love commands the painful taſk,
From the pretended Sage to ſtrip the maſk,
When his falſe tongue, averſe to Freedom's cauſe,
Profanes the ſpirit of her ancient laws.
As Aſia's ſoothing opiate drugs, by ſtealth,
Shake every ſlacken'd nerve, and ſap the health;
Thy writings thus, with noxious charms refin'd,
Seeming to ſoothe its ills, unnerve the mind.
While the keen cunning of thy hand pretends
To ſtrike alone at Party's abject ends,
Our hearts more free from Faction's weeds we feel,
But they have loſt the flower of Patriot zeal.
Wild as thy feeble Metaphyſic page,
Thy Hiſt'ry rambles into Sceptic rage;
Whoſe giddy and fantaſtic dreams abuſe
A HAMPDEN'S Virtue, and a SHAKESPEARE'S Muſe.

With

With purer ſpirit, free from party ſtrife,
To ſoothe his evening hour of honour'd life,
See candid LYTTELTON at length unfold
The deeds of liberty in days of old!
Fond of the theme, and narrative with age,
He winds the lengthen'd tale thro' many a page;
But there the beams of Patriot Virtue ſhine;
There Truth and Freedom ſanctify the line,
And laurels, due to Civil Wiſdom, ſhield
This noble Neſtor of th' Hiſtoric field.
The living names, who there diſplay their power,
And give its glory to the preſent hour,
I paſs with mute regard; in fear to fail,
Weighing their worth in a ſuſpected ſcale:
Thy right, Poſterity! I ſacred hold,
To fix the ſtamp on literary gold;
Bleſt! if this lighter ore, which I prepare
For thy ſupreme Aſſay, with anxious care,
Thy current ſanction unimpeach'd enjoy,
As only tinctur'd with a ſlight alloy!

RONDEAU. *Sung by Mrs.* BARTHELEMON, *at* Ranelagh.

NIGHT and day the anxious lover
Is attentive to the fair,
Till the doubtful courtſhip's over:
Is ſhe then ſo much his care?

Warm as Summer his addreſſes,
Hope and ardour's in his eyes;
Cool as Winter his careſſes,
When ſhe yields his captive prize.

Now the owner of her beauty,
Sees no more an Angel face;
Half is love, the reſt is duty:
Pleaſure ſure is in the chace.

Account of Books for 1780.

Anecdotes of Painting in England; with ſome Account of the principal Artiſts, and incidental Notes on other Arts; collected by the late Mr. George Vertue; *and now digeſted and publiſhed from his original MSS. by Mr.* Horace Walpole. *Vol. 3d. and 4th.*

WE are indebted to our readers a long arrear on the account of the honourable editor of theſe memoirs. The two firſt volumes were publiſhed in the year 1762: and a ſhort view of the compiler's plan, together with our opinion of the judicious and lively manner in which it was executed, were given in the Annual Regiſter of that date. The third volume came out the following year; but the account of it was deferred till the publication of the fourth and laſt, which was then promiſed, and for which we have waited with all the impatience, that the ſingular merit of the preceding parts had, we believe, very generally excited.

But, how much ſoever we may have ſuffered from this delay in the gratification of our curioſity, the motives that occaſioned it cannot be ſufficiently commended. Mr. Walpole, whoſe humanity and benevolence are as much admired in private life, as his fine genius and lively talents are by the public, was unwilling, as he himſelf informs us, "to utter even gentle cenſures, which might wound the affections, or offend the prejudices, of thoſe related to perſons, whom truth forbad him to commend beyond their merits.——As he could not therefore reſolve, like moſt biographiſts, to diſpenſe univerſal panegyric, the publication of this laſt volume, which contains the lives of artiſts in the two late reigns, though it had been long written, and even printed, was deferred, from motives of tenderneſs towards their ſurviving friends and relations." To riſk the tide of popular curioſity would have been a dangerous experiment in an author of doubtful reputation. On the other hand, to ſacrifice a long period of certain fame to the gratification of a private ſatisfaction, was ſtill leſs to be expected from the vanity of an applauded favourite. But Mr. Walpole's genius and virtues make him ſuperior to both theſe conſiderations; and he knows that men of true taſte will not leſs admire the beneficent exertions of the one, than the moſt brilliant productions of the other.

The firſt of the volumes now before us commences with the reign of Charles the ſecond. "The arts,

arts, says this spirited writer, were in a manner expelled with the royal family from Britain. The anecdotes of a civil war are the history of destruction. In all ages, the mob have vented their hatred to tyrants, on the pomp of tyranny. The magnificence, the people have envied, they grow to detest; and mistaking consequences for causes, the first objects of their fury are the palaces of their masters. If religion is thrown into the quarrel, the most innocent arts are catalogued with sins. This was the case in the contests between Charles and his parliament. As he had blended affection to the sciences with a lust of power, nonsense and ignorance were adopted into the liberties of the subject. Painting became idolatry, monuments were deemed carnal pride, and a venerable cathedral seemed equally contradictory to Magna Charta and the Bible. Learning and wit were construed to be so heathen, that one would have thought the Holy Ghost could endure nothing above a pun. What the fury of Henry the VIIIth had spared, was condemned by the Puritans: Ruin was their harvest, and they gleaned after the reformers. Had they countenanced any of the softer arts, what could those arts have represented? How picturesque was the figure of an Anabaptist? but sectaries have no ostensible enjoyments; their pleasures are private, comfortable, and gross. The arts that civilize society, are not calculated for men who mean to rise on the ruins of established order. Jargon and austerities are the weapons that best serve the purposes of heresiarcs and innovators. The sciences have been excommunicated, from the Gnostics to Mr. Whitfield.

"The restoration of royalty brought back the arts, not taste. Charles the IId had a turn to mechanics, but to none of the politer sciences. He had learned to draw in his youth. In the imperial library at Vienna is a view of the Isle of Jersey, designed by him. But he was too indolent to amuse himself. He introduced the fashions of the court of France, without its elegance. He had seen Louis the XIVth countenance Corneille, Moliere, and Boileau, who forming themselves on the models of the ancients, seemed by the purity of their writings to have studied in Sparta. Charles found as much genius at home, but how licentious, how indelicate was the stile he permitted or demanded! Dryden's tragedies are a compound of bombast and heroic obscenity, inclosed in the most beautiful numbers. If Wycherley had nature, it is nature stark naked. The painters of that age veiled it but little more. Sir Peter Lely scarce saves appearances but by a bit of fringe or embroidery. His nymphs, generally reposed on the turf, are too wanton and too magnificent to be taken for any thing but maids of honour. Yet fantastic as his compositions seem, they were pretty much in the dress of the times, as it is evident by a Puritan tract published in 1678, and intituled "*Just and Reasonable Reprehensions of Naked Breasts and Shoulders.*" The court had gone a good way beyond the fashion of the preceding reign, when the gallantry in vogue was to wear a lock of some favourite

favourite object; and yet Prynne had thought that mode ſo damnable, that he publiſhed an abſurd piece againſt it, called *The Unloveliness of Love-locks* *.

"The ſectaries in oppoſition to the king, had run into the extreme againſt politeneſs: The new court, to indemnify themſelves and mark averſion to their rigid adverſaries, took the other extreme: Elegance and delicacy were the point from which both ſides ſtarted different ways; and taſte was as little ſought by the men of wit, as by thoſe who called themſelves the men of God. The latter thought that to demoliſh was to reform; the others, that ridicule was the only rational corrective; and thus, while one party deſtroyed all order, and the other gave a looſe to diſorder, no wonder the age produced no work of art, that was worthy of being preſerved by poſterity. Yet in a hiſtory of the arts, as in other hiſtories, the times of confuſion and barbariſm muſt have their place, to preſerve the connection, and to aſcertain the ebb and flow of genius. One likes to ſee through what clouds broke forth the age of Auguſtus"——

—"The ſhort and tempeſtuous reign of James, ſays our author, though he himſelf ſeems to have had much inclination to them, afforded ſmall encouragement to the arts. His religion was not of a complexion to exclude decoration; but four years, crouded with inſurrections, proſecutions, innovations, were not likely to make a figure in a hiſtory of painting."——

King William follows next in order. "This prince, he obſerves, like moſt of thoſe in our annals, contributed nothing to the advancement of arts. He was born in a country where taſte never flouriſhed, and nature had not given it him as an embelliſhment of his great qualities. He courted fame, but none of her miniſters. Holland owed its preſervation to his heroic virtue; England its liberty to his ambition; Europe its independence to his competition with Louis the XIVth; for however unſucceſsful in the conteſt, the very ſtruggle was ſalutary. Being obliged to draw all his reſources from himſelf, and not content to acquire glory by proxy, he had no leiſure, like his rival, to preſide over the regiſters of his fame. He fought his own battles, inſtead of chooſing mottoes for the medals that recorded them; and although my Lord Hallifax promiſed him that his wound, in the battle of the Boyne,

Should run for ever purple in our looms,

his majeſty certainly did not beſpeak a ſingle ſuit of tapeſtry in memory of the action. In England he met with nothing but diſguſts. He underſtood little of the nation, and ſeems to have acted too much upon a plan formed before he came over; and, however neceſſary to his early ſituation, little adapted to ſo peculiar a peo-

* "At the ſale of the late Lady Worſely, about ſeven or eight years ago, was the portrait of the Ducheſs of Somerſet, daughter to Robert Earl of Eſſex (Q. Elizabeth's favourite), with a lock of her father's hair hanging on her neck, and the lock itſelf was in the ſame auction."

ple

ple as the Engliſh. He thought that valour and taciturnity would conquer or govern the world, and vainly imagining his new ſubjects loved liberty better than party, he truſted to their feeling gratitude for a bleſſing, which they could not help ſeeing was conferred a little for his own ſake. Reſerved, unſociable, ill in his health, and ſoured by his ſituation, he ſought none of thoſe amuſements that make the hours of the happy much happier. If we muſt except the palace at Hampton Court, at leaſt it is no monument of his taſte; it ſeems erected in emulation of what it certainly was meant to imitate, the pompous edifices of the French monarch. We are told that

> ——Great Naſſau to Kneller's hand decreed
> To fix him graceful on the bounding ſteed.

In general I believe his majeſty patronized neither painters nor * poets, though he was happy in the latter—but the caſe is different; a great prince may have a Garth, a Prior, a Montagu, and want Titians and Vandycks, if he encourages neither—You muſt addreſs yourſelf to a painter if you wiſh to be flattered—A poet brings his incenſe to you. Mary ſeems to have had little more propenſity to the arts than the king: the good queen loved to work and talk, and contented herſelf with praying to God that her huſband might be a great hero, ſince he did not chooſe to be a fond huſband.——

—Of the reign of Queen Anne ſo illuſtrated by heroes, he obſerves, that it "was not equally fortunate in artiſts. Except Kneller, ſcarce a painter of note. Weſtminſter-Abbey teſtifies there was no eminent ſtatuaries. One man there was who diſgraced this period by his architecture as much as he enlivened it by his wit; formed to pleaſe both Auguſtus and an Egyptian monarch, who thought nothing preſerved fame like a ſolid maſs of ſtone, he produced a Relapſe and Blenheim. Party, that ſharpened the genius of the age, diſhonoured it too. A halfpenny print of Sacheverel would have been preferred to a ſketch of Raphael. Lord Sunderland and Lord Oxford collected books, the Duke of Devonſhire and Lord Pembroke, pictures, medals, ſtatues: The performance of the time had little pretenſions to be admitted into ſuch cabinets."——

—The fourth volume opens with George the firſt. "We are now arrived," ſays Mr. Walpole, "at the period, in which the arts were ſunk to the loweſt ebb in Britain. From the ſtiffneſs introduced by Holbein and the Flemiſh maſters, who not only laboured under the timidity of the new art, but who ſaw nothing but the ſtarch and unpliant habits of the times, we were fallen into a looſe, and, if I may uſe the word, a *diſſolute* kind of painting, which was not leſs barbarous than the oppoſite extreme, and yet had not the merit of repreſenting even the dreſſes of the age. Sir Godfrey Kneller ſtill lived, but only in name, which he

* King William had ſo little leiſure to attend to, or ſo little diſpoſition to men of wit, that when St. Evremont was introduced to him, the king ſaid coldly, "I think you was a major-general in the French ſervice."

proſtituted

proſtituted by ſuffering the moſt wretched daubings of hired ſubſtitutes to paſs for his works, while at moſt he gave himſelf the trouble of taking the likeneſs of the perſon who ſat to him. His bold and free manner was the ſole admiration of his ſucceſſors, who thought they had caught his ſtyle, when they neglected drawing, probability, and finiſhing. Kneller had exaggerated the curls of full-bottomed wigs and the tiaras of ribbands, lace and hair, till he had ſtruck out a graceful kind of unnatural grandeur; but the ſucceeding modes were ſtill leſs favourable to pictureſque imagination. The habits of the time were ſhrunk to awkward coats and waiſtcoats for the men; and for the women, to tight-laced gowns, round hoops, and half a dozen ſqueezed plaits of linen, to which dangled behind two unmeaning pendants, called lappets, not half covering their ſtrait-drawn hair. Dahl, Dagar, Richardſon, Jervas, and others, rebuffed with ſuch barbarous forms, and not poſſeſſing genius enough to deviate from what they ſaw into graceful variations, cloathed all their perſonages with a looſe drapery and airy mantles, which not only were not, but could not be the dreſs of any age or nation, ſo little were they adapted to cover the limbs, to exhibit any form, or to adhere to the perſon, which they ſcarce enveloped, and from which they muſt fall on the leaſt motion. As thoſe caſual lappings and flowing ſtreamers were imitated from nothing, they ſeldom have any folds or chiaro 'ſcuro; anatomy and colouring being equally forgotten. Linen, from what œconomy I know not, is ſeldom allowed in thoſe portraits, even to the ladies, who lean careleſly on a bank, and play with a parrot they do not look at, under a tranquillity which ill accords with their ſeeming ſituation, the ſlightneſs of their veſtment and the lankneſs of their hair having the appearance of their being juſt riſen from the bath, and of having found none of their cloaths to put on, but a looſe gown. Architecture was perverted to meer houſe-building, where it retained not a little of Vanbrugh; and if employed on churches, produced at beſt but corrupt and tawdry imitations of Sir Chriſtopher Wren. Statuary ſtill leſs deſerved the name of an art.

The new monarch was void of taſte, and not likely at an advanced age to encourage the embelliſhment of a country, to which he had little partiality, and with the face of which he had few opportunities of getting acquainted; though had he been better known, he muſt have grown the delight of it, poſſeſſing all that plain good-humoured ſimplicity and ſocial integrity, which peculiarly diſtinguiſhes *the honeſt Engliſh private gentleman*. Like thoſe patriots, it was more natural to George the firſt to be content with, or even partial to whatever he found eſtabliſhed, than to ſeek for improvement and foreign ornament. But the arts, when neglected, always degenerate. Encouragement muſt keep them up, or a genius revivify them. Neither happened under the firſt of the houſe of Brunſwic."

Having finiſhed the reign of George the firſt, "it is with complacency, ſays the author, I enter upon a more ſhining period in the hiſtory of arts, upon a new æra;

æra; for though painting made but feeble efforts towards advancement, yet it was in the reign of George the ſecond that architecture revived in antique purity; and that an art unknown to every age and climate not only ſtarted into being, but advanced with maſter-ſteps to vigorous perfection; I mean, the art of gardening, or as I ſhould chuſe to call it, *the art of creating landſcape*. Ryſbrack and Roubiliac redeemed ſtatuary from reproach, and engraving began to demand better painters, whoſe works it might imitate. The king, it is true, had little propenſity to refined pleaſures; but queen Caroline was ever ready to reward merit, and wiſhed to have their reign illuſtrated by monuments of genius. She enſhrined Newton, Boyle, and Locke: ſhe employed Kent, and ſat to Zincke. Pope might have enjoyed her favour, and Swift had it at firſt, till inſolent under the maſk of independence; and not content without domineering over her politics, ſhe abandoned him to his ill-humour, and to the vexation of that miſguided and diſappointed ambition, that perverted and preyed on his excellent genius.

To have an exact view of ſo long a reign as that of George the ſecond, it muſt be remembered that many of the artiſts already recorded lived paſt the beginning of it, and were principal performers. Thus the ſtyle that had predominated both in painting and architecture in the two preceding reigns, ſtill exiſted during the firſt years of the late king, and may be conſidered as the remains of the ſchools of Dahl and Sir Godfrey Kneller, and of Sir Chriſtopher Wren. Richardſon and Jervas, Gibbs and Campbell, were ſtill at the head of their reſpective profeſſions. Each art improved, before the old profeſſors left the ſtage. Vanloo introduced a better ſtyle of draperies, which by the help of Vanaken, became common to and indeed the ſame in the works of almoſt all our painters; and Leoni, by publiſhing and imitating Palladio, diſencumbered architecture from ſome of the weight with which it had been overloaded. Kent, Lord Burlington, and Lord Pembroke, though the two firſt were no foes to heavy ornaments, reſtored every other grace to that impoſing ſcience, and left the art in poſſeſſion of all its rights—yet ſtill Mr. Adam and Mr. Chambers were wanting to give it perfect delicacy. The reign was not cloſed, when Sir Joſhua Reynolds ranſomed portrait-painting from inſipidity, and would have excelled the greateſt maſters in that branch, if his colouring were as laſting, as his taſte and imagination are inexhauſtible."

We cannot cloſe theſe extracts without adding one more, in which Mr. W. has done juſtice to the merits of our living artiſts, with the ſame taſte and diſcernment, that he has appreciated the value of their predeceſſors—In an advertiſement prefixed to the laſt volume, he acquaints us that "The work is carried as far as the author intended to go, though he is ſenſible he could continue it with more ſatisfaction to himſelf, as the arts, at leaſt thoſe of painting and architecture, are emerging from the wretched ſtate in which they lay at the acceſſion of George the firſt. To architecture, taſte and vigour

vigour were given by lord Burlington and Kent——They have ſucceſſors worthy of the tone they gave; if, as refinement generally verges to extreme contrarieties, Kent's ponderoſity does not degenerate into filligraine—But the modern Pantheon, uniting grandeur and lightneſs, ſimplicity and ornament, ſeems to have marked the medium, where taſte muſt ſtop. The architect who ſhall endeavour to refine on Mr. Wyat, will perhaps give date to the age of embroidery. Virgil, Longinus and Vitruvius afford no rules, no examples, of ſcattering finery.

This delicate redundance of ornament growing into our architecture might perhaps be checked, if our artiſts would ſtudy the ſublime dreams of Piraneſi, who ſeems to have conceived viſions of Rome beyond what it boaſted even in the meridian of its ſplendor. Savage as Salvator Roſa, fierce as Michael Angelo, and exuberant as Rubens, he has imagined ſcenes that would ſtartle geometry, and exhauſt the Indies to realize. He piles palaces on bridges, and temples on palaces, and ſcales Heaven with mountains of edifices. Yet what taſte in his boldneſs! what grandeur in his wildneſs! what labour and thought both in his raſhneſs and details! Architecture, indeed, has in a manner two ſexes; its maſculine dignity can only exert its muſcles in public works and at public expence; its ſofter beauties come better within the compaſs of private reſidence and enjoyment.

How painting has rekindled from its embers, the works of many living artiſts demonſtrate. The prints after the works of Sir Joſhua Reynolds have ſpread his fame to Italy, where they have not at preſent a ſingle painter that can pretend to rival an imagination ſo fertile, that the attitudes of his portraits are as * various as thoſe of hiſtory. In what age were paternal deſpair and the horrors of death pronounced with more expreſſive accents than in his picture of Count Ugolino? When was infantine lovelineſs, or embrio-paſſions, touched with ſweeter truth than in his portraits of Miſs Price and the baby Jupiter? What frankneſs of nature in Mr. Gainſborough's landſcapes; which may

* Sir J. Reynolds has been accuſed of plagiariſm for having borrowed attitudes from ancient maſters. Not only candour but criticiſm muſt deny the *force* of the charge. When a ſingle poſture is imitated from an hiſtoric picture, and applied to a portrait in a different dreſs and with new attributes, This is not plagiariſm, but quotation: and a quotation from a great author, with a novel application of the ſenſe, has always been allowed to be an inſtance of parts and taſte; and may have more merit than the original. When the ſons of Jacob impoſed on their father by a falſe coat of Joſeph, ſaying, "Know now whether This be thy ſon's coat or not," they only aſked a deceitful queſtion——but that interrogation became wit, when Richard 1ſt. on the pope reclaiming a biſhop whom the king had taken priſoner in battle, ſent him the prelate's coat of mail, and in the words of ſcripture aſked his holineſs, whether THAT was the coat of his ſon or not? Is not there humour and ſatire in Sir Joſhua's reducing Holbein's ſwaggering and coloſſal haughtineſs of Henry 8th. to the boyiſh jollity of maſter Crewe?—One prophecy I will venture to make; Sir Joſhua is not a plagiary, but will beget a thouſand. The exuberance of his invention will be the grammar of future painters of portrait.

entitle

entitle them to rank in the noble collections! What genuine humour in Zaffanii's comic ſcenes; which do not, like the works of Dutch and Flemiſh painters, invite laughter to divert itſelf with the naſtieſt indelicacy of boors!

Such topics would pleaſe a pen that delights to do juſtice to its country—but the author has forbidden himſelf to treat of living profeſſors. Poſterity appreciates impartially the works of the dead. To poſterity he leaves the continuation of theſe volumes; and recommends to the lovers of arts the induſtry of Mr. Vertue, who preſerved notices of all his cotemporaries, as he had collected of paſt ages, and thence gave birth to this work. In that ſupplement will not be forgotten the wonderful progreſs in miniature of Lady Lucan, who has arrived at copying the moſt exquiſite works of Iſaac and Peter Oliver, Hoſkins and Cooper, with a genius that almoſt depreciates thoſe maſters, when we conſider that they ſpent their lives in attaining perfection; and who, ſoaring above their modeſt timidity, has transferred the vigour of Raphael to her copies in water-colours. There will be recorded the living etchings of Mr. H. Bunbury, the ſecond Hogarth, and firſt imitator who ever fully equalled his original; and who, like Hogarth, has more humour when he invents, than when he illuſtrates*——probably becauſe genius can draw from the ſources of nature with more ſpirit than from the ideas of another. Has any painter ever executed a ſcene, a character of Shakeſpear, that approached to the prototype ſo near as Shakeſpear himſelf attained to nature? Yet is there a pencil in a living hand as capable of pronouncing the paſſions as our unequalled poet; a pencil not only inſpired by his inſight into nature, but by the graces and taſte of Grecian artiſts—but it is not fair to excite the curioſity of the public, when both the rank and baſhful merit of the poſſeſſor, and a too rare exertion of ſuperior talents, confine the proofs to a narrow circle. Whoever has ſeen the drawings, and baſreliefs, deſigned and executed by Lady Diana Beauclerc, is ſenſible that theſe imperfect encomiums are far ſhort of the excellence of her works. Her portrait of the Ducheſs of Devonſhire, in ſeveral hands, confirms the truth of part of theſe aſſertions. The nymph-like ſimplicity of the figure, is equal to what a Grecian ſtatuary would have formed for a dryad or goddeſs of a river. Bartolozzi's print of her two daughters, after the drawing of the ſame lady, is another ſpecimen of her ſingular genius and taſte. The gay and ſportive innocence of the younger daughter, and the demure application of the elder, are as characteriſtically contraſted as Milton's Allegro and Penſeroſo.

The hiſtoric compoſitions offered for St. Paul's by ſome of our firſt artiſts ſeemed to diſcloſe a viſion of future improvement—a period the more to be wiſhed, as the wound given to painting through the ſides of the Romiſh religion menaces the arts as well as idolatry—unleſs the Methodiſts, whoſe rigour ſeems to ſoften and adopt the

* For inſtance, in his prints to Triſtram Shandy.

artifices of the Catholics, [for our itinerant mountebanks already are fond of being fainted in mezzotinto, as well as their St. Bridgets and Terefas] ſhould borrow the Paraphernalia of enthuſiaſm now waning in Italy, and ſuperadd the witchery of painting to that of muſic. Whitfield's temples encircled with glory may convert ruſtics, who have never heard of his or Ignatius Loyola's peregrinations. If enthuſiaſm is to revive, and tabernacles to riſe as convents are demoliſhed, may we not hope at leaſt to ſee them painted? Le Sueur's cloyſter at Paris makes ſome little amends for the impriſonment of the Carthuſians. The abſurdity of the legend of the reviving canon is loſt in the amazing art of the painter; and the laſt ſcene of St. Bruno expiring, in which are expreſſed all the ſtages of devotion from the youngeſt mind impreſſed with fear to the compoſed reſignation of the prior, is perhaps inferior to no ſingle picture of the greateſt maſter. If Raphael died young, ſo did Le Sueur; the former had ſeen the antique, the latter only prints from Raphael: yet in the Chartreuſe, what airs of heads! what harmony of colouring! what aerial perſpective! How Grecian the ſimplicity of architecture and drapery! How diverſified a ſingle quadrangle, though the life of a hermit be the only ſubject, and devotion the only pathetic! In ſhort, till we have other pictures than portraits, and painting has ampler fields to range in than private apartments, it is in vain to expect the art ſhould recover its genuine luſtre. Statuary has ſtill leſs encouragement. Sepulchral decorations are almoſt diſuſed; and though the rage for portraits is at its higheſt tide both in pictures and prints, buſts and ſtatues are never demanded. We ſeem to wiſh no longer duration to the monuments of our expence, than the inhabitants of Peru and Ruſſia, where edifices are calculated to laſt but to the next earthquake or conflagration."

From theſe extracts our readers will perceive that Mr. Walpole has loſt nothing of that lively and ſpirited manner, which ſo ſtrongly mark all his writings. The Eſſay on Gardening, which we have given at large in the former part of this volume, will afford a laſting proof of his taſte and judgment.

Beſides the four volumes which we have now gone through, Mr. Walpole publiſhed ſome time ago a ſupplemental volume on engraving, of which, as it compleats the author's plan, it may be neceſſary to inſert here a ſhort account. It is entitled—*A Catalogue of Engravers who have been born or reſided in* England; *digeſted by Mr.* Horace Walpole, *from the MSS. of Mr.* George Vertue; *to which is added, an Account of the Life and Works of the latter.* 4to.

As Mr. Vertue was of this profeſſion himſelf, we may have the greater confidence in the induſtry and fidelity with which theſe materials have been collected. Such particulars of the lives of the ſeveral artiſts, as their general obſcurity has ſuffered to remain, are recorded; and as accurate liſts of their works, whenever they could be obtained, together with an account of their merits, are added, this work muſt be of ſingular uſe to the collectors of this ſpecies of Virtù.

Virtû. We ſhall now take leave of our author with the following account of the origin of the art of engraving, and of its introduction into England.

"When the monarchs of Egypt erected thoſe ſtupendous maſſes, the pyramids, for no other uſe but to record their names, they little ſuſpected that a weed growing by the Nile would one day be converted into more durable regiſters of fame than quarries of marble and granite. Yet when paper had been invented, what ages rolled away before it was deſtined to its beſt ſervice. It is equally amuſing to obſerve what obvious arts eſcape our touch, and how quickly various channels are deduced from a ſource when once opened. This was the caſe of the preſs: Printing was not diſcovered till about the year 1430: In thirty years more it was applied to the multiplication of drawings. Authors had ſcarce ſeen that facility of diſperſing their works, before painters received an almoſt equal advantage. To each was endleſs fame in a manner inſured, if they had merit to challenge it. With regard to prints, the new diſcovery aſſociated the profeſſors in ſome degree with the great maſters whoſe works they copied. This intimate connection between printers and engravers makes ſome account of the latter a neceſſary ſupplement to the hiſtory of the former. But if this country has not produced many men of genius in the nobler branch, it has been ſtill more deficient in excellent engravers. Mr. Vertue had been alike induſtrious in hunting after monuments of the latter profeſſion; he was of it himſelf; but as the artiſts were leſs illuſtrious, his labour was by far more unſucceſsful. Till the arrival of Hollar the art of engraving was in England almoſt confined to portraits. Vertue thought what was produced here, before the reign of King James, of ſo little conſequence, that in a ſketch which he had made for a beginning, he profeſſedly dates his account from the year 1600. If I take it up earlier, it is merely to give a compleat hiſtory, which will be comprehended in a few lines, and the materials for which I have chiefly gathered from his papers, and from the Typographical Antiquities of Mr. Ames.

"Mr. Evelyn ſays the art of engraving, and working off from, plates of copper, did not appear till about the year 1490; that is, it was not brought to perfection from the hints gathered from topography: yet it is certain, that in 1460 Maſo Finiguerra, a goldſmith of Florence, by an accident that might have given birth to the rolling-preſs, without the antecedent diſcovery of printing, did actually light upon the method of taking off ſtamps from an engraved plate. Caſting a piece of ſuch plate into melted brimſtone, he obſerved that the exact impreſſion of the engraving was left upon the ſurface of the cold brimſtone marked by lines of black. He repeated the experiment on moiſtened paper, rolling it gently with a roller. It ſucceeded. He communicated the diſcovery to Baccio Baldini, of his own profeſſion and city. The latter purſued the invention with ſucceſs, and engraved ſeveral plates from drawings of Sandro Botticello, which being ſeen by Andrea Mantegna, he not only aſſiſted Baldini with deſigns,

but cultivated the new art himſelf. It had not been long in vogue before Hugh da Carpi tried the ſame experiment with wood, and even added a variety of tints by uſing different ſtamps, for the graduations of lights and ſhades; a method revived here ſome years ago with much ſucceſs by Kirkall, and ſince at Venice by Jackſon, though very imperfectly.

"From Italy engraving ſoon travelled into Flanders, where it was firſt practiſed by one Martin of Antwerp. He was followed by Albert Durer, who carried the art to a great height conſidering how bad the taſte was of the age and country in which he lived. His fidelity to what he ſaw, was at once his fame and misfortune; he was happy in copying nature, but it was nature diſguiſed and hid under ungraceful forms. With neither choice of ſubjects or beauty, his induſtry gave merit even to uglineſs and abſurdity. Confining his labours almoſt wholly to religious and legendary hiſtories, he turned the Teſtament into the Hiſtory of a Flemiſh Village; the habits of Herod, Pilate, Joſeph, &c. their dwellings, their utenſils, and their cuſtoms, were all Gothic and European; his Virgin Mary was the heroine of a Kermis. Lucas of Leyden imitated him in all his faults, and was ſtill more burleſque in his repreſentations. It was not till Raphael had formed Marc-Antonio, that engraving placed itſelf with dignity by the ſide of painting.

"When the art reached England does not appear. It is a notorious blunder in Chambers to ſay it was firſt brought from Antwerp by Speed in the reign of James the Iſt. In ſome degree we had it almoſt as ſoon as printing; the printers themſelves uſing ſmall plates for their devices and rebuſes. Caxton's Golden Legend has in the beginning a group of ſaints, and many other cuts diſperſed through the body of the work. It was printed in 1483. The ſecond edition of his Game at Chefs had cuts too: So has his *Le Morte de Arthur*. Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's ſucceſſor, prefixed to his title of the Statutes, in the ſixth year of Henry VII. a plate with the king's arms, creſts, &c. a copy of which is given in the Life of Wynkyn, by Ames in his Typographical Antiquities, p. 79. The ſame printer exhibited ſeveral books adorned with cuts, ſome of which are particularly deſcribed by his biographer, in pages 87, 88, 89. *& ſequentibus*.

"The ſubſequent printers continued to ornament their books with wooden cuts. One conſiderable work, publiſhed by John Raſtell, was diſtinguiſhed by prints of uncommon merit for that age. It was called *The Paſtyme of the People*, and by Biſhop Nicholſon, in his Hiſtorical Library, *Raſtell's Chronicle*. This ſcarce book, of a very large ſize, I ſaw at the auction of Mr. Ames's library; it had many cuts, eighteen of which were in great folio, repreſenting the kings of England, ſo well deſigned and boldly executed as to be attributed to Holbein, though I think they were not of his hand. I ſhall mention one more book with wooden cuts, (though ſeveral are recorded by Ames); it is Grafton's Chronicle, printed in 1569, and containing many heads, as of William the Conqueror, Henry VIII,

VIII, and Queen Elizabeth, &c. Yet even though portraits were uſed in books, I find no trace of ſingle prints being wrought off in that age. Thoſe I have mentioned in a former volume as compoſing part of the collection of Henry VIII, were probably the productions of foreign artiſts. The firſt book that appeared with cuts from copper-plates, at leaſt the firſt that ſo induſtrious an enquirer as Mr. Ames had obſerved, was, "The Birth of Mankind, otherwiſe called, The Womans Book," dedicated to Queen Catharine, and publiſhed by Thomas Rolande in 1540, with many ſmall copper cuts, but to theſe no name was affixed."

An Eſſay on Hiſtory, in three Epiſtles to Edward Gibbon, *Eſq; with Notes. By* William Hayley, *Eſq.*

IT has been the fortune of few poets to begin their career with ſuch univerſal, and, we may add, undivided applauſe, as the author of the eſſay now before us. It is no ſmall part of his merit, that in times, not perhaps ſo very deficient in poetical abilities, as remarkable for countenancing the moſt frivolous and licentious abuſe of them, he has made choice of ſubjects which the Engliſh muſe need not bluſh to decorate. The Eſſay on Painting is a convincing proof of his talents in that mixed kind of poetry, which is partly didactic, partly deſcriptive; and his Epiſtle on the Death of Mr. Thornton, and the Ode to Mr. Howard, ſhew that he is no weak maſter of the pathetic.

His poetical talents, without being marked by any ſtrong caſt of original genius, are of that ſort, which is well qualified to adorn philoſophy, and illuminate the dictates of reaſon and good ſenſe. He poſſeſſes a conſiderable command of figurative language: his verſification, though it has no great compaſs or variety, is eaſy, flowing, and harmonious: his invention is quick and fertile: his imagery new and various: his ſimilies are novel, frequent, and happily applied.

The poem now before us is divided into three parts. In the firſt, after ſome general reflections on his ſubject, the author traces the progreſs of hiſtory from

—the rude ſymbol on the artleſs ſtone—

to thoſe models of hiſtorical compoſition which we owe to the genius of Athens. The following reflections on the ſcarcity of great hiſtorians, and the impoſſibility of attaining to perfection, are equally juſt and beautiful.

Pure, faultleſs writing, like tranſmuted gold,
Mortals may wiſh, but never ſhall behold:
Let genius ſtill this glorious object own,
And ſeek Perfection's philoſophic ſtone!
For while the mind, in ſtudy's toilſome hours,
Tries on the long reſearch her latent powers,
New wonders riſe, to pay her patient thought,
Inferior only to the prize ſhe fought.

Nor are thoſe lines leſs poetical, in which he introduces Herodotus at the head of his hiſtoric worthies.

———Behold the hiſtoric ſire!
Ionic roſes mark his ſoft attire;
Bold in his air, but graceful in his mien,
As the fair figure of his favour'd queen,

When her proud galley ſham'd the Perſian van,
And grateful Xerxes own'd her more than man!

The characters of Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Salluſt, Livy, and Tacitus, are afterwards drawn with great ſpirit and judgment.

The poet next addreſſes himſelf to Biography, of which he ſeems to conſider Plutarch as the father. This muſt be done rather on the account of his excellency, than the priority of his claim; ſince Diogenes Laertius has left us a valuable work of the ſame kind. But probably the author has omitted this latter writer, as having compiled rather the hiſtory of philoſophical opinions, than of the actions of mankind.—The characters of Marcellinus and Anna Comnena conclude this part.

The ſecond epiſtle commences with the Monkiſh hiſtorians, to whoſe merits and defects the author has done juſtice in a manner much to the credit both of his candour and diſcernment.—The principal Italian, Spaniſh, and French writers follow, and theſe are ſucceeded by the later hiſtorians of our own country. The numerous extracts we have already given from this part of the poem, in our poetical article, makes it unneceſſary to add more here, and will in a great meaſure enable our readers to judge for themſelves of our author's abilities both as a poet and a critic.

The ſources of the principal defects in hiſtory, and its general laws, are the ſubjects of the third epiſtle.—This, as our author ſeems to have been well aware, is the moſt important and difficult part of his deſign.

It has been well obſerved of the *Eſſay on tranſlated Verſe*, "that Roſcommon has indeed deſerved his praiſes, had they been given with diſcernment, and beſtowed not on the rules themſelves, but the art with which they are introduced, and the decorations with which they are adorned." As to Mr. Hayley, though we cannot allow that he deſerves no praiſe as the legiſlator of hiſtory, yet we muſt confeſs that he is very far from having given us a complete code. In enumerating the defects of hiſtorians, he has confined himſelf to what relates to the ſubject-matter of hiſtory, and has not entered at all into thoſe which ariſe from faults in the ſtyle and manner. The rules which he afterwards lays down on that ſubject, are too general and indefinite to be capable of uſeful application.

Vanity, national and private, flattery, party-ſpirit, ſuperſtition, and falſe philoſophy, are the ſources from which he derives the principal faults in hiſtory. Theſe topics he has touched with great ſpirit, and illuſtrated with a variety of poetical images. Speaking of flattery, he ſays;

But arts of deeper guile, and baſer wrong,
To Adulation's ſubtle ſcribes belong:
They oft, their preſent idols to exalt,
Profanely burſt the conſecrated vault;
Steal from the buried Chief bright Honour's plume,
Or ſtain with Slander's gall the Stateſman's tomb:
Stay, ſacrilegious ſlaves! with reverence tread
O'er the bleſt aſhes of the worthy dead!
See! where, uninjur'd by the charnel's damp,
The Veſtal, Virtue, with undying lamp,

Fond

Fond of her toil, and jealous of her truſt,
Sits the keen Guardian of their ſacred duſt,
And thus indignant, from the depth of earth,
Checks your vile aim, and vindicates their worth:
" Hence ye! who buried excellence be-
" lied,
" To ſooth the ſordid ſpleen of living
" Pride;
" Go! gild with Adulation's feeble ray
" Th' imperial pageant of your paſſing
" day!
" Nor hope to ſtain, on baſe Detraction's
" ſcroll,
" A TULLY's morals, or a SIDNEY's
" ſoul!"—
Juſt Nature will abhor, and Virtue ſcorn,
That Pen, tho' eloquence its page adorn,
Which, brib'd by Intereſt, or from vain pretence
To ſubtler Wit, and deep-diſcerning Senſe,
Would blot the praiſe on public toils beſtow'd,
And Patriot paſſions, as a jeſt, explode.

The character of an accompliſhed hiſtorian is drawn with great force and boldneſs.

Far other views the liberal Genius fire,
Whoſe toils to pure Hiſtoric praiſe aſpire;
Nor Moderation's dupe, nor Faction's brave,
Nor Guilt's apologiſt, nor Flattery's ſlave:
Wiſe, but not cunning; temperate, not cold;
Servant of Truth, and in that ſervice bold;
Free from all biaſs, ſave that juſt controul
By which mild Nature ſways the manly ſoul,
And Reaſon's philanthropic ſpirit draws
To Virtue's intereſt, and Freedom's cauſe;
Thoſe great ennoblers of the human name,
Pure ſprings of power, of happineſs, and fame!

The neceſſity of chuſing a ſubject that is important and intereſting, is judiciouſly ſhewn from the failure of Knolles; and the danger of dwelling on the diſtant and minute parts of a ſubject really intereſting, is pointed out in the example of Milton. But the worſt defect in an hiſtorian our author lays down to be, his ſupporting any ſyſtem of tyranny. With his warm and animated expoſtulations on this ſubject, we ſhall conclude our extracts.

Neglect alone repays their ſlight offence,
Whoſe wand'ring wearies our bewilder'd ſenſe:
But juſt Abhorrence brands his guilty name,
Who dares to vilify his Country's fame;
With Slander's rage the pen of Hiſtory graſp,
And pour from thence the poiſon of the Aſp;
The murd'rous falſehood, ſtifling Honour's breath!
The ſlaviſh tenet, Public Virtue's death!
With all that undermines a Nation's health,
And robs the People of their richeſt wealth!
Ye tools of Tyranny! whoſe ſervile guile
Would thus pollute the records of our iſle,
Behold your Leader curſt with public hate,
And read your juſt reward in BRADY's fate!

Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, *Eſq; interſperſed with Characters and Anecdotes of his Theatrical Contemporaries. By* Thomas Davies. 2 *Vol.* 8*vo.*

THE life of Mr. Garrick is ſo intimately connected with the hiſtory of the ſtage, of which he was the unrivalled ornament and a ſucceſsful manager for upwards of thirty years, that his biographer has judiciouſly choſen to join them in theſe volumes. The lovers of theatrical anecdotes will find them a valuable continuation of the *Apology of Colley Cibber*, and both thoſe who act, and thoſe who go to ſee plays, will meet with

hints for improvement, or ſubjects for compariſon.—The author appears to be every way well qualified for the taſk he has undertaken. A long acquaintance with the ſtage, as he himſelf informs us, and an earneſt inclination to excel in the profeſſion of acting, to which he was for many years attached, afforded him an opportunity to know much of plays and theatrical hiſtory. To this account of himſelf we muſt in juſtice add, that the many proofs of candour and good ſenſe, which he has given throughout his performance, leave no room to ſuſpect, that he has wilfully miſrepreſented either facts or characters.

As we have already given our readers an account of the Life of Mr. Garrick, which we do not find to differ materially from what is related of him in theſe memoirs, we ſhall ſelect, for their entertainment, ſuch parts of the work before us, as relate to the moſt celebrated of his cotemporaries.

Of Mr. Fleetwood, the patentee, and the revolt of the comedians of Drury-lane in 1743, he gives the following account.

"Charles Fleetwood, Eſq; was a gentleman of an ancient and reſpectable family, poſſeſſed of a large paternal eſtate. His perſon was genteel, and his manner elegant. His acquaintance, in the early part of life, with certain perſons of rank and diſtinction, proved fatal to him; they drew him into many faſhionable irregularities and exceſſes; they gave him an unlucky and extravagant habit for play. Amongſt thoſe who are addicted to gaming, there are many young men of family and fortune, who are imprudent and undeſigning; they generally fall a prey to the artful, the avaricious, and fraudulent: the betrayed, in their turns, become the betrayers; nor from this cenſure was Mr. Fleetwood exempted.

With the remains of his fortune he was perſuaded, by ſome of his acquaintance, to purchaſe the greateſt part of Drury-lane patent. He fortunately bought at a time when the proprietors, by a run of ill ſucceſs, were become weary of their bargain, and willing to ſell cheap what they had bought at a high price. They had weakly fallen out with the moſt eſteemed of their players, on account of a ſmall advance in ſalary, which they had demanded; the ſum in diſpute did not, I believe, much exceed 400l. per annum. The actors revolted, and opened the little theatre in the Hay-market with ſome appearance of ſucceſs.

Fleetwood brought back the ſeceders, and united the two companies of Drury-lane and the Hay-market. When this was accompliſhed, he tried all methods to ſtrengthen his troop, by gaining ſome actors of merit from Covent-garden theatre, with large and unuſual offers. Mr. Quin was perſuaded to leave his old maſter Rich, under whoſe theatrical banners he had fought twenty years, for the advantageous income of 500l. a ſalary till then unknown in any Engliſh theatre. This was, indeed, to him an annual increaſe of 200l. but it muſt be confeſſed that Quin offered to remain in his old ſtation for a leſs ſum than that which Fleetwood offered to give him; but Rich refuſed the propoſal, and declared that

that no actor was worth more than 300l. per annum.

For some years, by the prudent advice of the principal players, more especially, I believe, of Mr. Charles Macklin, who was the only player I ever heard of, that made acting a science; and the unremitted labours of this actor, Quin, Clive, Pritchard, and some others, the theatre at Drury-lane was in a state of considerable credit, and generally filled with the choicest company. But it was impossible to restrain so irregular and expensive a man as the patentee within the bounds of prudence and œconomy. After he had happily been obliged to forsake the practice of high play, and had deserted Arthur's *, he was seized with an unaccountable passion for low diversion, and took a strange delight in the company of the meanest of the human species. This man of genteel address and polite manners conceived a peculiar fondness for the professors of the art of boxing; his time was divided between sturdy athletics and ridiculous buffoons; between Broughton, James, and Taylor, the most eminent of our boxers, and the tumblers of Sadler's-Wells; the heroic combatants of Hockley in the Hole and the Bear-Garden graced the patentee's levee almost every morning.

Some time before Mr. Garrick's engagement with this manager, he had brought all the inmates of Sadler's-Wells upon his stage, and entertained the public with fights of tall monsters and contemptible rope-dancers.——

The theatre was farmed to one Pierson, his treasurer, who had lent large sums of money to the manager. This fellow considered the merits of the best actors in no other view than as they contributed to the payment of his loan; the just and legal demands of the actors were treated by him with insolence and contempt: he was civil to Mr. Garrick, indeed, because he hoped, by his acting, to get back the money he had risqued upon the patent.

In this distracted state of Fleetwood's management, the ill treatment of the players seemed to call aloud for redress. Bailiffs were often in possession of the theatre; and the properties, cloaths, and other stage ornaments of the comedians, were sometimes seized upon by these low implements of the law. Many ridiculous contests and foolish squabbles between the actors and these licensed harpies might here be recorded for the reader's amusement; I shall content myself with relating one of them. The hat of king Richard the Third, by being adorned with jewels of paste, feathers, and other ornaments, seemed, to the sheriff's officers, a prey worthy of their seizure; but honest Davy, Mr. Garrick's Welch servant, told them, they did not know what they were about; "For, look you," said Davy, "that hat belongs to the king." The fellows imagining that what was meant of Richard the Third was spoken of George the second, resigned their prey, though with some reluctance.

Repeated, but ineffectual applications, were made to the patentee, for removal of grievances,

* Generally called White's Chocolate-House.

by

by Garrick, Macklin, Pritchard, and others. It is true, he did not treat their remonſtrances with haughtineſs as his treaſurer did; he liſtened to their addreſſes with great calmneſs, as well as affability; he owned the juſtice of their repreſentations, and the rectitude of their demands; he was moſt heartily ſorry, he proteſted, for what was paſt, and promiſed very ſolemnly to reform every thing that was amiſs.——Fair promiſes frequently made, and as often broken, will tire out the moſt patient tempers; the clamours of the actors, but eſpecially thoſe who had no means of ſubſiſtence but their weekly income, were now ſo loud and urgent, that it became neceſſary to look about in earneſt for ſome means of ſubſtantial redreſs.

About the end of the ſummer 1743, the actors found leiſure to digeſt a plan for removing the grievances under which they had ſo long patiently ſuffered. About a dozen of them, the chief of whom were Garrick, Macklin, Havard, Berry, Blakes, Mrs. Pritchard and Mrs. Clive, with Mills, and his wife, entered into an aſſociation, to which others were invited. A formal agreement was ſigned, by which they obliged themſelves not to accede to any terms which might be propoſed to them by the patentee, without the conſent of all the ſubſcribers.

The players were in hopes that the lord chamberlain would be induced to grant them his favour and protection; and, in imitation of one of his predeceſſors, the witty and benevolent earl of Dorſet, who reſcued Betterton, Mrs. Barry, and other aggrieved actors, from the tyranny and oppreſſion of Chriſtopher Rich, the old patentee of Drury-lane playhouſe, grant them a licence or patent for acting plays at the Opera-houſe or elſewhere. They drew up a petition, in which they ſtated their grievances very exactly, and ſupported their claim to redreſs from a variety of facts which they offered to prove.

The Duke of Grafton, who was then chamberlain, received the petition of the players with coldneſs; inſtead of examining into the merits of their complaints, he deſired to know the amount of their annual ſtipends. He was much ſurprized to be informed, that a man could gain, merely by playing, the yearly ſalary of 500l. His grace obſerved, that a near relation of his, who was then an inferior officer in the navy, expoſed his life in behalf of his king and country for leſs than half that ſum. All attempts to convince the duke that juſtice and right were on the ſide of the petitioners, were to no purpoſe.

It requires but little art of reaſoning to confute the duke's argument: his attempt to compare a principal actor's income with that of a ſubaltern officer, was very ill founded: every gentleman that would wiſh to riſe in the fleet or the army, is obliged to go through the ſeveral gradations of preferment; but the midſhipman and the cadet both hope to riſe to the higheſt office which they can poſſibly attain. Beſides, genius ſteps beyond the tedious formalities of progreſſive ſervice and limited practice. Hawke, Howe, and Keppel, were forced to ſerve in the

the navy ſome time before they attained to the rank of lieutenant; Garrick, Clive, and Cibber, from the firſt trial of their abilities, proved themſelves accompliſhed comedians.——

Whilſt the players were buſy in gaining friends to their cauſe, and to promote their ſucceſs with the lord chamberlain, the patentee was not idle; he endeavoured to raiſe recruits amongſt all the itinerant actors in England. Before they proceeded to greater hoſtilities, each party ſtrove to juſtify their cauſe by appealing to the public from the preſs. Paul Whitehead, it is ſaid, drew his pen for the manager; and William Guthrie, the hiſtorian, was the champion for Mr. Garrick and his party.

Towards the middle of September, the manager was determined to open his theatre; but, on muſtering his forces, he found himſelf ſo weak, that he could ſcarce act any play whatever. But upon being joined by Mrs. Bennet, an uſeful actreſs, whom he ſuſpected to be gone over to the revolters, and by the aſſiſtance of ſome new-raiſed forces, he announced in his play-bills the Conſcious Lovers, for September the 20th, the uſual time of beginning to act plays in the metropolis.

The compaſſion of the public, the efforts of friends, and motives of curioſity, concurred to bring together a pretty full audience; and the play, though but tolerably acted, paſſed with applauſe. The conteſt between the manager and the ſeceders became ſoon very unequal. The latter found all applications for a new patent ineffectual. There was now no remedy left, but to agree with the manager upon the beſt terms that could be obtained. The matter ended, as it might have been foreſeen, from the moment the chamberlain turned his back upon the players. Some of the principal actors, and ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary to the conducting of the theatrical machine, were admitted to favour upon reaſonable terms, and were allowed the ſame annual ſtipends which they enjoyed before the ſeceſſion; others of leſs conſequence were abridged of half their income."——

Mr. Lacy ſucceeded Fleetwood as manager of Drury-lane; at the ſame time Rich, the inventor of our modern pantomime, governed the theatre at Covent-garden. The characters of theſe two leaders, and the important event of the campaign of 1747, are thus deſcribed.

"John Rich, the ſon of Chriſtopher Rich, formerly patentee of Drury-lane theatre, ſeems to have imbibed, from his very early years, a diſlike of the people with whom he was deſtined to live and daily converſe. We are told, that his father wiſhed rather to acquire wealth by French dancers, Italian ſingers, and every other exotic exhibition, than by the united ſkill of the moſt accompliſhed comedians. The ſon inherited the ſame odd taſte; for being left by his father in the joint poſſeſſion of the patent with his brother Chriſtopher, and after having ineffectually tried his talent for acting in the part of the Earl of Eſſex, and ſome other important character, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of pantomimical repreſentation. In this he was happily very fortunate. He formed a kind of harlequinade, unknown

unknown to this, and, I believe, to any other country, which he called a pantomime: it conſiſted of two parts, one ſerious and the other comic. By the help of gay ſcenes, fine habits, grand dances, appropriated muſic, and other decorations, he exhibited a ſtory from Ovid's Metamorphoſes, or ſome other fabulous writer: between the pauſes or acts of this ſerious repreſentation, he interwove a comic fable, conſiſting chiefly of the courtſhip of Harlequin and Columbine, with a variety of ſurpriſing adventures and ſudden transformations, which were produced by the magic wand of Harlequin.——

It is a very ſingular circumſtance, that of all the pantomimes which Rich brought on the ſtage, from the Harlequin Sorcerer, in the year 1717, to the laſt which was exhibited a year before his death, which fell out in 1761, there was ſcarce one which failed to pleaſe the public, who teſtified their approbation of them forty or fifty nights ſucceſſively.——

Mr. Lacy, the rival of Mr. Rich, was a man of good underſtanding, uncultivated by education.—By a ſucceſſion of ſchemes he endeavoured to attain affluence and independence. The firſt dawn of his proſperity he owed to his projecting the rotunda of Ranelagh, about forty years ſince, which gained him the ſum of 4000l. This building is a ſtanding monument of his taſte and ingenuity. His being appointed manager for the bankers, who purchaſed the remainder of Mr. Fleetwood's patent, with a third of his own, advanced him ſtill higher to public notice; and the misfortunes of theſe men, owing perhaps to an utter deſertion of theatrical entertainments, in the year of the Scotch rebellion in 1745, were occaſionally the making of his fortune; for having, during the time he was a manager, frequently attended the duke of Grafton, then lord chamberlain, in his hunting parties, he ſo far ingratiated himſelf in his grace's favour, that he afterwards, at the expiration of the old patent, obtained on very reaſonable terms a new one, the half of which Mr. Garrick purchaſed.

Mr. Lacy was active and enterpriſing. He brought Barry from Ireland; and, at the ſame time, ſecured Macklin, Yates, Berry, Beard, Neale, Taſwell, Mrs. Clive, Mrs. Woffington, Mr. and Mrs. Giffard, and others. He appeared ſo formidable to Rich, that, by the advice of his counſellors, he immediately entered into a treaty with Mr. Garrick, Mr. Quin, and Mrs. Cibber. Mrs. Pritchard, Meſſrs. Woodward, Chapman, Hippiſley, and Mrs. Green, he had already bound to himſelf by articles.

It is not, perhaps, more difficult to ſettle the covenants of a league between mighty monarchs, than to adjuſt the preliminaries of a treaty in which the high and potent princes and princeſſes of a theatre are the parties. Mr. Garrick and Mr. Quin had too much ſenſe and temper to ſquabble about trifles. After one or two previous and friendly meetings, they ſelected ſuch characters as they intended to act without being obliged to join in the ſame play. Some parts were to be acted by them alternately, particularly Richard the Third

Third and Othello. The great difficulty lay in chuſing ſuch plays as they might both appear in to advantage. The following parts they conſented, as far as I can recollect, to act together: Lothario and Horatio in the Fair Penitent; in Jane Shore, Haſtings and Gloſter; in Henry the Fourth, (firſt part) Hotſpur and Falſtaff; in the Diſtreſſed Mother, Oreſtes, Garrick; Pyrrhus, Quin; and, I believe, Brutus and Caſſius in Julius Cæſar. I have ſeen the character of Caſſius accurately delineated in Mr. Garrick's own handwriting, which he had extracted from Bayle; and it is very probable that he had given his conſent to act the part, but that, on ſerious reflection, he had renounced his intention, as the weight of applauſe, in the much-admired ſcene between theſe great men in the fourth act of the play, muſt have fallen to the ſhare of Brutus. There was another reaſon for rejecting Caſſius, which, in all probability, had its force with him; he would never willingly put on the Roman habit.

Mr. Quin ſoon found, that his competition with Mr. Garrick, whoſe reputation was hourly increaſing, whilſt his own was on the decline, would ſoon become ineffectual. His Richard the Third could ſcarce draw together a decent appearance of company in the boxes; and he was, with ſome difficulty, tolerated in the part, when Garrick acted the ſame character to crowded houſes, and with very great applauſe.

The town had often wiſhed to ſee theſe great actors fairly matched in two characters of almoſt equal importance. The Fair Penitent preſented an opportunity to diſplay their ſeveral merits; though it muſt be owned, that the balance was as much in favour of Quin, as the advocate of virtue is ſuperior in argument to the defender of libertiniſm.

The ſhouts of applauſe, when Horatio and Lothario met on the ſtage together in the ſecond act, were ſo loud, and ſo often repeated, before the audience permitted them to ſpeak, that the combatants ſeemed to be diſconcerted. It was obſerved that Quin changed colour, and Garrick ſeemed to be embarraſſed; and, it muſt be owned, that theſe actors were never leſs maſters of themſelves, than on the firſt night of the conteſt for pre-eminence.——

Notwithſtanding the evident diſparity ariſing from one actor's pleading the cauſe of truth and virtue, and the other being engaged on the ſide of licentiouſneſs and profligacy, Mr. Quin was, in the opinion of the beſt judges, fairly defeated; by ſtriving to do too much, he miſſed the mark at which he aimed. The character of Horatio is compounded of deliberate courage, warm friendſhip, and cool contempt of vice. The laſt Quin had in a ſuperior degree, but could not riſe to an equal expreſſion of the other two. The ſtrong emphaſis which he ſtamped on almoſt every word in a line, robbed the whole of that eaſe and graceful familiarity which ſhould have accompanied the elocution and action of a man who is calmly chaſtiſing a vain and audacious boaſter.

When Lothario gave Horatio the challenge, Quin, inſtead of accepting it inſtantaneouſly, with the

the determined and unembarraſſed brow of ſuperior bravery, made a long pauſe, and dragged out the words,

" I'll meet thee there!"

in ſuch a manner as to make it appear abſolutely ludicrous. He pauſed ſo long before he ſpoke, that ſomebody, it was ſaid, called out from the gallery, " Why don't you tell the gentleman whether you will meet him or not?"——

The ſucceſs of the Lying Valet and Lethe induced Mr. Garrick to try his fortune once more as a writer; and Miſs in her Teens was the produce of his muſe; a farce, in which cowardice and effeminacy are ſo happily contraſted, and ſtrongly ridiculed, that it will for a long time maintain its ground in the theatre. This petit-piece was acted a great number of nights. Mr. Quin was called upon to play ſome of his characters during its repreſentation. He complied at firſt, but ſoon after repented: he ſurlily ſwore he would not hold up the tail of any farce. " Nor ſhall he," ſaid Mr. Garrick, when he was told what Quin had ſaid; " I will give him a month's holidays." He picked out of the prompter's liſt of plays all ſuch as could be acted without Quin, and were not ſuppoſed to have any internal ſtrength to draw company of themſelves. To theſe Miſs in her Teens was tacked every night for above a month, or five weeks. Quin would ſometimes, during the run of the farce, pay a viſit to the theatre; but on being told that the houſe was crowded, he would give a ſignificant growl, and withdraw.——

The great run of company to Covent-garden left Drury-lane in a ſtate of inferiority and deſpondency.—Lacy having about this time, prevailed on the duke of Grafton to promiſe a renewal of the Drury-lane patent, he wiſely thought, the beſt way to ſecure ſo valuable an acquiſition as Mr. Garrick, would be to offer him the moiety of it.——

The tender of ſo conſiderable and valuable a thing as the half of a patent, was by no means unpleaſing to Mr. Garrick; he conſulted his friends, who all adviſed him to purchaſe it on reaſonable terms. By paying the moderate ſum of eight thouſand pounds, he became joint-patentee of Drury-lane theatre with Mr. Lacy. This tranſaction was finiſhed to the ſatisfaction of both parties, about the end of March, or beginning of April, 1747.

Mr. Rich, though he was viſibly acquiring very large property by ſuch a conſtant ſucceſſion of good houſes, and principally by the means of his actors, did not ſeem to enjoy or underſtand the happineſs of his ſituation. It was imagined, by thoſe who knew his humour beſt, that he would have been better pleaſed to ſee his great comedians ſhew away to empty benches, that he might have had an opportunity to mortify their pride, by bringing out a new pantomime, and drawing the town after his raree-ſhow. Often would he take a peep at the houſe through the curtain, and as often, from diſappointment and diſguſt, ariſing from the view of a full audience,

ence, break out into the following expreſſions, "What, are you there! Well, much good may it do you."

Though he might have eaſily fixed Mr. Garrick in his ſervice, long before he had bargained for a ſhare of Drury-lane patent, he gave himſelf no concern, when he was told of a matter ſo fatal to his intereſt; he rather ſeemed to conſider it as a releaſe from a diſagreeable engagement, and conſoled himſelf with mimicking the great actor. It was a ridiculous ſight to ſee the old man upon his knees, repeating Lear's curſe to his daughter, after Garrick's manner, as he termed it; while ſome of the players, who ſtood round him, gave him loud applauſes; and others, though they were obliged to join in the general approbation, heartily pitied his folly, and deſpiſed his ignorance.

I am authoriſed to aſſert, that the profits ariſing from plays at Covent-garden theatre, from September 1746, to the end of May, 1747, amounted to eight thouſand five hundred pounds. And let no man think this an exorbitant ſum, which was earned by a Garrick, in conjunction with many excellent comedians, when it can be proved, that in one year, after paying all expences, eleven thouſand pounds were the produce of Mr. Maddock's (the ſtraw-man's) agility, added to the inferior talents of the players, at the ſame houſe, ſome few years afterwards."——

His ſhort ſketch of an actreſs ſo celebrated for beauty of countenance and elegance of form, as well as merit in her profeſſion, as Mrs. Woffington, cannot but be acceptable to our readers.

"Mrs. Margaret Woffington was born at Dublin in 1718. For her education, in the very early part of life, ſhe was indebted to Madame Violante, a French woman of good reputation, and famous for feats of agility. She is occaſionally mentioned in Swift's Defence of Lord Carteret. From her inſtructions little Woffington learned that eaſy action and graceful deportment, which ſhe afterwards endeavoured, with unremitting application, to improve. When the Beggar's Opera was firſt acted at Dublin, it was ſo much applauded and admired, that all ranks of people flocked to ſee it. A company of children, under the title of Lilliputians, were encouraged to repreſent this favourite piece at the Theatre Royal; and Miſs Woffington, then in the tenth year of her age, made a very diſtinguiſhed figure amongſt theſe pigmy comedians.

She appeared, for the firſt time in London, at the theatre in Covent-garden, in 1738. Her choice of character excited the curioſity of the public: Sir Harry Wildair, acted by a woman, was a novelty: this gay, diſſipated, good-humoured rake, ſhe repreſented with ſo much eaſe, elegance, and propriety of deportment, that no male actor has ſince equalled her in that part: ſhe acquitted herſelf ſo much to the general ſatisfaction, that it became faſhionable to ſee Mrs. Woffington perſonate Sir Harry Wildair. The managers ſoon found it to be their intereſt to announce her frequently for that favourite character; it proved a conſtant charm to fill their houſes.

In

In Dublin ſhe tried her powers of acting a tragedy rake, for Lothario is certainly of that caſt; but whether ſhe was as greatly accompliſhed in the manly tread of the buſkin'd libertine, as ſhe was in the genteel walk of the gay gentleman in comedy, I know not; but it is certain that ſhe did not meet with the ſame approbation in the part of Lothario, as in that of Wildair.

Her chief merit in acting, I think, conſiſted in the repreſentation of females in high rank, and of dignified elegance, whoſe graces in deportment, as well as foibles, ſhe underſtood, and diſplayed in a very lively and pleaſing manner. The faſhionable irregularities and ſprightly coquetry of a Millamant, a Lady Townly, Lady Betty Modiſh, and Maria in the Non-Juror, were exhibited by Woffington with that happy eaſe and gaiety, and with ſuch powerful attraction, that the exceſſes of theſe characters appeared not only pardonable, but agreeable.

But this actreſs did not confine herſelf to parts of ſuperior elegance; ſhe loved to wanton with ignorance when combined with abſurdity, and to play with petulance and folly, with peeviſhneſs and vulgarity: thoſe who remember her Lady Pliant in Congreve's Double Dealer, will recollect with great pleaſure her whimſical diſcovery of paſſion, and her awkwardly aſſumed prudery: in Mrs. Day, in the Committee, ſhe made no ſcruple to diſguiſe her beautiful countenance, by drawing on it the lines of deformity, and the wrinkles of old age; and to put on the tawdry habiliments and vulgar manners of an old hypocritical city vixen.

As, in her profeſſion, ſhe aimed at attaining general excellence, ſhe ſtudied ſeveral parts of the moſt pathetic, as well as lofty claſs in tragedy; and was reſolved to perfect herſelf in the grace and grandeur of the French theatre. With this view ſhe viſited Paris; here ſhe was introduced to Mademoiſelle Dumeſnil, an actreſs celebrated for natural elocution and dignified action. Colley Cibber, at the age of ſeventy, profeſſed himſelf Mrs. Woffington's humble admirer; he thought himſelf happy to be her Ciciſbeo and inſtructor; his great delight was to play Nykin, or Fondlewife in the Old Batchelor, to her Cocky, or Letitia, in the ſame play.

On her return from Paris, ſhe acted with approbation ſome parts in tragedy, particularly Andromache and Hermione in the Diſtreſſed Mother, which, to ſhew her proficiency, ſhe played alternately; but ſhe never could attain to that happy art of ſpeaking, nor reach that ſkill of touching the paſſions, ſo juſtly admired in Cibber and Pritchard. Old Colley, her maſter, was himſelf a mean actor in tragedy, though he was extremely fond of the buſkin; he taught her to recite ſo pompouſly, that nature and paſſion were not ſeldom ſacrificed to a falſe glare of eloquence. The teacher inſiſted upon a particular *tone*, as he called it, in the declamation of his pupils.

Mr. Garrick's acquaintance with Mrs. Woffington commenced, I believe, in Ireland, when he firſt

viſited that kingdom, in 1742; ſhe acted Cordelia and Ophelia to his Lear and Hamlet. When he commenced patentee, in 1747, he found her one of the articled comedians of Mr. Lacy; but, as he brought with him from Covent-garden Mrs. Cibber and Mrs. Pritchard, ſhe thought her continuing at Drury-lane would be attended with many diſagreeable contentions for characters. Before that time, Clive and Woffington had claſhed on various occaſions, which brought forth ſquabbles, diverting enough to their ſeveral partizans amongſt the actors. Woffington was well-bred, ſeemingly diſpaſſionate, and at all times miſtreſs of herſelf. Clive was frank, open, and impetuous; what came uppermoſt in her mind, ſhe ſpoke without reſerve: the other blunted the ſharp ſpeeches of Clive by her apparently civil, but keen and ſarcaſtic replies; thus ſhe often threw Clive off her guard by an arch ſeverity, which the warmth of the other could not eaſily parry.

No two women of high rank ever hated one another more unreſervedly than theſe great dames of the theatre. But though the paſſions of each were as lofty as thoſe of a firſt dutcheſs, yet they wanted the courtly art of concealing them; and this occaſioned now and then a very groteſque ſcene in the Green-room.

Mrs. Woffington, after acting a few years with Mr. Rich, engaged herſelf, in 1751, to Mr. Sheridan, the manager of the Dublin theatre. Here ſhe continued three years, and was the admiration of the public in a variety of parts, tragic and comic. Her company was ſought after by men of the firſt rank and diſtinction; perſons of the graveſt character, and moſt eminent for learning, were proud of her acquaintance, and charmed with her converſation. She was, I think, choſen preſident of a ſelect ſociety of beaux eſprits, called the Beef Steak Club, and was the only woman in the company.

She frankly declared, that ſhe preferred the company of men to that of women: the latter, ſhe ſaid, talked of nothing but ſilks and ſcandal. Whether this particular preference of the converſation of males might not take its riſe from her not being admitted to viſit certain ladies of quality, I will not take upon me to ſay; but ſhe certainly had not that free acceſs to women of rank and virtue which was permitted to Oldfield and Cibber.

Mrs. Woffington was miſtreſs of a good underſtanding, which was much improved by company and books. She had a moſt attractive ſprightlineſs in her manner, and dearly loved to purſue the bagatelle of vivacity and humour: ſhe was affable, good-natured, and charitable. When ſhe returned to London, in 1756, ſhe once more engaged herſelf to Mr. Rich; and died, about a year before his death, of a gradual decay."

Mr. Malloch or Mallet, the author of Elvira, and ſeveral other dramatic compoſitions, makes too conſpicuous a figure in theſe memoirs to be omitted.

"This author, ſays Mr. Davies, was, when very young, janitor of the High School of Edinburgh. His real name was Macgregor, a member of a Scotch clan, which had

had rendered themſelves ſo notorious, as well as obnoxious to the laws, for acts of violence and robbery, that they were obliged, by an act of parliament, to change the name of Macgregor for another. Our author choſe that of Malloch; but after having uſed it ſome time, and ſigned it to a dedication, he thought it ſounded ſo unpolitely and was ſo unharmonious, that he afterwards ſoftened it into Mallet. The firſt production of his muſe, and when he was very young, was a ſweet and plaintive ballad called William and Margaret. Captain Thompſon, the editor of Andrew Marvell's works, declares that he found this poetical noſegay among many other productions of the ſame author in a folio MS. of his works, and with ſeveral poems publiſhed by Mr. Addiſon in the Spectator.

The Engliſh poetry, in Marvell's time, was certainly not arrived at that elegance and harmony ſo viſible in the ſong of William and Margaret, and the hymns and verſions of pſalms in the Spectator; which latter bear evident marks of their being Mr. Addiſon's own compoſition. Nor can I preſume to rob Mr. Mallet of the merit of writing William and Margaret, on ſo ſlender a proof as that of its being found in a volume of manuſcript poems attributed to Mr. Marvell, a name which deſerves to be revered by every ſincere lover of his country. Mr. Mallet having diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a man of learning and capacity, was appointed private tutor to his grace the Duke of Montroſe, and his brother, Lord George Graham. Soon after, he went abroad with Mr. Craggs; and after he returned to England, he wrote his tragedy of Eurydice, which was acted at the theatre in Drury-lane in 1731. Aaron Hill wrote the prologue and epilogue, and was enthuſiaſtically warm in his praiſes of the play, though he found great fault with the acting of it. Eurydice is not written to the heart; the language is not original in many places, but borrowed from other plays; nor are the ſituations in which the characters are placed intereſting, any more than the characters themſelves are juſtly or powerfully drawn; Periander and Procles are Tamerlane and Bajazet, only in diſſimilar ſituations of fortune.

We have in this play rage without producing terror, and grief that cauſes no commiſeration. Eurydice was conſiderably altered and revived almoſt thirty years after its firſt repreſentation. The principal characters were perſonated by Mr. Garrick and Mrs. Cibber, but to no effect. The paſſions of love and jealouſy are, of all others, the moſt capable of affecting the minds of the ſpectators; but all the rage of a Garrick, and pathos of a Cibber, could not extort a tear from the audience. But the author would not take the blame upon himſelf; he ſat in the orcheſtra, and beſtowed his execrations plentifully upon the players, to whom he attributed the cold reception of his tragedy.

Soon after the firſt acting of Eurydice he publiſhed his poem of Verbal Criticiſm; a trite ſatire on pedants and pedantry, compoſed of ſuch common-place raillery as that with which ſmall

wits uſually attack great and eminent ſcholars. Bentley's Paradiſe Loſt was indeed a fair mark for cenſure; and we muſt, I am afraid, reckon it amongſt the dotages of that learned man, who publiſhed his edition of Milton in a very advanced age. But Mallet's attack upon Theobald was equally ignorant and illiberal; for the Shakſpeare Reſtored of this writer laid the foundation of juſt criticiſm upon our great poet. However, the poem was written with a deſign to ingratiate the author with Mr. Pope, who ſoon after introduced him to Lord Bolingbroke.

Thomſon and Mallet were recommended to the patronage of Frederick Prince of Wales, who appointed them both his ſecretaries. The politicks of St. James's and of Leiceſter Houſe being very oppoſite, theſe writers were employed by the friends of the prince to juſtify his conduct, and vindicate his cauſe, by attacking the adminiſtration of Sir Robert Walpole.

The two poets did not pretend to underſtand political argument, but were ſuppoſed capable of intereſting the public in favour of their maſter's cauſe by the art of working up a fable in a tragedy, and in the drawing characters, and giving them ſuch language, as an audience could not fail properly to apply. Thomſon, under the auſpices of his great patron, brought his Agamemnon on Drury-lane ſtage. I remember the following ſpeech of the principal character in the play, which was ſpoken to Ægiſthus, was greatly applauded:

——But the moſt fruitful ſource
Of every evil—O! that I in thunder
Could ſound it o'er the liſt'ning world to kings,
Is delegating power to wicked hands.

Agamemnon, though well acted, for Mrs. Porter in advanced age and lame was prevailed on to perform Clytemneſtra, was not written agreeably to the taſte of the critics, who very juſtly obſerved, that he had not entirely preſerved ancient manners and characters; Clytemneſtra did not reſemble the portrait drawn of her by Æſchylus, which is more conſiſtent and agreeable to hiſtory. The diſpleaſure of the audience ſhown to certain ſcenes produced a whimſical effect upon the author; he had promiſed to meet ſome friends at a tavern as ſoon as the play was ended, but he was obliged to defer his attending them to a very late hour. When he came, they aſked him the reaſon of his ſtay; he told them, that the criticks had ſweated him ſo terribly, by their ſevere treatment of certain parts of his tragedy, that the perſpiration was ſo violent, as to render his wig unfit to wear; and that he had ſpent a great deal of time amongſt the peruke-makers in procuring a proper cover for his head.

Though Thomſon's Edward and Eleonora was excluded the ſtage, becauſe the licenſer ſaw, as he imagined, a formidable attack upon the miniſter; Mallet's Muſtapha, which was ſaid to glance at the king and Sir Robert Walpole, in the characters of Solyman the Magnificent and Ruſtan his viſier, was acted with great applauſe.

On the first night of its exhibition were assembled all the chiefs in opposition to the court; and many speeches were applied by the audience to the supposed grievances of the times, and to persons and characters. The play was in general well acted; more particularly the parts of Solyman and Mustapha, by Quin and Milward. Mr. Pope was present, in the boxes; and at the end of the play went behind the scenes, a place which he had not visited for some years. He expressed himself to be well pleased with his entertainment; and particularly addressed himself to Quin, who was greatly flattered with the distinction paid him by so great a man; and when Pope's servant brought his master's scarlet cloke, Quin insisted upon the honour of putting it on him.

Thomson and Mallet were soon after commanded by the Prince of Wales to write the masque of Alfred, to celebrate the birth-day of Lady Augusta, his eldest daughter, which was twice acted, in the gardens of Clifden, by Quin, Milward, Mrs. Clive, Mrs. Horton, and other players. The accommodations for the company, I was told, were but scanty, and ill managed; and the players were not treated as persons ought to be who are employed by a prince. Quin, I believe, was admitted among those of the higher order; and Mrs. Clive might be safely trusted to take care of herself any where.

Mr. Mallet's reputation was now so highly advanced, that the Duchess of Marlborough left 1000 l. by legacy to him and Mr. Glover, as a reward for writing the life of the Duke of Marlborough. The latter declining the task, the whole sum became the property of the former.

Mr. Mallet, after the death of his friend Thomson, which happened in 1748, resumed the story of Alfred, on which they had written in conjunction. He observed that in the first sketch, Alfred was but the second character in his own piece; and this, I imagine, was owing to the influence of Quin, whose manner of speaking and figure were better adapted to the part of the hermit than Alfred. He found himself obliged to make great alterations, more agreeable to the dignity of the principal part, and more suited to Mr. Garrick's powers, who undertook to act it. Abundance of songs, and some odes, were added, and many new incidents and characters; so that little of the old masque remained. In decorations of magnificent triumphal arches, dances of furies, various harmony of musick and incantations, fine scenes and dresses, this masque exceeded every thing which had before made its appearance on the English stage.

Mr. Mallet, in the end of the year 1748, was employed by his patron, Bolingbroke, in a business which, if he had any feeling, must have been very disagreeable to him, the writing the preface to an edition of the Patriot King, in which he was obliged to censure the conduct of his friend Mr. Pope. This great man had been entrusted with several printed copies of the book, and enjoined to communicate the knowledge of it to a few select persons only; but he had, unknown to the author, printed

printed an edition privately of 1500 copies.

Lord Bolingbroke died in December 1751, and left all his writings, publiſhed and unpubliſhed, to Mr. Mallet; but with reſpect to thoſe political works printed in his life-time, he expreſſed himſelf cautiouſly, as if he foreſaw that ſomebody would lay claim to them; and therefore he left them to his legatee, as far as he lawfully could.

When Mallet had prepared Lord Bolingbroke's works for the preſs, he was ſupriſed with a claim of Mr. Richard Francklin, the printer, who had, in 1726, publiſhed Lord Bolingbroke's Political Tracts; and in 1735-6 retailed in the Craftſman his Remarks upon the Hiſtory of England, and his Diſſertation on Parties; and afterwards, by the conſent, or at leaſt connivance, of the author, printed them in ſeparate volumes. He and Mr. Mallet were adviſed, by Mr. Garrick and other friends, to leave the matter in diſpute to the arbitration of two perſons who were ſuppoſed by them to be competent judges of the queſtion. Mallet named Mr. Garrick's friend, Mr. Draper, a partner of Jacob Tonſon; and Francklin choſe Mr. Thomas Wotton, an eminent bookſeller, who had retired from buſineſs. A writing was drawn, wherein the queſtion was ſtated, and a power given to the umpires to decide upon it, ſigned by the parties.

After mature deliberation, the arbitrators gave their decree in writing, as follows: That Mr. Mallet ſhould pay Mr. Francklin the ſum of two hundred pounds for leave to print the political works of Lord Bolingbroke, which had been publiſhed in his lordſhip's life-time, in a complete collection of the ſaid nobleman's writings, and in any form which he thought proper, and as often as he pleaſed; with this proviſo, that Mr. Francklin ſhould be at liberty to print the books in queſtion in ſeparate volumes, as uſual.

Mr. Mallet did by no means approve the deciſion; and Francklin, by truſting to his honour, in not having inſiſted upon bonds of arbitration, was deprived of the benefit of the award.

The ſum of two hundred pounds, for leave to print two or three old volumes, will doubtleſs appear at preſent too large a gratification; but, at that time, the right of copy was eſteemed a valuable perpetuity; and we cannot now condemn two very intelligent and honeſt men for a deciſion in favour of that property which was ſo differently rated above ſix and twenty years ago. Mr. Mallet's conduct will not bear juſtification. But though we cannot defend his behaviour, we may perhaps alledge ſomething by way of excuſe. Mr. Mallet and his lady appeared to all the world to be the happieſt couple in it, and I deſire to have no doubt that they really were what they wiſhed the world ſhould think them. However, Mrs. Mallet, to her exceſſive love, joined the moſt conſummate prudence. Every ſhilling of her fortune, which amounted to ſeven or eight thouſand pounds, ſhe ſettled upon herſelf; but then ſhe took all imaginable care that Mr. Mallet ſhould ap-

pear like a gentleman of diſtinction, and, from her great kindneſs, ſhe always purchaſed every thing that he wore; hat, ſtockings, coat, waiſtcoat, &c. were all of her own choice, as well as at her own coſt; and ſuch was the warmth of her fondneſs, that ſhe took care all the world ſhould know the pains ſhe beſtowed on her huſband's dreſs *.

Mallet dreamt of getting golden mountains by Bolingbroke's legacy; he was ſo ſanguine in his expectations, that he rejected the offer of three thouſand pounds, tendered to him by Mr. Millar the bookſeller, for the copy-right of that nobleman's works; at the ſame time he was ſo diſtreſſed for caſh, that he was forced to borrow money of the ſame Mr. Millar, to pay his ſtationer and printer.

Mallet heartily repented his refuſal of the Bookſeller's offer, for the firſt impreſſion of his edition of Bolingbroke's works was not ſold off in twenty years.

Mr. Mallet's maſque of Britannia was acted in 1755. Mr. Garrick ſpoke a humourous epilogue to it in the character of a drunken ſailor, part of which he compoſed himſelf. Britannia was repreſented by Mrs. Jefferſon, the moſt complete figure in beauty of countenance and ſymmetry of form I ever beheld. This good woman (for ſhe was as virtuous as fair) was ſo unaffected and ſimple in her behaviour, that ſhe knew not her power of charming. Her beautiful figure and majeſtick ſtep in the character of Anna Bullen, drew the admiration of all who ſaw her. She was very tall; and, had ſhe been happy in abilities to act characters of conſequence, ſhe would have been an excellent partner in tragedy for Mr. Barry. In the viciſſitudes of itinerant acting, ſhe had been often reduced, from the ſmall number of players in the company ſhe belonged to, to diſguiſe her lovely form, and to aſſume parts very unſuitable to ſo delicate a creature.

When ſhe was aſked what characters ſhe excelled in moſt, ſhe innocently replied, *Old men in comedy*; meaning ſuch parts as Fondlewife in the Old Bachelor, and Sir Jealous Traffick in the Buſy Body. She died ſuddenly at Plymouth, as ſhe was looking at a dance that was practiſing for the night's repreſentation.

Mr. Mallet obtained a penſion from the miniſtry in 1757, and was employed to write a vindication of their meaſures, and more particularly reſpecting their ſending a fleet into the Mediterranean, under Byng; this he effected in a letter, written, as it is ſaid in the title, by a plain man, which was publiſhed in a large ſheet of paper; the miniſters were ſoon after changed: however, his old friends had the intereſt to procure him a very conſiderable place in the cuſtoms, which he enjoyed till his death.

Till the year 1763, we hear nothing of Mallet, except a dedication of his poems to the late Duke of Marlborough, in which he promiſes himſelf ſpeedily the honour of dedicating to him the life of his great relation. In the preface to his Alfred, publiſhed with his other works in 1759, he

* Mr. Mallet's favourite dreſs was a ſuit of black velvet.

had

had there ſuppreſſed what he had ſaid in a former advertiſement to that maſque, publiſhed in 1751, that it was written to amuſe himſelf, amidſt the fatigues of his great work, the life of the Duke of Marlborough.

However, this life, of which he never wrote one line, ſerved him as a kind of ſtalking-horſe, to reach at any game which he had in proſpect.

When he had finiſhed his Elvira, he caſt about in what manner he could beſt prevail upon Mr. Garrick to act it. He knew that his revived Eurydice, and his maſque of Britannia, had done nothing for the managers, though he had gained ſomething by them himſelf. He waited on Mr. Garrick, in the uſual intercourſe of friendſhip, with Elvira in his pocket.

After the common ſalute, Mr. Garrick aſked him, what it was that employed his ſtudies. "Why, upon my word, ſaid Mallet, I am eternally fatigued with preparing and arranging materials for the life of the great Duke of Marlborough; all my nights and days are occupied with that hiſtory; and you know, Mr. Garrick, that it is a very bright and intereſting period in the Britiſh annals. But hark you, my friend! do you know that I have found out a pretty ſnug nich in it for you?"—— "Heh! how's that! a nich for me! (ſaid the manager, turning quickly upon him, his eyes ſparkling with unuſual fire.) How the devil could you bring me into the hiſtory of John Churchill Duke of Marlborough?" — "That's my buſineſs, my dear friend (rejoined Mallet;) but I tell you, I have done it."—"Well, faith, Mallet, you have the art of ſurpriſing your friends in the moſt unexpected and the politeſt manner: but why won't you, now, who are ſo well qualified, write ſomething for the ſtage? You ſhould relax. *Interpone tuis*—ha? you know! for I am ſure the theatre is a mere matter of diverſion, a pleaſure to you."

"Why faith (ſaid the other) to tell you the truth, I have, whenever I could rob the duke of an hour or ſo, employed myſelf in adapting La Motte's Ines de Caſtro to the Engliſh ſtage, and here it is." The manager embraced Elvira with rapture, and brought it forward with all expedition*.

A gentleman of the law, who could not miſs ſuch an opportunity of laughing at Mr. Garrick's vanity, met him one day, and told him he had been applied to by the bookſellers to publiſh an edition of the Statutes at Large, and he hoped he ſhould find a ſnug nich in them to introduce him.

The ſtory of Elvira is exceedingly affecting, and Mrs. Cibber would excite tears, if poſſible, from inſenſibility; but the ſtyle of Mallet is not dramatick; it is laboured and affected, void of nature and ſimplicity. The play was well acted, but I believe it was ſtopped at the ninth night. Some application made by the pit to an unpopular nobleman did no manner of ſervice to it. Mallet,

* Dr. Johnſon, in his life of Mallet, places this anecdote to the Maſque of Alfred.

alarmed at the diſcontinuing the run of his laſt and favourite offſpring, acquainted Mr. Garrick by a note, that he had received forty cards from perſons of diſtinction, all of whom deſired to know the reaſon why his play was ſtopped; and for anſwer, he had referred them to him, the proper judge.

Mr. Garrick had no ſtomach to repeat the acting of a tragedy that was not approved by the public, and in which he had received ſuch ſignal mortification. The part of Don Pedro in Elvira was the laſt new character he ever acted.

I have ſaid a great deal of this gentleman, and yet there was a ſtriking peculiarity in his conduct that I ought not to omit, as it may very probably convey ſome uſeful advice to others. He was a great free-thinker, and a very free-ſpeaker of his free-thoughts; he made no ſcruple to diſſeminate his ſceptical opinions wherever he could with any propriety introduce them.

At his own table indeed, the lady of the houſe (who was a ſtaunch advocate for her huſband's opinions) would often, in the warmth of argument, ſay "*Sir, we deiſts.*"

She once made uſe of this expreſſion in a mixed company to David Hume, who refuſed the intended compliment, by aſſerting that he was a very good Chriſtian; for the truth of which he appealed to a worthy clergyman preſent; and this occaſioned a laugh, which a little diſconcerted the lady and Mr. Mallet.

The lecture upon the *non credenda* of the free-thinkers was repeated ſo often, and urged with ſo much earneſtneſs, that the inferior domeſticks became ſoon as able diſputants as the heads of the family. The fellow who waited at table being thoroughly convinced, that for any of his miſdeeds he ſhould have no after-account to make, was reſolved to profit by the doctrine, and made off with many things of value, particularly the plate. Luckily he was ſo cloſely purſued, that he was brought back with his prey to his maſter's houſe, who examined him before ſome ſelect friends. At firſt, the man was ſullen, and would anſwer no queſtions put to him; but being urged to give a reaſon for his infamous behaviour, he reſolutely ſaid, "'Sir, I had heard you ſo often talk of the impoſſibility of a future ſtate, and that after death there was no reward for virtue, or puniſhment for vice, that I was tempted to commit the robbery.' "Well; but you raſcal (replied Mallet) had you no fear of the gallows?" 'Sir, ſaid the fellow (looking ſternly at his maſter) what is that to you, if I had a mind to venture that? you had removed my greateſt terror; why ſhould I fear the leſſer?' Mr. Mallet died April 21, 1765."

We ſhall conclude our extracts from this entertaining miſcellany with the following anecdotes of two celebrated and much admired theatrical perſonages, Mrs. Clive, and Mr. Foote.

"About a year after Mrs. Pritchard had withdrawn from the theatre, her conſtant companion and friend, Mrs. Clive, determined to follow her example; had ſhe thought proper, ſhe could have continued ſeveral years longer to delight the public in various characters

racters adapted to her figure and time of life; for to the laſt ſhe was admirable and unrivalled.

Mr. Garrick ſent Mr. Hopkins, the prompter, to her, to know whether ſhe was in earneſt in her intention of leaving the ſtage. To ſuch a meſſenger Mrs. Clive diſdained to give an anſwer. To Mr. George Garrick, whom he afterwards deputed to wait on her upon the ſame errand, this high-ſpirited actreſs was not much more civil; however, ſhe condeſcended to tell him, that, if his brother wiſhed to know her mind, he ſhould have called upon her himſelf. When the manager and Mrs. Clive met, their interview was ſhort, and their diſcourſe curious. After ſome compliments on her great merit, Mr. Garrick wiſhed, he ſaid, that ſhe would continue, for her own ſake, ſome years longer on the ſtage. This civil ſuggeſtion ſhe anſwered by a look of contempt, and a deciſive negative. He aſked how much ſhe was worth; ſhe replied briſkly, as much as himſelf. Upon his ſmiling at her ſuppoſed ignorance or miſinformation, ſhe explained herſelf, by telling him, that *ſhe* knew when ſhe had enough, though *he* never would. He then entreated her to renew her agreement for three or four years; ſhe peremptorily refuſed. Upon repeating his regret at her leaving the ſtage, ſhe abruptly told him, that ſhe hated hypocriſy; for ſhe was ſure that he would light up candles for joy of her leaving him, but that it would be attended with ſome expence.—Every body will ſee there was an unneceſſary ſmartneſs in the lady's language, approaching to rudeneſs; but however it was her way, as her friend Mrs. Pritchard uſed to expreſs it.

The other anecdote relates to tranſactions between Mr. Garrick and Mr. Foote, which, if the whole of them be true, place the profligacy of the one, ariſing from his irregularities, and the timidity of the other, ariſing from his vanity, in a ſtriking point of view.

Theſe rivals would often meet at the houſes of perſons of faſhion, who were glad to have two ſuch gueſts at their table; though they certainly ſhould have entertained their friends ſeparately; for Mr. Garrick was a *muta perſona* in the preſence of Foote: he was all admiration when this great genius entertained the company, and no man laughed more heartily at his lively ſallies than he did. It muſt be owned that he tried all methods to conciliate Foote's mind, ſo far at leaſt as to prevail upon him to forbear his illiberal attacks upon him when abſent; and this he ought to have done for his own ſake, for Foote often rendered his converſation diſguſting by his nauſeous abuſe of Mr. Garrick; but, the more ſenſibility the latter diſcovered, the greater price the former put upon his ceaſing from hoſtilities.

The great ſucceſs of the Stratford Jubilee, when exhibited, in the winter of 1770, at Drury-lane, inſpired this envious man with the deſign of producing a mock proceſſion in imitation of it, and of introducing Mr. Garrick upon his ſtage. He conſidered him as fit goods to bring to his market; a man ſo rich, ſo meritorious, ſo well known, ſo much admired, and ſo envied, was a prey too valuable not to be ſeized on for his

his own uſe; the foregoing it, he thought, would be loſing a ſtaple commodity, which would fill his houſe forty nights ſucceſſively, or perhaps for the whole ſummer. In this mock proceſſion, a fellow was to be dreſſed up, and made as much like Mr. Garrick as poſſible; it was intended that ſome ragamuffin in the proceſſion ſhould addreſs Roſcius in the well-known lines of the poet-laureat,

> A nation's taſte depends on you;
> Perhaps a nation's virtue too.

The repreſenter of Mr. Garrick was to make no anſwer, but to cry "Cock a doodle do!"

While this ſcheme was in embryo, Foote's neceſſities, which were brought on by a ridiculous parade of ſplendid living, by hiring a number of uſeleſs ſervants, and by treating with magnificent dinners thoſe who laughed at his wit, drank his claret, and won his money at cards, (for he was a great dupe at play,) reduced him to the humiliating ſituation of borrowing money of the man whom he intended to expoſe to public ridicule. Five hundred pounds were lent to him by Mr. Garrick; and this ſum, after a ſucceſsful run of a new piece, was paid back in a pettiſh reſentment, becauſe it was pretended that Mr. Garrick's creatures had circulated a report that Mr. Foote was under obligations to him. By this time he had formed his plan, and had reſolved, or at leaſt ſo he gave out, to put it in execution. He was at no pains to conceal his deſign from Mr. Garrick, who had early intelligence of the whole ſcheme. The uneaſineſs he felt upon the occaſion could not be diſſembled; he dreaded public ridicule as the worſt of all misfortunes, and apprehended the ruin of that reputation which he had been raiſing ſo many years. To reſent an affront perſonally to a man with a wooden leg would only have expoſed him to laughter.

It was pleaſant enough, during the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, to ſee them meet on a viſit, at a nobleman's door, and alighting from their chariots. Significant looks were exchanged before they ſpoke; Mr. Garrick broke ſilence firſt: "What is it, war or peace?" "Oh! peace, by all means," ſaid Foote, with much apparent glee; and the day was ſpent in great ſeeming cordiality. Much about this time, Mr. Garrick paid this levelling ſatiriſt a viſit, and was ſurpriſed to ſee a buſt of himſelf placed on his bureau. Is this intended as a compliment to me? ſaid Roſcius. — Certainly. And can you truſt me ſo near your caſh and your bank-notes? — Yes, very well, ſaid Foote; for you are without hands.

What put an end to this project I could never learn: whether a well timed gratification, or Garrick's threats of ſerving him in kind. But of this laſt I never heard the leaſt hint, though I am well perſuaded that ſuch a menace might probably have had its effect; for no man threatened more than Foote, nor was any man more timorous. At the time when he was dealing out his ſcandal at the Hay-market, and levelling all characters for his private emolument, he was heard to declare, in a kind of agony, that he was afraid to take a news-paper in his hand, for fear of reading ſome out-

outrageous abuſe upon himſelf or his friends.

But, although the project of a mock proceſſion was given up, Foote thought the ridiculing Garrick on the ſtage was a morſel too delicious to reſign. At the very time when the mind of Mr. Garrick was diſturbed by a ſcandalous and falſe inſinuation, which the author of it publickly and ſolemnly afterwards diſavowed, Mr. Foote, from a ridiculous pretence that Mr. Garrick kept his playhouſe open purpoſely to diſtreſs him, by acting ſeveral of his moſt favourite characters, and by theſe means drawing all the play-going people to Drury-lane, reſolved to ſhew his reſentment in a manner the moſt profitable to himſelf and offenſive to Mr. Garrick.

He firſt attacked him with much vehemence in the news-papers, in the form of letters, fables, and dialogues. This was preparatory to his grand deſign of regaling the public with a feaſt of Roſcius. The new ſcheme was to introduce him in his puppet-ſhew: to this end, a maſk was made, that bore as near a reſemblance as poſſible to the countenance of Mr. Garrick, and this he ſhewed to all his viſitors; a paſte-board figure of a body was prepared, to be joined to the head; a man was to be concealed under this ſtrange ſhell, who was, every now and then, to utter ſomething which the author was to convey to him. But ſo fond was Foote of his favourite Cock a doodle do! that, as ſoon as the figure was introduced on the ſtage, he was ordered to clap his ſides, and crow as loud as the cock in Hamlet.

This mock repreſentation of Mr. Garrick was talked of for a long time, though not announced in the news-papers. Foote laboured to raiſe his fears and apprehenſions, and at the ſame time to create an appetite in the public for ſo extraordinary a diſh. That this project, too, was afterwards laid aſide, it was generally ſuppoſed, was owing to a ſum of money which was borrowed never to be repaid; or perhaps to a gratification, the accepting of which was ſtill more diſhonourable; however, this is only conjecture."

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